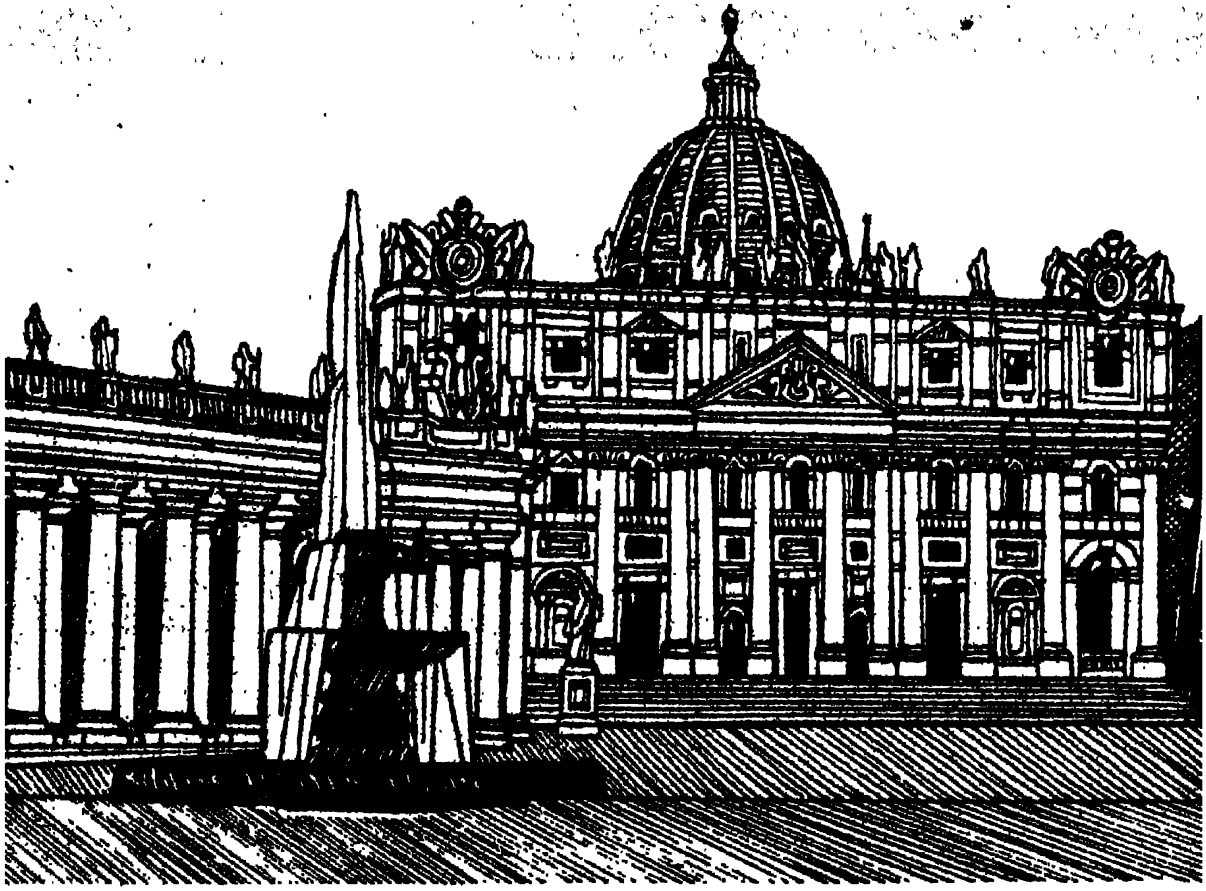
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PRAPHULLADATTA GOSWAMI

WOMEN IN ASSAM'S FOLKLORE

The contributor is a noted regional folklorist and has some useful books to his credit on different aspects of folklore of Assam. Assam is a rich field of folklore study. Here the contributor has made a rapid survey of the folklore of Assam in order to see how women-folk have appeared in the folksongs, proverbs, sayings, tales and the kind materials. These will throw considerable light on the position of the womenfolk of the region.

I

IT is often difficult to make generalized comments on a community's temperament and character, for such comments, though made, seem to be based on irrational factors. There have been attempts at analyzing racial character, for instance, the Japanese character, but that is very complicated process, requiring time and resources. The songs and sayings, the tales and beliefs of a community, however, throw considerable light on the community's behaviour. These cannot be said to be the results of any complicated and scientific process of testing, but they have survived time and are in use, directly and indirectly, to describe what persons of a certain community are like or how they react to circumstances.

One difficulty in writing about Assamese womenfolk based on folklore material is that what is said about them may as well be said about Indian women or women in general. Let us take a few proverbs :

Sister had gone to the market and saw the footprints in the road. Sister told this to her, and she told this to me. O my God, as I am alive, an elephant I saw ! (Exageration)

The mother notices the face, the wife notices the hand. (The wife looks for things.)

When I am considered sightless, let me pour water into the curry. (Irritation and spite.)

Can we take these sayings as refering in particular to Assamese women ?

On the other hand, such proverbs as the following seem to indicate a clear attitude towards womenfolk in Assam :

Woman, the Miri. the parakeet, the crow
these four you cannot rely on.

Do with a wife trampled on by a mother-in-law,
taste a curry trampled on by fish.

To dogs give no room,
to woman give no encouragement.

The last one, again, reveals an attitude prevailing at one time in large parts of the world, as is evidenced in this sixteenth-century English saying :

A woman, a dog, and a walnut tree,
The more you beat them, the better they be.

In Khasi society, which is matrilineal, property is owned by women and children take their mothers' titles, but even in Khasi society women folk are not allowed to dabble in public affairs. The Khasis explain the situation with a proverb which goes somewhat like this : "If the hen crows the world will be in ruin", meaning thereby that the crowing business should remain the monopoly of malefolk.

II

It is perhaps women who use proverbs and maxims much more than men. Do they also make them ? If they do, some of the most uncomplimentary to womenfolk must have been made by them. Many of the folksongs, such as marriage, prayer and love songs, must have been composed by women, for these belong to the female repertory. Marriage and love songs, such as the Bihu-nam type, tell us a lot about women. Yearning of the youthful heart, unhappiness at not being married off, jealousy, desire to elope, the boldness to stand on one's own legs, etc. are some of the feelings expressed by the songs.

The bride is tender, does not know how to do anything, she is the pet of everyone in the family, and her parents worry that she may have to hear hard words at her mother-in-law's house. She is a beauty like Sita and she is often compared to Rukmini and it is Krishna of Dwaraka who come to marry her. This is idealization, on the other hand we find the able Assamese girl who knows how to spin and weave, dance and sing and even help her husband in the battlefield in such songs :

At the gate, under the areca palms, is the loom.
Her shuttle clatters, her bangles clang, but not to be heard is Aideo's voice ;
While yet a child the girl had asked her mother,
"What would you give me as dowry ?"
My daughter the youngest, you can take a gold dorpati,
also *mahura-kathis*. . . . ."*

If you would dance, dance well
that your fellows may see,
life will go away—go to the land of death
the body will be eaten up by vultures.

I would dance the entire day, O friend,
I would dance the entire day,
only do not carry me off while I dance,
heavily you will have to pay.

Come friends after picking the greens
let's go to our dears ;
our parents have not given us in marriage,
we can't even talk about this with our brothers,
the years have rolled out piecemeal,
we too are ageing slowly.

A flowered towel shall I weave for you, darling,
you will go to take part in the Bihu festivity,
a waistband of silk shall I weave for you, darling,
you will go to drive away the enemy.

Assamese women's flair for expressing fine sentiments in effective and poetic language is seen in songs sung to appease the pox goddess and in Bihu songs. Here is an Ai-nam, illustrating the figure of speech known as personification :

They are coming, Ai's seven sisters across the seven mountains,
All bow their heads—the grass, the creepers, the trees, for Ai is coming,
The golden butterfly, round it circles on its two silver wings ;
The Ais have come to visit the places, we beg our life of them
Unconsciously did we trespass into Ai's garden, unawares did we pick the buds.
Forgive our crime this once, O Bhavani, we fall at your feet ; . . . .

The language is figurative, the garden referring to the rashes breaking out on the child's body and the buds referring to the rashes that may have been scratched out. The song enshrines a mood of tender devotion, perhaps mingled with fear, for Ai is a dreaded goddess.

III

To come to the ballads, they depict a world which seems to belong in the past, a world which we do not see around us any more. Women-

* These are parts of the loom.

folk in the ballads, as in the tales, are comparatively unsophisticated and perhaps more passive than in the lyrical folksongs. In "Janagabharur Git" we find the heroic Jangabharu who rules a kingdom and who treats the suitors who aspire to get her rather harshly. Prince Gopichan hears of her and wants to get her. He has a number of wives and it is interesting to note how they weep at the prince's decision to leve them :

"Discarding us has the prince gone away,
Nor did he slay us ;
To the race of the bumble-bee the male belongs,
He will run after whoever takes his fancy."

And his widowed mother puts her case in cogent language :

"You were but single-leafed, two-leafed I made you,
Was there anyone to help you ?
Clasping to my bosom I brought you up,
And now, my son, against my wishes you go !"

In "Manikowarar Git" we find in Kachanmala a girl of a noble family whose domestic role is the same as that of any peasant girl. Manyavati looks for a bride for the prince Manikowar and approaches the father of Kachanmala. He says that the girl hardly knows any domestic work :

"She burns a large quantity of fuel,
She does not know how to weave and spin
But goes loitering about others' looms.
If you want her and won't disdain,
She shall be given to you.

The prince was a gift of the River God and was taken away when he reached the age of sixteen. The widowed Kachanmala bewails her lot like any ordinary girl who loses her husband untimely :

With one kick broke the lovely spinning-wheel,
She broke also the reel ;
Much she bewailed, the spotless Kachan,
The hair of her head loosened ;
"Come and let me see you O my prince,
Together let us leave.
The Lohit has forsaken on of its currents,
The Dihing has abandoned its bank ;
My parents gave me away in ceremonial marriage,
Still on me is the stain of turmeric ;
In Chat did cry the bird of Chat,

In Bohag cried the frog,
I could not enjoy when I should have,
Who was it that divined with the leg of the fowl ?"

In a song of the Bilap class (weeping song) a girl describes her sorrows when her husband leaves her to follow a mendicant. In the historical ballad "Barphukanar Git", when the Barphukan or Victory of Gauhati has suddenly to flee in order to escape the wrath of the Prime Minister of the land, his wife expresses her sorrow as vividly :

"I no longer put on my bangles,
From today are empty my bed and pillows,
Whose debt had I incurred,
I shall pull off my gold necklace,
I rub off my vermilion spot
I had made them catch some fish.
Without you I am a widow now."

The Queen Mother in this ballad later causes the Barphukan to be murdered, but this is a fact attested by history.

There are playful songs where the girl who cannot spin and weave well or does not know how to receive a guest is satirized or where a wife puts up a contest of wit with her husband.

IV

The foolish and gullible wife, the scheming stepmother, the resourceful mistress of the house, the helpful beggar woman, and the victimised girl are some of the figures that we come across if we take up the folktales. The jealous stepmother is best seen in tales like "Tejimala", in which a girl is crushed under a *dhenki* and takes birth as a plant, and later regains her original shape, and "Teja and Teji", in which the girl Teji is transformed into a mynah by her stepmother, though to get disenchanted later. The girls in these tales are more of less passive victims. The gulible wife is seen in "Pharing the All-knowing". She makes some cakes and eats up most of them. She then tells her husband that whoever gets up late next morning should have the larger share. Pharing has to get up earlier and finds that there are only a few cakes. He can however notice the imprint on the plate of three scole cakes. So he makes up a rhyme :

Welfare in the plough, the devil in the whip,
Three score she eats up, this no one knows.

The riddle impresses his wife and she gads about that her husband is all-knowing with more interesting developments.

A lady deserving to run the kitchen is discovered by an old man by means of an amusing test. He suddenly cries out that a kite is flying with a pestle. All his daughter-in-law, excepting the youngest, come out to see the phenomenon. The old man chooses the youngest daughter-in-law as one fit to run the kitchen. This sensible and steady girl later outwits a thief and secures much wealth. Another youngest daughter-in-law, who is virtuous and whom luck favour, is seen in "The Gold-producing King". In "Champavati" a wise woman helps the bride to destroy the snake covering of her husband. In a Kachari tale a beggar woman helps the groom to destroy the goose covering of his bride.

We have also the wife who is not happy with her husband. In a Kachari tale a toad defeats a king and wins as bride his daughter. The princess boils a cauldron of waterand persuading her husband to take a bath and makes him jump into the cauldron. The toad loses his life. In another tale poor and ugly Kathiya aspires to the hand of a merchant's daughter named Chandravali. She throws in disgust her bangle at the forehead of her suitor and leaves home. After some years Kathiya visits the house of a rich lady who notices the wound mark on his forehead and submits to her fate declaring :

So long there is Chandravali there is Kathiya,
One cannot bypass the writ of fate.

In a Kachari version of the tale, the girl pushes her husband into the river. He lands some distance away and passes his days playing mournfully on his flute. The girl wants the man playing the flute. When he is brought she discovers her husband and submits to her fate.

Let me wind up the essay by summarizing a humorous tale about a greedy daughter-in-law. The girl was washing rice in the river and tempted to throw some into her mouth. Just then her father-in-law arrived and asked her about his son. Fearing to be caught eating rice, she feigned a faint. Her father-in-law thinking she was possessed by a spirit called in the medicineman. The medicineman agreed to exorcise her if he was released from a debt. The old man agreed to do so. The medicineman realized the situation the girl was in and while striking her with some leaves murmured :

You silly girl, chew, chew,
Then swallow what you chew,
Disgraced you shall not be,
If from debt I'm free.

The girl took the hint, did accordingly and recovered after some time.

This is just a rapid survey of the folklore material of Assam in order to see how womenfolk have appeared in this songs, sayings and tales of the land. It will be difficult to conclude from the data that Assam's women are such and such in all cases. The feelings and sentiments expressed in songs are basic and universal and the types of persons that we notice are also illustrative of conditions which are not peculiar to Assam. Some of the tales found in Assam are found elsewhere. For instance, the tale in which a wife is unhappy because her husband has a funny name and therefore leaves him, only to learn later that a name has no intrinsic value, is found in another version in Madhyapradesh. The tale in which Vikramaditya refuses to explain to his wife why he smiles seeing some ants fight and is about to lose his life by trying to please her has a prallel among the Santals. Both these tales can be traced back to pre-Christian times.

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P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

ONAM—THE NATIONAL FESTIVAL OF KERALA

Mr. P. Thankapan Nair, a young and enthusiastic worker with scholarly aptitude, is not unknown to the readers of "Folklore" and the type journals. He hails from the state of Kerala and the subject matter of the article which he has treated here is gathered from his native place. He adopted both the process of field work and observation to prepare this paper. It is a vivid description of the festival which will be liked by the scholars and enthusiasts for its freshness.

The legend :

ONAM is celebrated to re-live, for 10 days atleast, the good old days of Mahabali's rule when the Rule of Law prevailed over the land. Plenty and prosperity prevailed upon earth. Mahabali, an Asura King, practised great austerities and obtained power over the heavens, earth and the under-world. Equality before Law and equal protection of law were the twin maxims of Mahabali's rule. Neither did a man cheat others, nor did anyone use a false measure, Nobody uttered a lie Primitive communism prevailed in respect of production and distribution. Mahabali thus conceived an egaliterian society. The gods of the heaven became jealous of the prosperity of the people and Mahabali's rule. They importuned Lord Vishnu to deliver them from this unbecoming subservience to a mere mortal. Vishnu, incarnated as Vamana, came to King Mahabali in the guise of a dwarf Brahman youth. The king was very geneours and welcomed the boy personally. He asked the youth what he wanted. The dwarf requested the king that he be given all that he could cover by his three strides. The king immediately concerned to his supplication. Thereupon the dwarf grew into superhuman proportions, and covered the heavens and earth and the nether-world by two strides, leaving no room to place his third foot. Mahabali showed his own head for placing the third foot and Vamana pushed the king down to the internal regions. Mahabali's only request to Vamana before his disappearance was that he might be allowed to visit his subjects in the month of Chingam on the day on

which the austerism Onam occurs. This request was conceded and Mahabali is said to visit his subjects in Kerala on the day of Onam every year. The people of Kerala do not believe dwarfs since that time.

Interpretation of the Legend :

The legend behind Onam connecting Mahabali and Vamana may contain a grain of truth. Vamana, no doubt, practised deception on Mahabali and thereby conquered the three worlds. The story was perhaps invented by crafty Aryans who immigrated to Peninsular India and conquered the autochthones—Dravidians—there. Vamana's conquest of the three worlds may be taken to mean the conquest of Chera, Chola and Pandya kingdoms into which South India was divided in ancient days. Mahabali was perhaps the archetype of Dravidian monarchy, and he could not be defeated by anyone except by a trickery. Dr. Gundert in his Malayalam Dictionary defines Onam as the day on which Parasurama, an incarnation of Vishnu, is said to be the person who recovered Kerala from the sea-bed by throwing his battle-axe from Gokarnam in the north. The axe travelled a distance of hundreds of miles and landed at Cape Comorin. Moreover, Parasurama is credited with having brought Brahmans from the North and settled them in Kerala. The underlying fact behind the story of Parasurama also shows that Onam is connected with Aryan immigration. Before the immigration of Aryanas, Kerala might have been a land of plenty.

Another ground for believing that Onam is connected with Aryan immigration to South India is furnished from the fact that Peninsular India was the stronghold of Saivism and Vaishnavism was of later introduction. Onam was celebrated all over South India, though at present it is confined to Kerala. Even the Brahmans who have not given up Saivitic practices are still celebrating Onam in the South.

Social Importance :

Onam is practically the only occasion or renewal of the bond of interdependence that once existed among the different castes and tribes. The dependants visit their suzerains and render acts of homage. *Onakkazhcha* (present for Onam) must be given by dependants. The cultivators present vegetables and other articles to their land-lords. A present consisting of a bunch of green banana (*nenthrakkula*), a pumpkin, grey-ground, yam etc. is the usual one expected by the landlord from his cultivators. The tiller in turn gets a *dhoti* and towel, besides oil and a sumptuous meal on the Onam day.

During the 10-day celebration of Onam festival, professional castes call on Hindu households for receiving their dues. First comes the Kuravan, a travelling minstrel, for singing songs in praise of Mahabali, accompained by his female counterpart. Both of them sing a song or two, to the accompaniment of the gentle beating of a small kettle drum (*utukku*). The Kuravan gets a measure of rice, a few ripe and green bananas, vegetables etc. as his customary dues.

Similarly, washermen, potters, Velans (who supply an umbrella for protecting Mahabali's clay images from sun and rain), Parayahs or basket-makers (who supply small baskets for gathering flowers) etc. call on their suzerains to get their dues. Every Onam thus cements the traditional bond that exists between different castes in Kerala. This *jajamani* system has not received any rude shock with the march of time.

There is no difference between the landlord and tenant, rich and poor, master and servant, high and low, during the days of Onam, for everyone is in a festive mood. Caste and class barriers are broken during this period. There is perfect harmony in the national life. Enemies forget their enemity and reunite in a new bond of friendship. Ritual abstention from work for atleast the day of Onam, if not for five days, is observed by everyone. Wars and other hostilities were stopped for the days of Onam by the invaders before the days of British control of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.

Onam falls in August-September, by which time the rich crop is gathered in, leaving an interval for ploughing and barrowing for the next crop. The land of Kerala suffers from no want during this season of the year. Vegetables of all varieties are in plenty and at the same time cheap. No one suffers from want. Nature is bountiful and people of Kerala are ready for feasts and festivities.

Onam is the most important occassion for get-together of family members who may be living outside Kerala. The Nair ladies could, in former days, do away with their husbands if they did not turn up for the occassion of Onam every year.

Onam outside Kerala :

Though Onam has been declared as the national festival of Kerala in 1962, it is not a festival exclusive to Kerala. There is every reason to belive that Onam was once celebrated throughout the entire breadth and length of South India, though it is, more or less, confined to Kerala these days. Onam used to be celebrated in Madurai, the ancient capital of Tamiland, for 7 days on the full-moon day in the month of

Sravana. The legend behind this celebration was also the dethronement of Mahabali by Vamana. Saivites, Viashnavites, and Jainists were also participants in the Onam celebration at Madurai.

Onam was, and is, an important festival at Tirupati temple, now in Andhra Pradesh. The Lord Balaji is supposed to be an incarnation of Vishnu in Vamana form. The celebration of Onam at Tirupathi is also connected with the legend of Mahabali.

The Canares used to celebrate Onam on a large scale. The Havik Brahmans, Billavts and other tribes celebrate Onam even today. Onam is an important festival at Udippi. Onam is celebrated at Baintur, Kunthapur, Mukambi, Honnavaram, and Gokarnam. The festival is also celebrated at the temples of Sirasi Taluk of North Canara. Besides Saivites and Vaishnavites, Jains also celebrate Onam in Canarese area of Mysore (e.g. at Dharmasthalam, Jainakshetram etc.)

People of Nilgiris, especially those residing in Gudalur and Ooty region, celebrate Onam. The tribes of Wyanaad region also celebrate Onam.

Onam in ancient Tamil literature :

Onam festival has been mentioned in some of the ancient Tamil works. Onam is fully described in *Madurai Kanchi*, one of the works of Sangam period. Mankuti Maruthanar, who flourished sometime in the 2nd century A. D., is supposed to be the author of this work consisting of 782 metres. Onam figures in Perialvar's *Tirumozhi* and the work of Kulasekhara Alwar.

Onam at Trikakara :

Trikkakkara, a famous temple in North Travancore, was the centre of Onam celebrations in Kerala, in ancient days. All the Rajas that ruled over Kerala since the days of Perumals used to assemble at this temple for Onam. Each king had his own separate quarters for staying while the celebrations lasted for 28 days. Several inscriptions on the walls of this temple show that people have made gifts of land for defraying the expenses connected with the feasts and festivities for Onam. There is one inscription dating back to c. 150-200 A. D. about gift of land for Onam feasts. The Trikkakkara figures as Tirukkatikkara in old Tamil literature.

Many inscriptions are found at temple precincts bestowing land etc. for celebrating Onam. The two inscriptions at Tiruvalla, southern Kerala, one dating back to A. D. 36, and the other about Third Century A. D. are important.

Atthachamayam :

Atthachamyam, a preclude to Onam, was the national festival of former Cochin State. This festival used to be held at Tripoonithura, where the Maharajas of Cochin resided. The festival was formerly held at the patronage of Maharaja, but now it is organized by a Committee in which all communities are represented. The Zamorin of Malabar also used to celebrate Atthachamayam.

Flower worship :

Preparations for celebration of Onam begins 10 days prior to the actual date. A rectangular, square or circular *poothara* (raised mud platform) is raised about 15 days before Onam in the front portion of the court-yard of every Hindu household. Mud from ant-hill is preferred for making this *Poothara.* This platform must be ready for use on the day of Attham (i.e. 10 days before Onam). Boys and girls begin to gather flowers a day before *Attham* and stop such gathering a day before Onam. Those who are unable to raise a *Poothara* are content with making a circle in the centre of the court-yard, which is purified every day for ten days with an emulsion of cowdung, and place one small twig of *Tulsi* (Ocimum sanctum) in the centre of the *Kalam* Celebration of Onam is dispensed with if the family is suffering from death-pollution. Even if one is not celebrating Onam due to bereavements in the family during a particular year, it is customary to draw a *Kalam* and place a *Tulsi* twig in its centre.

Shrill joyous cries (*Onam kooval*) greet evey-one from the morning of Attham, while the Poothara is aesthetically decorated with flowers of different colours every day morning. A *Tulsi* twig is placed in the centre of the Poothara around which are placed other flowers in a circular way. It is the duty of children and adolecents to gather flowers of every description from the morning. Boys and girls go to forests, if forest are nearby, to gather flowers in baskets. The flowers that must not be omitted to be placed on the Poothara are the tiny white flowers of the Tumba shrub. Flowers, such as *Chittada, Velippartuthi,* pumpkin and grey-grounds are preferred to lily, lotus, *chetthi, Ashoka Chetthi, Chemparuthi* etc.

On the seventh day after Attham, one more circular spot called *Kalam* is prepared to the east of Poothara and purified with cowdung emulsion. This *Kalam* is also adorned with flowers. On the eighth day such *Kalams* are drawn upto the stile of the gate of the household, and flowers offered. One more *Kalam* is added on the 9th day just out-

side the gate of the household and flowers offered. 'Umbrellas' made from the flowers of pumpkin and grey gourds by piercing the mud rib of the coconut leaf may be placed on the ground in the centre of the Poothara and *Kalams.*

A few tapering clay images of Trikkakkara Appan, representing Mahabali, are made from sticky clay, soon after the Poothara is made and kept ready Onam by sun-drying. On the 9th day evening, that is one day prior to Onam, all flowers offered on Poothara and *Kalams* are removed and the places of worship cleansed with a fresh coat of cow-dung emulsion. The Trikkakkara Appans are tastefully decorated with rice flour and geometric patterns are drawn on the Poothara and *Kalams* in the small hours of the Onam day. Three Thrikkakkara Appans are placed on the *Kalam* drawn just outside the gate of the household and an uneven number, preferably five or seven, of them are placed on the Poothara, over which boughs of *Thumba* shrub are strewn profusely. Images may be kept on the *Kalams*, if available, but the *Kalams* facing to the east of Poothara should not be omitted. Mahabali is supposed to be visiting the household at about 3 A.M. on the day of Onam whereupon he welcomed at the *Kalam* drawn outside the gate by offer of parched and flattened rice, banana, rice cakes etc. A whole coconut is smashed into two halves whilst the family members assembled around the *Kalam* welcome Mahabali with ululations and *Onam Kooval.* The youngsters utter a shrill full-throated joyous cry (*aaraappu*). Then Mahabali is brought home with the accompaniment of an oil lamp to the Poothara and installed there, by similar offering of coconut, cake etc. A lighted lamp is kept there for a few hours. A *cadjan* umbrella as well as a staff are placed over the Poothara to protect the Trikkakkara Appans from rain and sun. The air in the small hours on the Onam day reverberates with rhythmic shouting cries and ululations. This is how the advent of Mahabali is proclaimed by people. The clay images of Mahabali (Thrikkakkara Appans) are kept over for the next year, or destroyed. The ritual side of the Onam is thus over by 3 A.M. on the day of festival.

Onam and Sports :

Onam is the occasion for display of bravery, reverly and chivalry. Bravery is manifested by combats in which people organize themselves into two camps. Pugilistic fights are the important highlights of this item. Rivelry is indulged in 'Onathallu' or 'Kayyankali'. Chivalry is shown by personal combats.

Combats in which parties are divided into opposing camps are the

major highlights of boat-race, and pugilistic fights on the occasion of Onam. Boat-race is the national sport of Kerala and the races at Aranmula and Kottayam are famous on the occasion of Onam. The boat-races at Aranmula and Kottayam have attracted the attention of the people all over India. Snake-boats (*odi vallam*) are propelled by hundreds of gorgeously dressed oarsmen to the accompaniment of tuneful music for which orchestration is supplied by people beating on many indigenous instruments. Songs are sung appropriate to the occasion. The participant in the boat-race are grouped into two and the boats in the race are given distinctive colours, decorations, and silk umbrellas from which hang gold and silver coins, tassels etc.

Onathallu or 'Kayyakali' has become odsolescent, though in olden days it was one of the important items. This is a kind of a drunken dance in which all low-class people took part. This dance used to be performed near the temples under pleasant moonlight.

The temple courtyards or village commons are grounds for pugilistic fights. People of the village or contiguous villages assemble together after Onam feast and divide themselves into two camps. Each camp then selects its leader. Then a line drawn beyond which members of each group should not go. One of the members of a particular group comes running forward to his opponent throwing words in a mocking tone. One of the opponents tries to catch hold of him and if the pugilist lets out his breath and thereby becomes unable to utter the taunting words, he is deemed to be defeated in the game. In this way opponents are eliminated one by one, and the victorious person is rewarded with presents of cloths, money etc. by the onlookers. People of Kerala are reputed masters of fencing and the fight is really something of worth to witness even today.

The village common or temple courtyard is again the scene of hand-ball throwing on the day of Onam. People assemble at a particular place, divide themselves into two opposing groups. The hand-ball is of ball is thrown against the opponents. None should be hit above the size of a tennis-ball and is really stuffed with cotton and cloth. This buttocks. This law is more honoured in breach than in observance. People who are enemies in real life do not hestitate to throw the balls making the chests of their opponents as targets. The participants in the sport run off as soon as one of them gets hold of the ball by which he tries to hit his opponent. This sport is the favorite past-time in the afternoon of Onam. This sport is called *Peppant* (—mad ball-throwing). Talappant is another game in which a ball is thrown making a a small stick planted on the ground as the target. The ball is the size of a husked coconut. The participants are divided into two camps as

before and a member of one group stands at the post while his comrades keep themselves aloof from him. The ball is thrown by one of the participants and on its being struck by the man at the stick, others attempt to catch it before its bounce or stop its onward career. If the ball hits the post, or if any opponent catches the ball before it has touched the ground, his turn is over, and another member of his group takes up the turn. The sport is over when everyone's turn is over.

A *Kalithattu,* a square space, is cut on the turf of the temple court-yard and is divided into a number of smaller squares inside. The participants in this sport also form into two groups. One Member from a particular group plays as a *Kili* (bird) while the members of his opposing group stand on the boundary lines of the smaller squares. The *Kili* runs from the outer line of the whole square and if any of his opponents is touched by him by his hand or body, he is eliminated If the *Kili* cannot touch any one of his opponents within a particular time, he is out of the game and another steps in. In this way the members of each group is eliminated and the sport is over. The opponents try to elude the person who acts as *Kili.*

Villatichanpattu (bow-string singing) is another amusement peculiar to Onam. A bow is fashioned from an elastic branch of a tree which is trung by finely polished split bamboo. Another small stick is used to play on this bow to produce a warbling sound. This melody is linked by all.

Onam and cultural shows :

Onam is the occasion for cultural shows. Kathakali, the national dance-drama, is performed at night in temples. Besides Kathakali, Krishnattam, Ramanattam, Mohininattam and other traditional dance-drama performances are also staged. The Kaikottipattu or Thiru-vathirakali is dance-cum-song recital exclusive to ladies, who clap their hands while dancing in a circular motion with rhythmic movements.

Ladies' Festivals :

Besides the Thiruvathirakali or Clapping dance, ladies indulge much in swinging and reciting songs appropriate to the occasion. *Pazhukkakali* is a game specially liked by girls during Onam season. A few girls sit in a circular way facing the leader of the game who sits inside the centre. The girls pass on an arecanut through their hands which the leader cannot see as the hands are clasped behind their bodies. The leader guesses the holder of the arecanut at a particular

time from her facial expression only. While this game is played the girls recite songs appropriate to the occasion.

'Net & Lion' game of the girls shows that they are not lagging behind in showing their physical process. A few able-bodied girls stand in a circle with outstretched arms interlocked. Another girl is let in first, but she is not allowed to go out of the 'net', unless she breaks the net formed by her friends. When she tries to break the cordon, the girls apply pressure on the interlocked arms, so that the girl is not free to get out of the cordon. While making frantic mock efforts to break the cordon, the girl implores her friends to let her go on many a pretext. The requests are addressed in songs appropriate to the occasion :

Request Let me give way to go home my dear friends
For my mother calls me to suckle !

Answar Let your mother call you to suckle the breasts
But there is no way to go home dear friend !

R. Let me give way to go home, my dear friends
For my father is calling me to give me a new cloth !

A. Let your father call you to give a new cloth
But there is no way to go home dear friend !

R. Let me give way to go home my friends
For my paternal uncle calls to give a guava fruit !

A. Let your paternal uncle call you to give a guava fruit
But there is no way to go home dear friend !

R. Let me give way to go home, my dear friends
For my uncle is calling me to give a dice !

A. Let your uncle call you to give a dice
But there is no way to go home, dear friend !

R. Let me give way to go home my dear friends
For my eldest brother calls me with red-hot eyes !

A. Let your eldest brother call you, let his eyes be red hot !
But there is no way to go home, dear friend !

R. Let me give way to go home my dear friends
For my youngest brother calls me !

A. Let your youngest brother call you
But there is no way to go home, dear friend !

R. Let me give way to go home my dear friends
For my aunty is calling me to give *Kuppari* !

A. Let your aunty call you to give *Kuppari,*
But there is no way to go home, dear friend !

There is another game of the girls in which a group asks for a bride to which the other group replies in the negative. This game is in question and answar form with humourous singing of songs. The songs sung in this regard are too lengthy to reproduce here.

Some of the games of ladies are becoming practically extinct. *Mokkel Vidya* and *Kaithamara Attam* have almost become extinct in Central Kerala. In *Mukkel Vidya,* a girl dances balancing with a decorated stick on her nasal bridge while another lady sings a song appropriate to the occasion to the accompaniment of the music produced by beating a small drum. In *Kaithamara Attam* a girl holds on two bunches of flowers on her right and left hands and dances to the accompaniment of an appropriate song and drum-beating. *Ammana Attam* (throwing the balls)is not an easy job to perform as none of the 3 small balls should fall to the ground. Circling rings on toes and thumbs at the same time is also done by women.

Conclusion :

The importance of Onam may be imagined from the Malayalam saying '*Kanam vittum Onam unnanam*'. This saying means that one should not hesitate to celebrate Onam even if he has to sell his tenancy rights. It is today customary to present clothes to one's relatives and servants on the day of Onam.

Onam has been described by several foreign travellers who have visited Kerala. From their accounts it is seen that all people of Kerala, without the distinction of caste, colour. and creed, used to celebrate Onam.

It was customary to free prisoners who were undergoing various terms of imprisonment. Rajas and chieftains used to send for poor people living under their patronage to present new clothes.

Onam is the best example of a secular festival in Kerala, if not in the whole of India. The non-Hindus of the State do not hesitate to fulfill their obligations towards their employees for the Onam. Onam is like the Durga Puja of Bengal. Onam is an occasion for inter-caste dining as well.

SUDHIBHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA

UNCULTIVATED MUSIC OF INDIA

This is the second chapter of the study on Ethnomusicology. Here the contributed has divided two types of Indian music i.e. (i) cultivated and (ii) uncultivated into different subtypes. He had said that the cultivated music is a product of high cultures and folkmusic occupies an intermediary position between primitive and cultivated

INDIAN music may be classified into two types, cultivated and uncultivated. The former type is chiefly represented by the Indian Classical music both of the northern and the southern varieties. A number of books analysing and describing this music for the purpose of teaching it, have been written in this country from ancient times. The professional musicians of India are devoted mostly to this type of music the standard of which is consequently very high, and far above the reach of the uninitiated. It is usually associated with the high cultures of India.

These high cultures have created also a new variety of folk-music which is much more refined and well-defined than the traditional folk-music current among the unsophisticated rural people of this subcontinent. The *kirtan* of east India, *bhajan* of north India, Tagore music of Bengal, all of which are mainly based on the Indian Classical music, are a few examples of this variety of folk-music. It has found a place in the University curricula for music, and also in the Radio programmes and the commercial Gramophone discs. This variety of folk-music should also be counted as "cultivated".

Compared to these two varieties, the traditional music of the aboriginal population of India is very much different. It is different because it is more spontaneous in nature. We as members of our particular communities are committed to certain group-behaviours which we pick up from our environments quite automatically and inspite of ourselves. Hence, to learn our mothertongues, customs, religious rites and other such items of our cultures we do not have to go to the educational institutions. We learn them by observation and natural participation. In the case of those Indian tribes who have retained much of their traditional culture, their music is also one such item which, like their speech, they learn automatically without any idea of the complex process involved in acquiring it. We have, therefore, called this type of music spontaneous.

This quality of spontaneity needs further elaboration. When birds

chatter or sing at the advent of spring, it is spontaneous. When they cry out of fear apprehending a danger, that too is spontaneous. But a greater conscious effort is likely to be involved in the latter case. This happens also at the higher stage of evolution. When the baby babbles, it is just for its own sake. It is in most cases an expression of his inner joy. But when he cries for hunger or some other disability, it has a greater semanticity than his former behaviour, for he now wants to draw the attention of others towards him. A greater portion of the traditional music of the Indian tribes is, like the crying of the birds, spontaneous and at the same time purposeful. Of course it can express many other human feelings than joy and fear. But one of its main features is that this music is pre-dominantly objective.

In this respect the Indian Classical music, as we find them now, differs greatly from this music. Theoretically, the Classical mode *mallar raga* has the potentiality of producing rain ; similarly, *dipaka raga* can produce fire. But ancient Indian history does not say that these *ragas* or musical modes were ever regularly used for such purposes. A considerable portion of the traditional music of the Indian tribes, on the other hand, is still used as a magico-religious feat to obtain some definite results. Many Indian tribes still seriously believe that music has the magical power to please the supernatural beings and perform miracles. We may give a few examples below :

The Pengo is an important tribe living in the Koraput District of Orissa. They have a festival called *Bali parab or* Sand Festival[1] when a flower plant is ceremonially fixed in sand. During this festival the young girls and boys of the tribe do some intensive singing for some days. The people believe that if the traditional songs which are meant for this festival are sung properly the plant will bear flower instead of withering. In a Pengo folk-tale collected by us[2] the failure of the chief girl singer to flower the plant during the Sand Festival has been attributed to her unhappiness over a marriage proposal. The tribes of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands who are still very primitive in their culture have the practice of singing traditional songs to celebrate actions connected with their procurement of food. The significance of these songs seems to be more deep rooted than mere entertainment. Similarly. the Kat-Nayak and the Urali-Kurumman living in the Wynad forests of Malabar and Mysore have songs to avoid encounters with elephants and tigers. It is to be noted that these primitive tribes do not distinguish between "incantations" and "songs".

Auspicious songs invoking supernatural powers, which are sung at the time of marriage and other ceremonies and different festivals, and also before the commencement, or during the operation, of agricultural

and other food-gathering activities, are also quite common among most of the Indian tribes. One of the objectives of these songs, undoubtedly, is to seek the pleasure of the supernatural powers for attaining success in those celebrations and operations. In many cases it has been found that these tribes can not give the texts of their songs, or can not translate the songs word for word. Singing of the song correctly, and not understanding the meaning of the words used in it, seems to be more important to him. It indicates that the music itself is counted by him as a mode of communication.

A belief that music has also the power to cure illness is quite prevalent among many Indian aboriginal tribes. In most of such songs collected by us from the South Indian tribes, one tribal god or another has been invoked for this purpose. The Kat-Nayaks of Chedalayam village in the Sultan Battery area told us that when some one of them falls ill, they sing in praise of god Bomman, and the sick person is cured. The Malayan of Trichur District perform a particular ritual in the course of which the Spirit Doctor, male or female, shakes a jingling basket called *par* (a basket having inside of it a piece of iron chain) and sings lenghthy songs praying to the teacher and to the gods and evil spirits to cure the illness. The circumstances leading to the illness is also described. A portion of a song collected by us from the Malayan of Peechi is as follows :

"O my teacher who taught me ! you see the basket I hold before you, and please do come. O Tunnetamme ! touching your feet I am telling you the truth. O goddess Vallayanceri ! you should come with the sword and stand in the basket I am holding. O goddess ! you can see to your left and right, front and back. You come with sword and belt. The villagers and the 41 gods are here. Here the boy is lying seriously ill. You should cure him as stones are picked up from grains of paddy. O my people ! you must hear me. When the boy was crossing the paddy field he fell down at the noon time. An evil spirit who was there to drink water, pushed him down and drank his blood. Let me ask my ancestors, "Who has done this ? How much will we have to spend for his cure ? If you do not tell me the truth I will make you suffer and die".

The utterances were made with remarkable conviction, urgency and sincerity. A similar tone reverberated also in the voice of a Kadar lady at Parambikulam while she was singing and praying to Mari-amma, the thousand-eyed goddess of small pox.

Many are the uses of music in primitive society. We have briefly discussed here the ritualistic use of it made by the Indian tribes. It is true that music is basically an entertainer. This non-ritualistic aspect

of tribal music is also quite developed in this country. We have already said that the aboriginal music of India is developed enough, and is able to express different human feelings. Music as an expression of human love and affection, as a vehicle of joy and sorrow and humour and pathos, as an accompaniment of dance and sports, and as promoter of courageous acts, are commonly practised by the Indian tribes. This aspect of their music needs separate treatment. What we wish to stress here is that the ritualistic or the magico-religious music became quite developed at one stage of the civilization in ancient India. This trend may be compared with the emergence of religious and didactic art and poetry in the evolution of Art and Literature when these two powerful media of communication were sought to be exploited for obtaining some tangible results in shaping human society and destiny.

This stage of magico-religious music in Indian civilization is well-attested in the earlier Vedic documents belonging to the period between 1500-1000 B. C. when music seems was unknown among the Vedic settlers for the sole purpose of entertainment. In the earlier Vedic lore music did not enjoy an independent status. It was included in *Siksa* which was then considered as one of the *apara-vidyas* and *vedangas*.[3] At that time vocal music was an essential part of the *jajnas* or the magico-religious sacrifices which the Vedic Aryans performed to obtain their desired ends. They believed that the omnipotent gods could be pleased by praising them with the Vedic hymns which they believed had emanated from the gods, and also by offering them oblations in the various sacrifices. The Sanskrit words for song or music are *gana, gita, samgita,* etc. all of which have been derived from the root *gai-* "to sing", "to recite in a singing manner", "to praise in song", etc. But the most common words used for this purpooe in the early Vedic literature are *stava, stotra, stoma,* all of which are derived from the root *stu-* "to praise", "praise in song". Vedic music was primarily meant for being used as a communication with gods for some benefit. Well-knit verses composed of meaningful words were the other component part of their music. These two powerful modes of human expression were combined by them in a bid to win over the gods usually for some material gain.

As regards the original mode of singing these Vedic hymns Macdonell wrote,[4] "The Vedic, like the ancient Greek, accent was a musical one, depending mainly on pitch, as is indicated both by its not affecting the rhythm of metre and by the name of the chief tone, *udatta* raised. That such was its nature is, moreover, shown by the account given of it by the ancient native phoneticians. Three degrees of pitch are to be distinguished, the high, properly represented by the *uddatta,* the middle by the *svarita* (sounded), and the low by the *anudatta* (not raised).

But in the Rigveda the *udatta,* the rising accent, has secondarily acquired a middle pitch, lower than the initial pitch of the *svarita.*" Taking into account the rise of the *svarita* svara above the peak of the *udatta* pitch, and also the lower pitch level of the toneless *pracaya utterance,* we can not possibly posit a pentatonic scale for early Vedic music which was essentially tritonic in nature.

The primitive music of the modern Indian tribes agrees with the Vedic songs, firstly because a considerable portion of the former is still magico-religious in nature, and secondly, because this music is also sung or played on mainly in tritonic or tetra-tonic scales. Comparisons in respect of other stylistic matters will be taken up later. But there is one major difference between the Vedic songs and the tribal songs mentioned above. While in the Vedic songs meaningful words play an important part, meaningless sounds are dominant in the traditional tribal songs.[5]

The religious tone predominant in the Vedic music gradually decreased in the next period, called the period of Classical Indian music, when musical artistry gained greater importance. According to *Sangita-Ratnakara,* the most elaborate work on this music, by Sarangadeva (1210-1247 A. D.), music is of two types, *marga* (sacred ?) and *desi* (secular). *Marga* music is old and traditional, coming down from the gods. It aims at attaining salvation. Whereas, *desi* music is composed by mortal experts. It is secular in nature and aims at entertaining people.[6] It will be a misnomer to call the present-day classical Indian music *marga sangit,* for it is but a development of the musical theories expounded by Matanga, one of the earliest authorities, in his famous work *Brihad-desi* (the great compilation of *Desi* music). Dhrupad, the earliest type of Classical Indian music extant now, although essentially devotional in nature, lacks in any ritualistic function.[7] The secular tone gradually increased in the later varieties of North Indian Classical music, namely, *kheyal, thumri* and *tappa.* In them the idea was more to express different human feelings with the help of musical tunes. The role of meaningful words was subdued in them, particularly in *kheyal* which is considered to be the most well-developed type of North Indian music on account of its rich musical ornamentations.

But if we follow the evolution of Indian music we find that the religious and lyrical qualities of the Vedic music are better represented in the new type of folk-music we have mentioned earlier. The *kirtan* of east India, *bhajan* of north India and *abhang* of Maharashtra are some of the important specimens of the cultivated folk-music of India which are religious in outlook, musical in effect and lyrical in meaning. In the south the singers of the *Bhakti* school, and also Tyagaraja, the great

South Indian poet, singer, composer and the exponent of South Indian music, believed that god is never so pleased as when his praises are sung. But none of these musical systems has any rigid ritualistic function. There is another variety of cultivated folk-music called *gazal* which is very popular among the Urdu speakers. We find in it a happy blend of poetry and music, but this type is essentially secular in outlook.

The social nature of primitive Indian music is somewhat unique in the field of Indian music. The Classical music of India is full of technicalities which only the specialists can perform properly. It is therefore rather individualistic in nature. But the traditional music of the Indian tribes is essentially communal, because the whole tribe considers it to be their property which all of them can enjoy, and in which all of them can participate. There may be people among the tribe who are more proficient than others in making the music. But those experts have no special social status in their community for their musical proficiency. In many tribes there are different types of music for the different age-groups and sex-groups. Here also this music differs from the Indian Classical type. The shamanistic music to be found in many Indian tribes is, however, somewhat different from the social type of tribal music discussed above. This music is learnt from special teachers and is considered secret and personal. The shamanistic music is slightly professional in outlook, which spirit is usually absent from the general music of the Indian tribes.

But in another respect the traditional music of the Indian tribes agrees with the other varieties of Indian music. Vedic music is predominantly seasonal, because the different *jajnas* (sacrifices) were to be performed in different parts of the year determined by the different astral positions. *Jyotisa* (Astronomy) was an important branch of the early Vedic lore, which people had to master to know when exactly the particular sacrifice is to be performed for better results. The functional music of the Indian tribes is also essentially seasonal. In their case the time is mostly determined from the changes in Nature. This idea of the seasonal effects of music was developed to a very great extent in the Classical Indian music. The idea of personification which is so much associated with the different *ragas* (modes) of Classical Indian music, is embedded in all these seasonal music. Seasonal songs occupy an important place also in Tagore music.

The tribal music discussed above is not the only variety of uncultivated music to be found in India. There is another variety of it, namely, the traditional folk-music current among the rural folk. Before we discuss that variety let us make a few more observations on the Indian tribes and their music. Most scholars now believe that the

Vedic Aryans poured into India in batches from the North-Western side around 1500 B. C. Before that time India was populated by different ethnic groups of people the common names used for whom are pre-Aryans, aborigines, etc. The Vedic people brought with them a powerful language, the Aryan speech, literally meaning the speech of those who are noble by birth. This speech they not only used for their day-to-day conversation in its uncultivated form, but they also cultivated this speech in expressing their poetical ideas, and their lofty ideas about the *cosmos*, which offered better explanations for the different spiritual and material problems confronting men in India at that time. But these Vedic people, it appears from the Vedic literature, did not possess a developed system of music in the sense in which we use the word now.

Some musical instruments have of course been mentioned in the early Vedic literature. We may give here a few examples.[8] Thus, *karkari* a kind of lute, is mentioned in Rig-Veda (ii, 43, 3), in Atharva-Veda (iv, 37, 4 ; xx, 132, 8), *dundubhi* a large kettle drum and and *nadi* a flute, are mentioned in Rig-Veda, *bakura, drti-bakura* probably a kind of bagpipe, mentioned in Rig-Veda (ix, 1, 8), *bakura* probably a horn, trumpet (or other kind of wind instrument used in battle), in Rig-Veda (i, 117, 21), *vana, bana*, music of flutes, harp, etc., in Rig-Veda (i, 85, 10, etc.) a harp with 100 strings in Atharva-Veda (x, 2, 17), etc. Most of these words denoting musical instruments are either onomatopoetic, or are of obscure origin, and can not be derived from Indo-European roots. The word *vina*, the famous Indian lute, occurring in Taittiriya Samhita, Satapatha Brahmana, etc. is also of obscure origin.

One feels here tempted to count the mythical beings like the Gandharvas, Apsaras, Kinnaras, Nagas, etc. as pre-Aryan ethnic groups The Jaina literature, tht Classical Sanskrit literature, even to some extent the late Vedic literature, contain references to those people as master-musicians. In Gandhara sculptors and elsewhere the Nagas appear with musical instruments. The first book on the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit prosody is *Chandah-Sutra*. It is ascribed to a Naga, named Pingala. The descendants of at least one of these groups can be identified from among the present-day Scheduled tribes of India. They are the Kanaura people (population, 27,251, according to 1961 Census) living in the Sutlej valley of the Himachal Pradesh. They have a rich musical tradition of their own. In this connexion we may draw the attention of our readers to the following observation of Alain Danielou :[9] "Besides, there remain in many regions, in certain valleys of the Himalayas in particular, archaic forms of music with an upper tonic and a descending scale the study of which would be of great interest for the understanding of ancient music."

When we consider this aspect of music of the Indian tribes our need to study it, apart from the need of an objective study of it as an item of tribal culture, increases manifold. It is interesting to note that some names of the ancient Indian tribes, mostly of the non-Aryan groups, occur in the names of the musical modes (*jati, raga*) listed by ancient authorities on Indian music like Dattila and Bharata (2nd and 3rd cent. A. D., respectively) and Matanga (circa 5th to 7th cent.). For example, Andhri is the name of a musical mode included by Dattila and Bharata in their lists. Andh is the name of a Scheduled tribe of India numbering about 61,733 according to 1961 Census. They live in the States of Andhra, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. In addition to Andhri, Matanga, the author of *Brhad-desi,* mentions also Saka, Votta (or Bhotta), Abhiri, Gurjari, Kulindi, Pulindi and Dravidi *gitis*. Similarly, Savari, Koda and Gondkiri *ragas* occur in the lists of musical modes discussed by later writers. Savar, Koda (i.e. Kora) and Gond are important Scheduled tribes who now live mainly in Orissa, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, respectively.

Matanga made a comprehensive study of Indian music taking into account the different types of it extant in his time. He classified Indian music into 7 types called *gitis* of which *raga-giti* is one. He made an important observation when he said[9] that "no classical melody can be composed from four notes or less. He further mentioned that melodies with notes less than five are used by tribes such as Savaras, Pulindas, Kambojas, Vangas, Kiratas, Vahlikas, Andhras, Dravidas and foresters. An exception is, however, made by him in the case of a class of stage songs known as *dhruvas* which, though regarded as classical melodies, are found to be composed of four notes."[10] To mention Andhri, Dravidi, Pulindi, Vangali, etc. as classical melodies, and again, to say that tribes like Savaras, Pulindas, Andhras, Dravidas, etc. used melodies composed of four or less notes, may appear to be a contradiction. Most probably, some of these forest tribes who became advanced by gradually accepting the Hindu culture, improved upon their own melodies and produced new classical modes which were named after them. The other possibility is that the classical musicians, being appreciative of tribal melodies, improved upon some of them and made them full-scale classical modes which were named after those tribes from whom the original modes were borrowed.

There are more than 314 Scheduled tribes in India whose total population, according to the Census of 1961, will be about 30,130,412. Although they are to be found almost in all the States of the Indian Union and Union Territories, those of them who live in the Hill and forest areas have retained much of their traditional culture including

music. These areas may be briefly enumerated here. They are the whole sub-Himalayan region, the Garo and Khasi Hills and other ranges in Assam, the Chotanagpur Plateau, the Vindhya and the Satpura regions with their sub-ranges, the Deccan plateau, the Eastern and the Western Ghats, the Mysore plateau and the Nilgiri Hills. The field for the study of tribal music in India is therefore very vast. It is also variegated. Strangways[11] sampled the music of some Indian tribes. But a systematic study of this music is yet a desideratum. We shall discuss more about this music later.

It has been already mentioned that Matanga classified Indian music of his time into seven types of *gitis* of which *raga-giti* is one. This *raga-giti* became the Classical Indian music *par excellence*. A later writer on Indian music, Kumbhakarna Mahimendra (c. 1419-1460 A. D.), stated that only those *gitas* which possess the ten required characteristics are *raga*. It is quite likely that the non-raga *gitis* referred to by Matanga were actually speaking the different types of folk-music current in the different regions of this sub-continent. Some of these varieties of folk-melodies were gradually developed into the minor *ragas*. But a major portion of the folk-melodies continued to represent the folk-music of the rural areas catering to the need and entertainment of the Indian masses. We find this variety of folk-music quite alive and rich all over India even now.

This type of Indian music should also be counted as "uncultivated", because, like the traditional music of the Indian tribes, this music, i.e. the folk-music, is congregational. The rural people of the culture area where this music is current, become conditioned or encultured in it in the manner in which they acquire other social behaviours. Of course on account of its popularity among the urban people, the traditional folk-music is also now-a-days being cultivated. One can hear a lot of traditional folk-music, detached from their usual cultural milieu, on the All India Radio and in the commercial Gramophone discs. But in the rural areas every where in this country folk-music has still retained its socio-cultural nature and function.

Apart from the pseudo-folk music mentioned in the previous paragraph, and also the cultivated folk-music (*kirtan, bhajan,* etc.) mentioned by us earlier, there are, therefore, three major types of Indian music, namely, classical music, tribal music (or primitive music) and folk-music. They represent the Indian cultures that are alive. These three types agree in one point that all of them are dependent on oral tradition. Even the Classical Indian music is learnt mostly by hearing it and without the written notation. It is, therefore, called *gurumukhi vidya,* i.e. a discipline to be learnt from the mouth of the

teacher. The theories of the musical science and the system of notation are of course quite developed in India. And all the musical performances, particularly in the classical style, are rigidly pre-planned. But it is also true that an Indian musician even of the classical style, while performing his music, has much greater freedom than a musician performing his music in the western style.

But these three types of Indian music also differ from each other in many points. They may be briefly compared here. The primitive music of India is confined mostly to distinct culture groups called "tribes" who can be distinguished from one another from their music. But folk-music, generally is speaking, is not characteristic of any particular culture group, and is often current over a culture area where it is practised by different groups. There are of course exceptions. The names of some of the classical modes, e.g. Saindhavi, Malavi, Gaudi, Saurashtri, Karnati, Puravi, Bihari, etc. also indicate that these melodies were originally current in the regions or culture areas expressed by those geographical names. But when they were modified to classical modes they became current in a much wider area. Thus, the mode Puravi (literally, "eastern") is sung and understood also in Western India, and Sindhu (i.e. Sindh, now in Western Pakistan) is sung and understood in eastern India as well. The primitive music of the Indian tribes is more or less a conventional art, and its understanding and appreciation are mainly confined to particular culture groups. Compared to it the communicability of Indian folk-music is much greater. The Classical Indian music, on the other hand, is current in a much more wider area. People speaking different Indian languages, living in different Indian States and professing different religious beliefs can sit down together and understand and appreciate Classical Indian music. We can at best divide India into two culture zones, North India and South India, so far as her classical music is concerned. We have already mentioned that the cultivated music of India is a product of the high cultures of this country. Folk-music in this respect occupies an intermediary position between primitive music and the cultivated Indian music. Folk-music is the music of the social groups that are part of higher cultures, but are not themselves musically literate. Folk songs in Indian society and elsewhere are composed anonymously and passed from singer to singer by oral tradition. Here folk-music resembles tribal music. The main difference between them in this respect is that folk-music is found in a culture that has also a cultivated music which usually influences its style. But primitive music belongs to simple and unsophisticated cultures that have no writing, and are not directly associated with any high culture.[13]

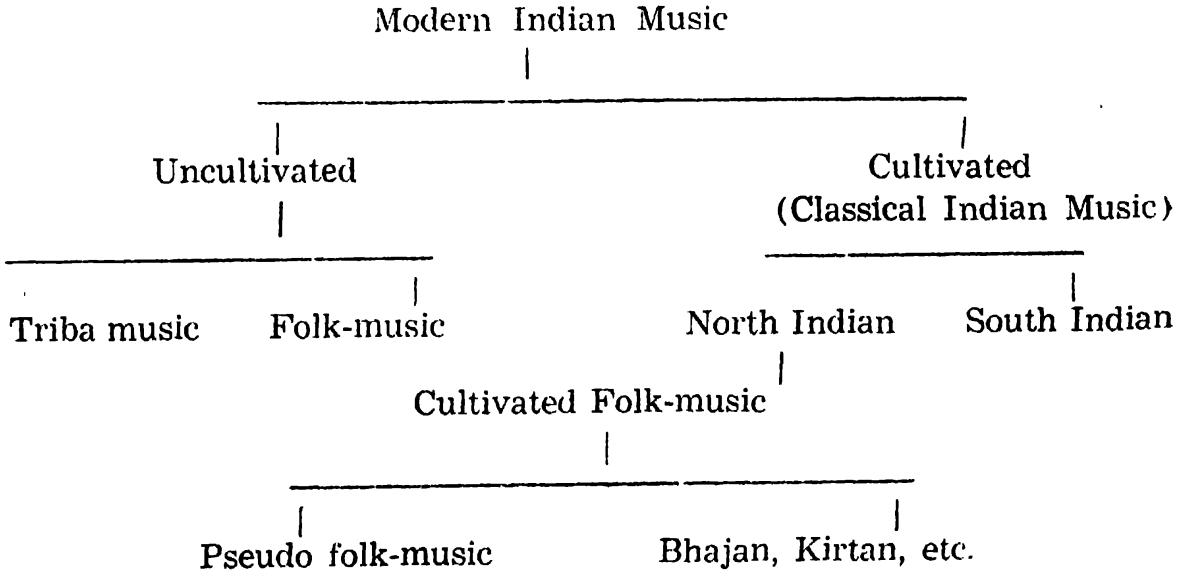
In India we have a rich heritage of folk-music. We have specially a large variety of folk-songs and folk-dance in every region of this country. Musical instruments are not regularly performed in solo or in orchestra in Indian folk-music except for religious purposes. They are therefore neither numerous nor varied in India. Indian folk music can be broadly divided into two types, functional and non-functional. By functional is meant a music that is primarily intended for some festival, ceremony or religious rite. The functional folk-music belongs to the same category as that of the magico-religious music of the Indian tribes described above. Non-functional music is solely for the purpose of entertainment and can be performed at any time of the year. This topic will be dealt with more elaborately in a separate chapter.

But one thing about folk-music should be stressed upon in this context. It has been said that folk-music in India is mainly regional in outlook. But this music has also a tendency to expand its sphere by gradually including more and more territories and peoples in its fold. The pola festival (i.e. the cattle festival) of central India and the Karam festival which is held in the contiguous areas of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, may be cited as examples. Tribal music is individualistic in this respect. Indian folk music can even claim to possess a few pan-Indian features. For example, the cattle festival is musically celebrated in different regions of India. The songs and dance-patterns are of course different in different regions. We come across many pan-Indian folk celebrations which have their origin in ancient Hindu India. They are now lying hidden in the folk celebrations of the rural people all over this country. The Indra festival may be cited as an example. We have a great centre of folk-music in West Bengal bordering South Bihar. This area includes parts of the Midnapur, Bankura and Purulia Districts. Here we have come across a folk celebration called Indra-puja or Ind-puja performed along with the Karam festival held in the month of Bhadra (Aug.-Sept.). Agrawala[14] has described a similar festival called Indra-jagya (i.e. *jajna*) performed in the Meerat District in Uttar Pradesh in the month of Asarh (June-July). He says, "On any Sunday in the month of Asarh the villagers celebrate with pomp the festival and worship Indra. This is called Indra sacrifice". Indra Yatra is a big celebration in Nepal performed for eight days from the 8th or 9th day of the Full-Moon fortnight in the month of Bhadra. In the ancient Tamil epic Cilappatikaram an Indrotsava has been described to have been performed with great pomp in the town named Puhar.

It is also to be noted that a festival, variously called Indra-Maha, Indrotsava, Indra-dhvaja, Sakrotsava, etc., was quite common in ancient India as can be seen from the Sanskrit literature. Bharata in his Natya

Sastra has described how dramatic performances were adapted to Indradhvaja festival that was extant in India from older times. It has been mentioned in Mahabharata (Adi Parva, ch. 63, Poona edn. ch. 57) that King Vasu celebrated a festival described as *lokya-dharama* or folk-religion. Then Indra presented some articles to the king which included a stick which was meant for the protection of the law-abiding peoples. Thereafter the king every year worshipped the stick which he transformed to his flag, for peace and prosperity of his subjects. In Kalidasa's *Raghu-vamsa* (4/3) we find a mention of the Puruhut-Dhvaja or Indra-Dhvaja festival. Mallinath while commenting on this festival had quoted from *Bhavisyottar Purana* in which it is stated that the kings for having sufficient rain celebrated this festival. Many other references to this festival may be quoted from the Sanskrit literature.[15] It is, therefore, clear that Indian folk music, although now representing regional rural celebrations, may sometimes be traced from festivals that were observed in many regions in ancient India.

We have discussed above the different types of Indian music from the point of Ethnomusicicology. Finally, we shall give below a chart showing the mutual relationship of these types of Indian music :



BIBLIOGRAPHY NOTES

1. A similar Sand Festival is observed by the neighbouring tribe, the Bhatra once in many years. During this festival the Bhatra *gurumati*, the Female Spirit-Doctor, invokes Bhimdeo who is the god of rain and fertility of both the Pengo and Bhatra.

2. The folktale will appear in the book on the Pengo language written by

T. Burrow and the present author which will be published shortly by the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

3. The ten *apara-vidyas* are the 4 Vedas, *Siksa* (the science which teaches proper articulation and pronunciation of Vedic texts), *Kalpa* (practice prescribed by the Vedas), Grammar, *Nirukta* (etymological interpretation of the Vedic words), Prosody and Astronomy. The six Vedangas are the latter six *apara-vidyas*. Music in both the places forms a part of *Siksa*, and nowhere it occurs as an independent subject for study in the early Vedic lore. Gandharva Veda (the science of music) as an *Upa-Veda* (i.e. sub-Veda) of Sama-Veda seems to have been introduced later.

4. A. A. Macdonell, *A Vedic Grammar for Students*, 1916, p. 448.

5. Alan P. Merriam says about the Flathead Indians that their songs "do not usually have texts other than nonsense syllables". *Ethnomusicology of the Flathead Indians*, 1967, p. 57.

6. Cf. also *Northern Indian Music*, vol. I, 1949, Alain Danielou, pp. 38-39 for other interpretations of *marga* and *desi* music.

7. An exceptional case of a ritualistic use of Classical Indian music has been shown by O. C. Gangoly from *Kalika-Puranag* in his *Ragas and Raginis*, 1948, p. 27.

8. The Vedic references are quoted from *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by M. Monier Williams.

9. *ibid.* p. 33.

10. Quoted from O. C. Gangoly, *ibid.* p. 7.

11. A. H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindostan*, 1914, pp. 17-72, and 363.

12. Quoted by Gangoly, *ibid.* p. 46.

13. Cf. Bruno Nettl, *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology*, 1964, pp. 5-7.

14. Vasudeva Saran Agrawala's article written in Hindi, "Uttar-Bharat-ke Do Mangalik Utsav aur Unki Prachin Parampara", published in *Loka-Varta*, a Hindi Journal on the Bundelkhand folklore, Sept. 1944, pp. 105-110.

15. See Agrawala, *ibid.*

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NOTES AND NEWS

Notes and News on folklore and its neighbouring subjects are invited for consideration in this section.

Communication as the process of conveyance of ideas between man and man is, in a very real way, co-extensive with human civilization itself. In fact, communication is as much an indication of the progress of culture and civilization as one of the essential tools for achieving that progress. Effective communication is the pre-requisite for the existence of any society or social organism, large or small. Communication has been described as the nervous system of society said Dr. Zakir Hussian on the New Year day at Calcutta at the ABC Seminar on Communication. He further said that the Mass Communication has an important role to play in developing countries like India. It has been recognised as one of the most potent weapons for mobilising human resources behind the national effort. The transformation of a static traditional society into a dynamic and vital one requires tremendous effort and this process can be speeded up and also made smooth by the wise use of modern means of mass communication. It has been said that the paramount requirement of a charge in society is that people must change. We have to create new horizons, new skills and new goals among our people. Without this change, they will be mere onlookers of technological growth. Social changes will happen to them rather than their playing an active part in bringing them about.

The president said futher that this mass communication can also be a valuable instrument of national integration. Nurtured by shared information and attitudes, a sense of national identity and belonging can grow which, if properly, harnessed, will open up the doors to motivational change. There is an imperative need today to build broader and more meaningful communications between the Government and the people, between the people of various regions and between differing cultural and linguistic groups. Properly planned and developed mass communication stimulates the creative abilities of the people and also promotes the feeling of belonging to one Nation a part of each other working together through common difficulties towards common goals.

With the increasing use of modern technology, Dr. Husain said

mass communication is becoming more and more mechanised and impersonal. The communication-giver and the communication-receiver hardly ever meet on a common plane. Moreover, the artists, technologists and executives of one particular media of communication rarely have an opportunity to meet their counterparts belonging to another media, although consciously or unconsciously they are being influenced all the time.

* * * * *

An Indo-German term of archaeologists consisted of Dr. L. S. Leschnik of the South Asia Institute of Heidelberg University and Dr. B. N. Mishra of the Deccan College, Poona, who conducted investigations, in co-operation with Rajasthan's Department of Archaeology. The site of their excavations lies in the area of Tilwara and Balotra in the Barmer region of Rajasthan, close to the Indo-Pakistan border.

The home of many princes known for their chivalry and heroism, Rajasthan has contributed one of the most colourful chapters to the history of India. A land of diverse customs and festivals, of variegated folklore and famed handicrafts, Rajasthan is also known to have been inhabited by many old tribes. Situated in the midst of sandy hills, the Barmer region has supplied sandstone to many historic buildings. Weaving is one of the famous local industries in Barmer. A number of salt lakes exist in this region, and one of them, called the lake of Pachpadra, lies only 10 kilometres north-west of Balotra. The area was once traversed by an important caravan route.

During excavations extending over about a month, Dr. Leschnik and Dr. Mishra came across valuable pieces of earthenware and a number of stone implements. These finds have, for the first time, shown that the arid wastes of this region had been inhabited already in the late stone age, centuries prior to the age of the Indus Valley culture remains of which were found in Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. Although definite and detailed conclusions can be reached only after a complete study of the finds, it is believed that the people who inhabited the region in the dim past were either hunters or cattle breeders. And this theory is supported by the remains of bones of animals as well as the buried remnants of houses, which were also dug out during the excavations.

OBITUARY

Priyaranjan Sen, 1893-1968

Professor Priya Ranjan Sen, a prominent educationist and recipient of the Padmasree award in January 1967, was born in Calcutta in 1893. After graduating from Ravenshaw College, Cuttack (Orissa) in 1917,

when he was awarded the Abinash Chandra Gold Medal for the best composition in English and securing an M. A. degree from Calcutta University in English in 1919 and in Bengali, in which he was placed first in the First Class, in 1920, he was awarded in 1925 the Premchand Roychand Studentship and the Mouat Medal of the same year. After two years he became Jubilee Research Prizeman.

He began his educational career as a professor of English Literature at Rangpur College in 1920. In 1923 he became a lecturer of English at Calcutta University, from which post he retired in 1955 as Officiating Head of the Department.

In the thirties, Professor Sen associated himself with the Congress and its activities in Bengal and by 1940 was three times member of the BPCC Election Tribunal. He was arrested in 1942 during the "Quit India" movement, and kept in detention for about a year and a half. He was member of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly from 1952 to 1957 and between 1957 and 1959 Director of the Visva-Bharati Institute of Rural Higher Education at Sriniketan.

In 1967 he was awarded the Sarojini Basu Gold Medal by Calcutta University for his outstanding contribution to Bengali literature. Among his original writings , the best known are : "Western Influence in Bengali Literature". "Western Influence in Bengali Novels" and "Modern Oriya Literature". He also translated into Bengali Premchand's "Go-dan", Gandhiji's "All Men are Brothers", and into English, the French novel "Mon Oncle et Mon Cure". His latest book "Story of Chandidas" appeared in 1963 from Calcutta and was published by Indian Publications.

Professor Sen was Honorary Secretary, All-India Harijan Sevak Sangha, Bengal Unit for more than two decades. Member of the Regional Film Censor Board of the Constituent Assembly for a year, Calcutta University Senate and was also the Jt. Secretary of the Centenery Committee of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee. He was also connected with "Folklore" and "Indian Folklore Society" since 1963.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books on folklore and its neighbouring subjects in English and other Indian languages are reviewed in Folklore. Two copies of each title are required for review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is entertained.—Ed.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN FOLKLORE AND RELATED SUBJECTS

by Sankar Sen Gupta with Dr. Shyam Parmar. Indian Publications, 3, British Indian Street, Calcutta-1. Crown Size, 198 pp. in 2 Col. Price Rs. 38/- or $7.50.

It is gratifying to note that some young enthusiasts have organised themselves to do some useful work on Indian folklore. Mr. Sankar Sen Gupta, one of the compilers of *A Bibliography of Indian Folklore and related subjects* is the editor of the *Folklore*, which magazine spreads the views of the Indian Folklore Society, established in 1956. We therefore hope to find the expertness of a specialist in the Bibliography under review.

The *Bibliography of Indian Folklore* consists of about 5000 entries for books and periodical articles in English. The bibliographical details are not uniform in all cases. The compilers have stated in the preface that full details could not be given in case of those entries where publications were not available for scrutiny. Annotations have been given wherever necessary to guide the reader. The entries have been arranged under the following heads: General Folklore: Scholars, Research Materials, Methods; Prose Narratives: Fables, tales, legends, Myths (Hitopadesa, Jatakas, Panchatantra); Folk Music, ballad, song, dance and drama; Art, craft and architecture; Proverb, parable, epigram; Riddle; Language and grammar; Totem, taboo, beliefs, superstition; Material Culture: Festival, cults, tradition, Custom, ritual; Social and Cultural Anthropology; Ethnography, marriage, caste and community; Village studies; Marriage; Medicine; Mankind; Blood-group; Miscellaneous, Reports. The author index at the end will facilitate the use of the volume.

The sections of the Bibliography as detailed above will obviously raise questions about its scope. In fact, the number of entries on folklore proper is small. Most of them relate to anthropology in the most liberal sense of the term. Of course study of anthropology is essential for proper appreciation of folklore. Yet quite a number of entries appear to be intruders in this bibliography. On the other hand some collections of Indian folktales are conspicuous by their absence. The

compilers have not given any reason for excluding that excellent journal *Man-in-India* * from their survey.

The volume will, however, be useful to the students of the subject. It is not easy to find 5000 entries in one volume on a subject relating to an aspect of Indian study. We therefore, thank the compilers for their efforts. They shall earn our gratitude if a new edition of the bibliography is brought out when necessary after careful revision.

C. R. Banerjee
National Library, Calcutta.

FOLKMUSIC AND FOLKLORE : an anthology. Vol. 1. Chief editor : Hemango Biswas. Folkmusic and Folklore Research Institute. Calcutta.
Rs. 10 ; 25 shilling or $ 4.50

The volume has a fundamental drawback : the editors expound their views by which one may inclined to regard folkmusic and folklore are two different subjects. In fact, folkmusic is a branch of folklore. Insipte of this reservation the volume under review remains a standard work where besides excerpts of Tagore and reproducing an old article of Sir Grierson's "Some Bihari folksongs" there are eighteen more papers and a select bibliography. Most of the contributors are well-known in Indian folklore study, such as, Dr. Trilochan Pande, Dr. K. D. Upadhyaya, Dr. Charuchandra Sanyal, Dr. P. Goswami, Dr. Heinz Mode, Sankar Sen Gupta Jasimuddin, and Dr. P. Mahapatra. These people were able to maintain their standards. Smt. Nihar Barua, M. K. Raha, Maniklal Sinha, M. M. Gurung, P. C. Das, Swami Parampanthi, Peter Seeger and Hemango Biswas have also contributed some useful articles. Some notations and maps are excellent. It is expected that the folklorists and the interested persons will join the reviewer in congratulating the editors and contributors on this achievement.

Samir Ghosal
Indian Folklore Society, Calcutta.

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* While the compilers are grateful to Mr. Banerjee for his critical review and the points he has raised for future improvements of the book under review, they place a simple fact before the readers most humbly that the journal *Man-in-India* is not ommitted from their survey. More than 500 radom entries from this journal appeared with the abbreviation MII. Unfortunately, due to printers devil it is exoluded from the 'List of Abbreviations' for which the compilers very sincerely regret.—Ed.

EDITORIAL

In connection with the Week of Soliderity of Asian, African and Latin American peoples the First Tricontinental Solidarity Conference was held between January 3 to 10 in many parts of the world. The week had followed immediately after the 10th anniversary of Afro-Asian peoples Solidarity. It testifies international solidarity in peoples' struggle for peace, progress and prosperity. It also protest against colonialism and non-colonialism for which a great many countries are fighting for. For example Africa is fighting in Angola and Mozambique, guerilla action is gaining ground in Latin America. The liberation movement of the people of South Vietnam speaks of the determination of the people to achieve the goal. These fighters are getting supports and sympathies from the like-minded people of the world and are becoming consolidated. This Solidarity has its roots in mutual co-operation which is evinced from the support given by Latin American people to the people of Egypt in 1956 as also the support given by the Arab and Afro-Asian people to the Cuban Revolutionaries in 1959. No doubt, the people of these countries are fighting under differing conditions, each of them have their local, traditional, and peculiar problems to solve. Inspite of that they have united by their revolutionary spirit to fight out the common enemy. The fighters of Urugney, India, Chilli and Cameroon who believe in this revolutionary ideology are making their own choice as to the form of struggle. Now it is the peoples of Colombia, Venezuela, Oman, Zimbabwa to decide the way they should adopt to achieve their aims and this we know from a recent statement of such a power whose opinion matter in this. International solidarity opens up the road to the soverign expression of People's will. The potency of solidarity lies in fact in present day swift social progress, it is the establishment of strong bonds of co-operation, economic and national equality. This explains why India is committed to the socialistic pattern of government. She is interested in yesterday's colonies and semi-colonies developing into thriving states and a high standard of living worthy of socio-historical record of their peoples, many of which made contributions to the world of civilization. And here one finds the real need to study folklore with all its branches.

Fully aware of their responsibilities for the study of oral traditional materials, our socio-folk-biological scholars and researchers are doing their part to the best of their knowledge and they can to the consolidation of interdisciplinary study for the militant unity of all forces that are active today. It is up to the government now as to how it can receive the services of these people for the benefit of human progress.

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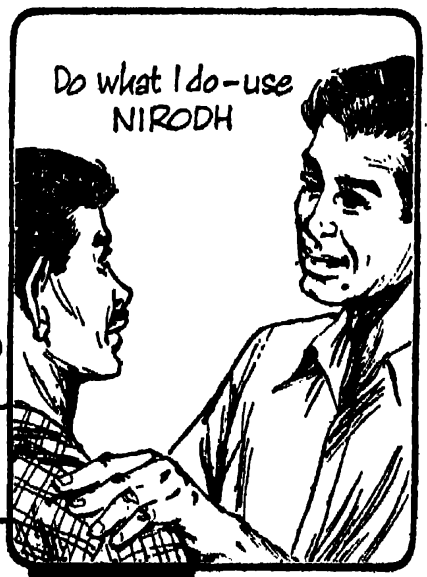


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FOLKLORE

December, 1968

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P. K. Bhowmick

WOMEN IN NURSERY RHYMS OF BORDER BENGAL

P. K. Bhowmick, D.Phil., D.Sc. is a lecturer in Anthropology of the University of Calcutta who has dealt with the subject with the characterestic ability Here he has treated womenfolk of Bengal that belong to his own district Midnapur.

Introduction

Human groups either big or small, in a well-defined geo-physical background, are found to express their emotions, experiences and many other interactional feelings, which are manifested in nursery rhymes, folk-songs and riddles These, in course of time, run from mouth to mouth and get nucleated and crystalised, and ultimately handed down to the posterity All these are generally considered as oral literature, which had possibly been composed by some unsophisticated folk-poets of unknown past. But the original composer or maker of these verses is gradually forgotten, and these nursery rhymes later become identified with social reflections of all the people as a whole. The very nature of total reflection of human mind and sentiments contained in these rhymes can not be separated from one another just like the series of waves of the ocean. Rather these are considered as an integrated whole. The themes of such rhymes are spontaneous, touchy and emotional. These evoke similar response in the mind of others. Hence the variegated groups living in a common setting become emotion-bound and enthusiastic by their appeal. Common linguistic area infuse a special sense to their contents, understandable to each other among adult individuals, which they share among themselves by joyous participation. Rythm or accent in pronuncition of

the verses arouse a feeling of oneness in the village setting, the themes being very common, although varied in nature and so they touch promptly the core of the heart of each individual. Sometimes very whimsical, irrelevant and scattered subject matters are vented through these rhymes or riddles. So these forms of oral literature are very common in almost all the unsophisticated or pre-literate human societies.

Attempts have been made in this paper to depict or portray the part of women only in propagating and popularising nursery rhymes in the south-eastern tract, specially Nandigram and Khejuri Police Stations of the district of Midnapur, West Bengal. The area is criss-crossed by quite a large number or rivulets and irrigational canals, having many planted fruit-bearing trees and wavy paddy fields, with sporadic tanks. Variegated caste groups with distinctive tradition-bound occupations, dominated by agriculture, are the general population of the region. They speak Bengali, but in the pagan language. It resembles an inter-mixture of corrupt Oriya and Bengali. The folk-songs associated with the festivals of Tusu, Bandna, Gajan, Bhadu and Karam prevalent in the western part of this district, which constitute the bulk of oral literature, have been deliberately left out from the contents of this paper, not being rhymes, in the exact sense.

Besides, quite a number of nursery rhymes have already been collected by some interested persons* and these have been published in different periodicals and so, these have also been avoided in course of this discussion.

Nursery rhymes are composed in such a way that these could be easily uttered with rythm. If a boy or a girl happens to utter a single line of it, then somebody, either male or female nearabout, usually joins in it in chorus and the theme and thoughts are reflected in a melodious way. The nature of accent or pronunciation in the regional dialect creates some mystic and romantic phenomena described so vividly, that these seem more like current events which everybody can see immediately. A naughty boy or a weeping baby is cajoled or caressed by such rhymes, which make the infant-mind thoroughly absorbed in their melodeous tone, though the baby at that time is not in a position to understand the connotation of these rhymes. Thus it influences the gradual socialisation process in forming personality and, as such, it is of great social significance.

*Prof. Bhupati Dutta has collected a good many nursery rhymes of the area under study.

Nature

A few nursery rhymes have been classified into the following categories by which the common woman has been portrayed in various ways. Their physical features and mental temperament, prevalent economic activities, violation of conventional social tabooes and prohibition, illegal and irregular sex-life, appropriateness in dress and decorative pattern, etc. have been considered, to scan the rhymes for such categorisation. Though it is very difficult to translate these rhymes verbatim, yet free translations have been made, keeping the sense intact, to point out the inner contents or the nature of the themes.

(A) Physical feature, physiological condition and nature of temperament

'আমগাছে কুরোল ঘা
ফকড়া দাঁতে গু খা।

FREE TRANSLATION

"A stroke of axe on the mango-tree—
With you lost teeth go and lick human excreta"

When a girl, in course of her age, drops her milk-teeth, then she looks as an old woman. The inner contents do not tally with each other. Rather these are irrelevant, yet the nature of utterance of this rhyme ridicules an individual who has lost his or her milk-teeth for the time being.

(ii) গরমভাতে তর-তরানি
পাখাল ভাতে মৌ,
দাদা আইসু কইয়া দুব
ফুটকি নাচা বৌ।

FREE TRANSLATION

"The rice-gruel looks wavy—as it flows down—
And this also happens when honey is dropped in the soaked rice.
I will tell my elder brother that your wife is fidgety."

The smartness of a newly married girl has been depicted in this rhyme.

(iii) বাঁদি, বিড়ায় বাঁধি
চালতা গাছে মৌ,
কোড়কোড়াটা টিপিয়া দিলে
জমাদারের বৌ।

FREE TRANSLATION

"Khandi—I can wrap you in a roll of cloth—
For honey has grown in the *Chalta* tree (impossible) !
If you press the couri-shell—
You will be married to the *Jamadar* (a Police constable)."

Khandi, a lanky and slim girl has been ironically described here.

The grave temperament of a newly-wed bride has been reflected in the rhyme below.

(iv) আঁতাগাছে তাতা বাসা
ডালিম গাছে মৌ,
কথা কইসনা কেন বৌ।

FREE TRANSLATION

'There is a nest in a custard-apple tree—
And honey is oozing from the pomegranate tree :
O bride, why you look so grave ?"

(v) লক্ষী রাঁড়ি, কাপাস কাঁড়ি
ষোল ডিঙ্গা বায়,
চেওঁয়া মাছের বাস পাইলে
ভাতার পুড়িয়া খায়।

FREE TRANSLATION

"Lakshmi - an widow (in absusing term)—
Is just like a heap of cotton ;
Who plies sixteen cannoes at a time.
If she gets the smell of a typical saline fish—
She can kill her beloved to get a bit of it."

A strong and stout woman has been described here, to portray her obstinate mind.

(B) Against some unavoidable social conventions

Generally in rural Bengal infant marriage was in vogue. As such, in many cases, marriage took place between a tiny girl and an old groom. There was no protest against this corrupt practice, but the companions of the bride (baby) usually expressed their resentment in a suppressed voice of protest, as expressed in the following rhyme :—

কাঞ্চন, কাঞ্চন দুধের সর
কাঞ্চন যাবে পরের ঘর,
হইত যদি বাপের ঘর,
তুলিয়া খাইত দুধের সর

এ ত হইল পরের ঘর,
কাই পাবেরে দুধের সর ?
খুড়া দিল বুড়া বর,
ও খুড়া তুই জলে ডুবিয়া মর।

FREE TRANSLATION

"Kanchan a tiny sweet girl was married to an old man. In her father's house she had much liberty and enjoyed many facilities. Even she used to take the cream of milk regularly. But alas ! now she will go to her husband's house and get it no more. Her father is dead. Hence her uncle has negotiated such marriage with an old groom, not caring for her welfare. She has no escape, and so she laments and curses her uncle who did this."

(C) Reflection of bitter or unhealthy familial and social tensions leading to quarrel and mutual assault and torture on persons involved are the subject matters of the following rhyme.

(i) চাবাস, দিদি, চাবাস লো
রামধনিয়া মোর ভাতার লো
রামধনিয়ার ঘর করবিনি
সিঁথির সিঁদুর পরবনি।

FREE TRANSLATION

"Behold sisters ! you behold--
Ramdhania is my husband ;
But, I should no more stay with him—
And must not put vermilion mark on my hair-parting."

A woman has become infuriated against her husband's misdeeds and she declared not to stay with him any more. She prefers divorce. In another rhyme another idea is depicted.

(ii) কান্ত মড়া মার মারলু
ভাঙলো হাতের তাড
ক্ষতি হবে কার।

FREE TRANSLATION

"Oh Kanta, Oh my dead husband
You have greatly grieved me--
You have broken my armlets and made me widow ;
But whose is the net loss ?"

And next,

(iii) বিসিরি গাছের যত কাঁটা,
শাউড়ি ননদের তত খটা

FREE TRANSLATION

"As numerous are the thorns of a Bisri plant—
So numerous are the pinching comments (of the mother-in-law—and the husband's sister)."

(D) Economic activities and action-patterns or nature of living of the people have been pin-pointed in the following rhymes.

(a) গায়ে যে মলা দাদা
শামুখে চাঁছি,
মার কোতে কইবু বোন বড় সুখে আছি।
মাথায় যে উকুন দাদা বাঁদরে বাছে,
মার কোতে কইবু বোন সুখে আছে।

FREE TRANSLATION

"My body is soiled—
I have to scrape it with a shell of snail.
Intimate my mother, I am very happy even so!
My head is full of lice and monkeys pick them up--
Tell my mother that still I am very happy here!"

Sister of an individual has been given marriage in a poor family, where she has to suffer a lot of misfortune. There is no hope of a better life. When her elder brother went to see her, she describes her days of miseries of life to him in the above. Below is a different rhyme that expresses a different idea.

(b) শণ ফুলের বার বাটি, মধুফুলের ঘটা,
কী ফুলটি ফুটছে গো কদম গোটা গোটা,
কদম গাছের ছাইগো, মরিচ গাছের ছাই,
বড়মামী যে ভাত খাইছেনি কাই পাবে গায়া দই,
গাই যাইছে ঘাগ্‌রা বন বাছুর তুলছে ফেনা,
ষোল বছরি মায়া জলকে যাইচে ঝুটিয়ার বাজনা,
ঝুটিয়া করে ঝুমুর ঝুমুর সুবদি কতদূর ?
একলা বুড়ি ধান কুটে ঠুকুর মুকুর।

FREE TRANSLATION

"Twelve cups of honey of hemp-plant—
And multitude of flowers:
How look these? Hark! like the flowers of *Kadam*.
Ashes of the Kadam tree and black pepper mixed together--
Have been given for meal.
And she demands curd of cow's milk instead.
But the cows have now gone to the nearby jungle—
And the calves stand with foaming mouth.
A maid of sixteen goes to fetch water with her tinkling anklets.

Tinkling anklets resound in rhythm :
How long is the distance of Subdi (name of a village) from here ?
Unconcerned, the old women husks alone slowly and sluggishly."
So the eldest maternal-aunt refuses to take it—

Here a good unrelated events have been bunched in a myth. It is uttered with a very distinct pronounciation with proper accent.

(E) Illegal sex relations in the village life draw the attention and the persons involved are not spared. They have been ridiculed publicly in the following verse.

(i) গাঙের পানি গর্জে টানি,
পুকুরের পানি জড়,
সত্যি করিয়া কইঠি দিদি
দেওর ভাতারটি ছাড়।

FREE TRANSLATION

"The water of the flowing river has a roaring sound—
And the water of the tank is still and calm.
Oh ! sister, speak frankly :
Don't allow your husband's younger brother—
To soil your chastity."

The system of levirate has been focussed here ridiculing a woman who is found to have incest or illegal sex-relationship with her husband's younger brother.

(ii) ঝুমকার ভিতর পাকাপান
দিদির ভাতার মুসলমান।

FREE TRANSLATION

"The betels have been concealed in the tinkling anklets—
And the husband of my sister is a Muslim, they say."

Sometimes an individual is threatened with a comment for his irregular sex-relationship, as has been specified in the following rhyme.

(iii) মাউসি টক টাউসি
কলাবনে ঘর
একটা কলা দিলুনি মাউসি
জামি ভাতার ঘর।

"Oh ! mother's sister, Oh ! mother's sister !
You stay in a plantain grove—
But you don't give a single plantain to whoever wants it—
Be cursed, therefore, and marry your daughter's husband—
Which will bring you shame !"

(F) Appropriate dress or ornaments and other possible combination of these do not go unappreciated, when these are visible to an individual as we find in the following verse.

(i) টিয়ানাকে টিকিফুল,
খ্যাদা নাকে ব্যাসর।
গুরিয়া পঁদে লাল শাড়ি
ঢেকুয়া পঁদে তসর।
তসর করে খসর মসর
টেনিয়া পরা ভাল,
দুলি করে হ্যাচর প্যাচর
চলিয়া যাজয়া ভাল।

FREE TRANSLATION

"On the parrot-nose of a moman—
An ornament like *Tikiful* looks well :
On the blunt nose—a Basor !
To a fair-skinned woman, a red-cotton *sari*—
And to a bulky-hipped, a Tusser fits well !
Tusser should be worn very tightly—
It is better to walk on foot -
Than to ride a *Duli*, which gives uncomfort."

(ii) খাইতে ভাল চাউল ভুজা,
ছাখতে ভাল মুড়ি,
রসিক ভাল এক টকার মা
ছাখতে ভাল ছুঁড়ি।

FREE TRANSLATION

"Parched rice is better to eat—
While the fried-rice is nice to see.
Mother of one child, is often very humerous and witty—
While a spinster has charming beauty."

Discussion

A few nursery rhymes have been discussed here, which deal with the various mood of women. It is interesting that many social phenomena, typical types of ornaments and even disharmonious relation, born out of inter-actional scenes, have been noticed by the folk-composers, and these, in course of time, have become the property of the common people. But various factors of urbanisation and new types of educational systems have greatly affected these oral literatures, and these are now vanishing fast. If a proper analysis of their subject matters be made, then many historical processes can be unveiled from the oral literature, in which variegated cultural strains have forged together to develop a sense of integrity among the rural folk.

Dept. of Anthropology University of Calcutta.

G. P. REDDI

FESTIVALS CONNECTED WITH AGRICULTURE IN A TRIBAL VILLAGE IN ANDHRA PRADESH[1]

This is a report of the Field Work which Mr. Reddi undertook as a Post-Graduate Student of Anthropology in the Andhra University Here he has described Korrakotha festival, Chitta festival, Nandi festival and Kaluvu festival of certain Scheduled Tribes of his State.

Introduction :

Paderu a multi tribal villages lies in the midst of dense forest and hillocks 70 miles to the West of Visakapatnam the District Head Quarters. It is inhabited by Bagatas, Valmikis, Kondadoras and Konda Reddis, all Scheduled Tribes. From time immemorial these tribals were famous for their colourful festival and pageanitry. Though each tribe in this village is a separate entity by itself with their own customs and traditions they all celebrate the festivals jointly for the good of the entire village. The general significance of festivals in a primitive society is well high lighted by Robert Briffault when he says that "festivals derive for the most part from collective ritual. The tendency of primitive behaviour to rely upon magic involves the participation of the social groups caln or tribe or family in activities which are held to affect the interests of the whole group. Hence the great porportion of primitive ritual is collective ; and most activities rituals" (1963-198) * The collective nature of the festivals and their social significance is clearly manifest in the festivals celebrated in the village Paderu. Further, festivals generally seems to high light both the religious sense as well as the social solidarity of a particular people.

Apart from the general significance mentioned above, each festival in this village is associated with one particular aspect of the tribes or village as a whole. Some of the festivals can be categorised as agricultural some concerning livestock, some centering round the activity of hunting and a few celebrating the change of seasons. Many of the festivals celebrated in this village are closely connected with their economic activities, the reason may be due to the fact that the terrain of the area is hard and the people have to eke out a precarious existence depending on the tillage of the infertile soil, food gathering and hunting in the forest.

* Festivals, Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences—Vol. 6 1963 : p. 198 (15th printings New York.

In this village majority of the tribals are dependent on agriculture either directly or indirectly. Most of them practise *Podu* cultivation (shifting cultivation) on hill slopes. A few are having lands irrigated by nill streams where they produce paddy. The landless work as agricultural labourers in others, fields in the village as well as in neighbouring villages. They substitute their income from agriculture by hunting and collection of minor forest produce. Since the agriculture is the main occupation for the tribals in this village the important festivals celebrated by them are associated with agriculture.

Festivals :

Altogether there are four festivals intimately associated with agriculture in this village at present. Out of the four—one is celebrated only when they feel that they are going to face famine due to failure of rains and destruction of crops by pests or any other natural calamity.

Furnished below are the names of the festivals associated with agriculture and the months[2] in which they occur and the objects of worship associated with each festival.

Name of the festival	*Month*	*Objects of Worship*
Korrakotha festival	Khanne Nela (August & Sept.)	Lord Rama
Chitta festival	—do—	Zodla devudu (Zodla deity)
Noudi festival	Pogunu Nela (February & March)	Nandis
Koluvu festival	(non regular)	Poudavas

Korrakotha Festival :

The festival is celebrated only for one day in the month of *Khanne Nela* on 5th day after full moon. Early morning on the day of the festival all the tribals in the village take their bath and put on washed clothes. Every household in the village take of fowl and go to their respective fields where Pumpkins are cultivated. They select one Pumpkins creeper with plenty of Pumpkins apply vermillion to them and sacrifice the fowl. The blood from the sacrificed bird is smeared to all the Pumpkins. After completing this ceremony they collect a few Pumpkins and a few other vegetables from the same field and return to their respective houses, where they offer these Pumpkins to Lord Rama represented by an elevated small platform built in the centre of the house called *Kunduru*.[3] After the worship is completed they prepare a special dish with Pumpkins

and other vegetables and consume it. After lunch they engage themselves in play and dances till the evening. The tribals believe that if they consume Pumpkins and other vegetables without celebrating this festival and offering them to Lord Rama, their vegetable gardens may be destroyed by pests and other natural calamities in the following year.

One old informant belonging to Kondadora tribe gives the following legend about the origin of this festival.

During the reign of 'Bharatha' the brother of Lord Rama all his subjects were very rich and wealthy, with the result they have become very proud and neglected in paying their respects to Lord Rama who was then doing his *Aranyavasa*.[4] People became rich because of increase in the fertility of soil and cultivation of Pumpkins. The Monkey God Hanuman the faithful disciple and devotee of Rama could not tolerate the disrespect and devotee of Rama could not tolerate the disrespect shown to his Master by the people and decided to teach a lesson for their mistake. He persuaded the people to pay respects to Rama by offering Pumpkins. He threatened them if they do not comply with his request that he is going to destroy all of them physically. People frightened, started offering Pumpkins to Lord Rama. Hanuman at the same time made all the Agricultural fields infertile by his divine power, with the result there was an acute shortage of Pumpkins. Hanuman produced plenty of Pumpkins from his own field by his divine power and started exchanging them for gold from the people. By this means Hanuman extracted all the Gold from the people in exchange for Pumpkins and made them poor. People then realised their foolishness in neglecting Lord Rama and asked for the forgiveness of Rama as well of Hanuman. From that day onwards the informant says that the people celebrate this festival so that Lord Rama and Hanuman may not get angry with them and reduced the fertility of land and destroy their crops.

Chitta Festival :

The aim in celebrating this festival is mainly to ward off pesto and other natural calamities which destroy their crops.

On the first Wednesday in the month of *Khannenela* the *Palasi* (Priest of Bagatas) taking with him a fowl and some rice in a earthen utensil goes to the outskirts of the village followed by all the men of the village who carry their own rice and fowls to propitiate *Zodladevudu* represented in a vertical stone of 2 feet fixed under a tree called *Ramaphalamu*. The *Palasi* sacrifices the fowl to the deity, dips his finger in the blood puts some dots on the statue, mixes the rice in the blood and distributes them to all the assembled. They take the rice, soaked in the blood and disperse to their respective fields. Each individual sacrifices a fowl

in a corner of his own field, mix the rice in the blood and throw it throughout the field. After this ceremony, they cook their food themselves and enjoy it. Till evening they spend their time in dancing and singing and return home.

The tribals believe that *Zodla devudu* has power over the pests and fertility of soil. In order to appease this deity they celebrate this festival.

Regarding the orgin, the tribals believe that *Pandavas* when they were in *Aranyavasa* in *Dandakaranya* used to clear hillslopes and practising *Podu* cultivation. In one season all the crops were destroyed due to pests, then they propitated *Zodla devudu* by sacrificing a fowl, the deity after appeasement came to their rescue and warded of the pests. From then onwards propitiation of *Zodla devudu* has become an annual affair.

Nandi Festival :

This is one of the colourful and important festival celebrated in this village. The rituals and ceremonies relating with it spreads over a week. Some tribals white-wash their houses and stich new clothes for the ensuing festival. They purchase all the condiments for the preparation of delicious dishes to be enjoyed in the festival. A few invite their relatives from neighbouring villages.

The celebration start eight days before the full moon day in the month of *Pogununela* (February and March). On the early morning of the first day all the tribals in the village take bath, put on new or washed clothes and keep ready themselves for the celebrations. In the morning *Nandipujari* (priest from Bagatas) goes to a snake mound at the outskirts of the village taking with him a little quantity of milk. After reaching the snake mound he offers his prayers to the snake God *Nagendra* by pouring the milk into the mound. After propitiation he returns home. In the evening the same priest along with the villagers starts to the same place to the accompaniment of musical instruments. After reaching the place the priest applies vermilion marks on the snake mound, burn incense and offers flowers. Then the priest puts his hand in the hole of the mound and collects some mud out of it. The procession starts back to the village. The procession straight goes to the house of the priest where he mixes the mud brought from the mound with some more earth brought from the agricultural fields from all sides of the village. He makes two figures of bulls with this mud while *Guruvu* (his assistant) sings a few devotional songs. These bulls are called *Nandis,* out of the two one is called *Thalli Nandi* (Mother Nandi) and the other is called *Pothu Nandi* (Male Nandi). Next they decorate a bomboo backet with flowers and turmeric, pour a little quantity of rice in it, on the rice they keep a round and thin bread

prepared out of *Chodulu* (a kind of millet), on this they keep these two *Nandis*. A sacred light is lit in a *pramida* (a saucer made of earth) and keep it in the basket. All the assembled break coconuts in the name of *Nandis* and offer flowers. A boy belonging to Bagatha tribe takes this basket on his head and goes to the houses of seven priests belonging to different deities. The seven priests are of (1) Durgadevatha (2) Pothuraju (3) Kunchalamma (4) Katumayyo, (5) Pandavas (6) Nandidevatha (7) Gangadevatha. When the basket reaches the house of the Priest of *Durgadevatha* his wife comes out and washes the feet of the boy with respect and reverence and takes the basket into her hands and walks into the house and keeps it on *Kuduru* and propitiotes it by breaking coconuts and offering flowers. After the propitiation she takes the basket on her head and walks throughout the house and stands for a few minutes particularly at the place where they keep their grains. After completing this she brings the basket out and hands over it to the boy. At every house of the remaining Priests same procedure is followed. After completing the houses of the priests the basket is taken to all the houses in the village. Some people may also keep the basket for a few hours if they want and at every house the same procedure said above is repeated. By the evening of the 6th day after completing all the houses in the village the basket returns to the house of *Nandi Pujari*. The Pujari receives it by breaking a coconut. A plantain tree with its flowers and buds is brought and planted in front of the Priest's house. One of the plaintain bud is stuffed with 9 kinds of grain called *Navadhanvamulu*. On the following day i.e., on the 7th day in the morning all the villagers gather at the same place and *Guruvu* takes a long stick and breaks the bud containing *Navadhanvamulu* by bitting it, all the grain from the bud falls down, while the people shout with joy and jubilatiri. The significance of this act is that they believe like the falling of *Navadhanvmulu* from the plantain bud, god is going to bless them with plenty of grain in the evening at the house of the *Pujari*. After all the villagers have assembled the *Guruvu* takes the plaintain tree on his shoulders and a boy takes the basket with *Nandis* on his head and start to a field called *Gangamma Polamu* followed by all the villagers to the accompaniment of musical instruments. After reaching the field a few men dig a big hole in the earth, both the plaintain tree and the basket with *Nandis* are buried in it. With this the festival comes to a conclusion.

A 60 years old informant by name Ganga Naidu explains that this festival plays a significant role in their culture. It gives them confidence to face the agricultural seasons boldly. Further he says that the black soil used in making *Nandis* represents fertile soil of their fields, plaintain tree represents the standing crop and Nandis represent male and female species of livestock. By this festival they appeal to the supernatural (i) to

increase the fertility of the soil ; (ii) good harvesting ; and (iii) increase in their livestock which is very important for cultivation.

Kaluvu Festival :

It is a non-regular festival, whenever there is a danger of famine they celebrate this festival. No particular month is fixed for the celebration. Generally the festival starts on any Sunday decided by the tribal elder of the village and the festival spreads over a week. On the first day morning *Palasi* gets a new pot and covers it with the skin of a black cow which has been eaten by a tiger or any other wild animal. This pot is called *Dhanikunda* and is kept in the house of the *Palasi*. Five males impersonates the *Pandavas* i.e. Dharmta, Bheema, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva. All these five impersonaters stay, eat and sleep together in the house of the *Palasi*. All the seven days they avoid eating meet and consuming liquour. They spend their time in front of *Dhanikunda* by singing songs and breaking coconuts.

The tribals believe that the famine is the result of infertility of soil, have become infertile because something bad is hidden in their agricultural fields. If they can remove them, once again the soils will become fertile and produce sufficient grains. They believe that no one but Pandavas alone can remove these bad things from the fields. On the evening of the 7th day the men impersonating *Pandavas* start to the Agricultural fields followed by all the villagers to find of the bad things which are effecting the production. They go on pointing certain spots in the fields telling here lies the evil thing, people dig there and take out any thing from a stone to a stick and throw away believing that was the bad thing. Like that the next morning they complete the fields of the entire village and return home, and the impersonators are given a good non vgetarian dinner by the villagers with plenty of liquour, and with this festival ends.

All the above festivals relating to agriculture in this village are a mixture of religious and magical ceremonies. At every step magic is mingled with religious ceremony. During *Nandi* festival, they prepare two pots out of mud, keep the grain in plaintain feed and hit it that they may fall, all these are symbolic in nature and comes under sympathetic magic. There are many examples of propitiating primitive deities with blood for the growth of crops and to increase the fertility of land in India as well as in other parts of the world. Whatever may be the method of worship, whether it is religious or magical ceremony all is done with good faith and staunch belief that they will protect them from vagaries of nature. So many festivals in a single village centering round only one aspect i.e., agriculture shows perhaps their anxiety for the narrow and

dependence of the tribals at least for the greater part of the year are agriculture.

NOTES

1. The material presented in this paper is a part of desertation for M.A. degree of the author collected under the guidance of Dr. N. S. Reddy, Professor of Anthropology, Andhra University. Author wishes to acknowledge his debt to Dr. N. S. Reddy for his guidance.
2. Like Gregarian Calender the tribals in this tract follow 12 months a year period. They count the month from one fullmoonday to another fullmoonday. Furnished below are tribal months and their equivalent Gregarian Calender months.

Tribal Months	*Corresponding Gregarian Calender month*
Kothamavasya	March and April
Baisagi Nela	April and May
Ashada Nela	May and June
Lanfata Nela	June and July
Banda Puni Nela	July and August
Khanne Nela	August and September
Dasara Nela	September and October
Savithi Nela	October and November
Palkam Nela	November and December
Sankurathr iNela	December and January
Sivarathri Nela	January and February

3. Every tribal house will have this place called *Kuduru* which they propitiate on every social and religious ceremonies either connected with individual tribe or entire village. It can be said that this *Kuduru* represents each and every goddess or deity of the village or tribe.
4. It is a common feature with tribals of Visakhapatnam Agency area to associate their ancestors with the personalities from sacred *Puranas* because they stouchly believe that Rama as well as *Panavas* roamed in this tract during the period of their *Aranyavasa*.

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R. M. SARKAR

WOMEN IN TRIBAL INDIA THROUGH CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS.

In India there are more than 29 million tribal population. They live in different tribal belts. In the following pages an attempt has been made to describe the position of tribal women through customs and traditions by a trained anthropologist.

In each and every society the women have been playing the substantive role. They are regarded as the main-spring of the familial groups and in which they present themselves in various forms such as the affectionate mother, the loyal wife, the loving sister, the compliant daughter and the like. In course of her life-time a woman passes through all these stages and in each of these she has the definite and important role to play. As a natural consequence, she has to face many diverse situations when one phase ends and the other begins. It is true that both men and women are regarded as the two pillers on the opposite sides on which falls the total burden of the family. Both are equally responsible for giving birth to and rearing up of the children, and also for maintaining the prestige and honour of the family concerned. But the status held by women differ basically from their male partners in the society. Moreover the position of women varies from one society to another. In Brahmanical texts the wife of a man is regarded as his "betterhalf", but in actual practice, it is seen, that the women do not get such a status in their day to day life.

Right from the Vedic period in India it has been noted that the social position of women are directly linked to caste and religion. The Vedic society was patriarchal is nature. The father was head of all concerned but the mother, used to get a very high status. The birth of a female child was enjoyed equally as that of a male. The presence of wife in all conditions of life was essential in Vedic period. It was in the post-Vedic period that the women reached at a crucial stage as regards their status in the society. As a result of systematic compilation of the Hindu law during this period the women had been shifted from their well-acquired position in the social, religious and intellectual fields. But at the present moment the country as a whole has already passed through a number of socio-political changes which have effected

many new situations in the traditional status of the womenfolk in India. They have moved towards greater freedom by achieving equality with men both inside and outside the home. The new Constitution of India that was framed in the year 1949 accepted the principle of sex-equality. The old system that has confined the women in the home is now in the rapid process of change.

The socio-cultural history of a country or a community can better be understood by studying the successive stage of life of the womenfolk in a systematic order. As a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country India provides a beautiful horizon of diverse cultural features. The women in the different parts of this sub-continent have been leading various modes of life and the position of them in one region varies from that of the other. A systematic picture of Indian women can be drawn out of the different sources like Vedic, Epic, Buddhist, Jain, and classical Sanskrit literatures and also from the Government records. Besides these other sources like folklore, customs and traditions of any community may conveniently be used for the same purpose.

India is such a country where the number of males exceeds females; it has been seen that there are 941 females to every 1000 males. The focus of attention of this study is the tribal women in India who are still living at the different levels of culture. There are 14,631,085 tribal women against 14,475,766 men according to 1961 census. Indian women have already been focussed in several professional and non-professional works in order to find out their systematic position in the Indian society. But in these works the tribal women have found no prominent place though they share a major part in the socio-cultural history of the country we live in. In this study, therefore, we shall try to present the readers a first hand idea about the status enjoyed by the tribal women by focussing our attention on the customs and traditions of these non-literate societies. The customs which are generally regarded as the ways of acting that have become habitual amongst the people. This customs, strictly speaking, are the individual habits in origin and these have become diffused in the society of mankind as a result of the inter-personal interactions. These are seen working very actively in the primitive society than in the modern. So a neat picture of the mode of living of the primitive people can be drawn through the study and analysis of these "ways of acting". Most of these features e.g. various institutions, laws, speech, dress, legend, tales and songs transmit from one generation to the other and thereby they constitute the traditions of the society concerned. The traditions of a certain group of people form the

internal matrix of the social setting. The branch of folklore dealing with the traditional socio-cultural elements of the primitive as well as the modern societies has a high academic value amongst all humanistic sciences. We shall thus take these as tools for conducting our present survey.

The vast number of tribal communities in India present variegated picture as regards their place of living, and also in ethnic, linguistic and cultural set up. A little more than 29 million tribal people of this sub-continent can be put in a zonal classification like the North and North-Eastern, the Central and the Southern. Each of these zones embraces a large number of tribes having the different patterns of living. They are at the various levels of socio-economic stages—some raise the bare minimum necessary for sustenance with great difficulty, others have managed to improve their way of living and thereby they have upgraded their economic status to such an extent that sometimes it is very difficult to differentiate their economic life from the rest of the non-tribal rural communities. The set up of the industrial organisations throughout the whole country has caused a great deal in attracting the large number of tribal people to work there as labourers. This situation has taken place in many States of India which has ultimately resulted in tribal-urban continuum. A considerable section of the tribal people in India has come under the purview of Christianity and in course of time they have given up their traditional animistic thoughts and beliefs to embrace the new religion. This change of religion has certainly brought many new behaviour patterns in the life-activities of these people.

Therefore the tribes of India do not present a homogenous picture, rather they indicate a diversified trend of socio-politico-religio-economic life. So it is quite natural that the status of women in all these tribal societies will not be similar, and at the sametime it is very difficult to give a clear-cut picture of the women's life who have been designated as the tribal. The anthropologists have been divided into two opposite groups regarding the status of women in tribal societies. One group is of opinion that the tribal societies assign a very good status to their female partners whereas, according to the other group, the womenfolk occupy the inferior position in the society. They are treated as drudges. Reviewing the position enjoyed by the women among the Australian aborignies it is seen that they are the most oppressive group. In his book, "The Aborigines of Australia", Browne has pointed out that the aboriginal women in the country in question are the humiliated and degraded specimens of humanity. Summer and Keller have seen

that in Melanesia the women are looked down upon as pigs and they are regarded as worse than dogs. But Kaberry, while speaking about the "Aboriginal women, sacred and profane", has pointed out that they are not mere drudges and not passing their life of monotony and are being illtreated by their husbands. She has discussed the position of women in marriage and has come to the conclusion that as the wife is an economic asset, she is not, therefore, subordinate. At the time of studying the status held by the women in tribal India mention may be made about the two different patterns of societies, matrilineal and patrilineal, though the former one is very limited in distribution and no matrilineal society is to be found in the strict sense of the term in the present day world. A few tribal groups in India like the Khasi, the Garo, present matrilineal features in their social structure. There is a common idea that in matrilineal societies the women receive respectful status in comparison to those of the patrilineal societies. But it is not the whole truth. In matrilineal societies men are not ruled by women and they are not compelled to follow the restrictions that generally fall on the shoulders of the womenfolk in patrilineal societies. In Khasi society it is seen that the descent is reckoned through the female line; the daughter inherits property from the mother; an unmarried man's earnings go to the family of his mother, while after marriage these go to the wife's. Most of the religious ceremonies are supervised by the women; the ancestor spirits are also mainly thought as females. In these affairs the Khasi women enjoy a high status. Still the Khasi women are directly dependent on their male partners in all walks of life; the husband is called by their own term which means 'lord'. However, in these societies the husbands are independent of wives as also the latter themselves are. According to some, matrilineal structure provides a psychological attitude which creats a strained situation where the children are brought up in the democratic principle of divided loyalties.

Coming to the patrilineal societies it is seen that the males here dominate the females in all affairs. The womenfolk in these societies are not allowed to inherit the family property, actively perticipate in the religious world and also organise the tribal Panchayat. Their life is full of restrictions and disabilities. But the nature and extent of these behaviour patterns vary from tribe to tribe. According to the custom of the Toda society, a pastoral tribe of South India, the women are totally excluded from the work in their sacred dairy rooms as they are regarded impure. They are also not allowed to prepare any food in which milk has been used as a constituent. This sort of taboo deny-

ing women to take part in the principal economy of the tribe as a whole naturally lower the status of women. But, on the other hand, it would be seen that the males have a regard for their female partners in the other spheres of life. The Toda women are regarded as the most pampered of all tribal women in India. Grigson has found that the women in the Maria Gond society are also tabooed in attending festivals and ceremonies. She must work as a labourer in the house of her husband, she should keep the meals ready for her hungry husband or should carry these to him, otherwise she would face a disastrous situation. But, at the sametime, it is seen that the Gond woman has a freedom in the choice of her husband, she is quite free to leave her lifemate if she gets ill-treatment from him or he fails to give her children. The wife of an impotant husband is allowed to go elsewhere according to her choice.

"The golden ring
looks lovely in your eyes
your husband is impotent
So you take delight with others"[1]

Elwin has observed the Gonds regard women with awe and terror. They believe that a few have got the power to bring down the god of fire from the sky who will burn the men and the crops. But life without a girl in Gond society is wasted. Thus they sing,

"O girl with slender face, your hair brushed sideway
I am mad with love for you,
your smile has struck my heart like an arrow"[2]

The Kamar women, according to Dube, are not drudges but it is true that they are enjoying markedly lower position than men. Sometimes men use cots to sleep or sit on them but the women are not allowed to utilise the cots until they attain maturity. The women are strictly tabooed to eat the flesh of fowl, pig, bear and wild cat. They are not allowed to performed any religious functions. But inspite of these disabilities she is regarded as the mistress of the household and commands respects in this regard.

The Baiga women enjoy an excellent position. They are free in all respects. They may go out alone on the different business. A woman is allowed to dance in public, drinks, and smokes before her husband. The womenfolk play the main roles in the marriage ceremonies. While speaking about the Ho women in Kolhan Majumdar remarks, "Whatever rights and priviledges the women of Kolhan possess, they are all

earned by service, by hard labour, and drudgery, and because they are indispensable to the household. Where women are not toilers and bread winners, they are ridiculed, regarded as anti-social, and even as witches" (Majumdar, 1950 : 68).

Coming to the Uttar Pradesh we see that the Tharus of the Nainital Tarai present a more interesting picture. The patrilocal Tharu men are extremely dominated by their wives, and the position of the latter in the society is much better than any other tribal groups in this country. The men are regarded as the slaves to Tharu women—they are really drudges. The property is owned by both men and women but the latter generally spend the income without any formal discussion with the former. Men do all the laborious and difficult jobs whereas the women only enjoy the result of the works done by the menfolk. The men are not allowed to enter into the kitchen as the Tharu women treat them as untouchables. It is thought by some that this thing has resulted due to the proverbial sorcery and witchcraft of the Tharu women.

The status of women among the Nagas varies from one tribe to another. Hutton has observed that the Sema Naga women are better placed than the women belonging to Ao and the Angami Naga groups, though the latters enjoy a good position in the matter of the possession of property and in sexual licence. In her husband's residence the Sema Naga woman finds a good position in all respects. In Chotanagpur plateau the women get respectable position in their respective social settings. The Oraon and the Munda women perform many responsible duties of the families with ability. Besides these they also participate in the different types of socio-economic and other activities side by side with their male parters. Similarly the Santal women receive a respectful treatment from their malefolk. A Santal woman is the symbol of joyous and cheerful life and activities. She goes to the forest for collecting roots and tubers and also she is the person who sells these in the neighbouring non-tribal villages in exchange of rice or perched rice. They occupy a very high economic status in the society.

In this way a large number of examples can be put separately to focuss the traditional position enjoyed by the tribal women in their respective societies. The status of these women can in no case be said as inferior though they are being carefully avoided during the period of impurities in their life-cycles. A tribal woman gets her partner when she reaches puberty and she has every right of divorce if the marriage proves to be unsuccessful. She can easily re-marry after the death of

her husband and she is exempted from the restriction of widowhood. In these points the tribal women are, no doubt, different from their shophisticated sisters but the internal features of womenhood remain the same. The prime duty of the tribal women, as also of the other, is the child bearing. Barrenness is regarded as a curse from the heaven and sometimes the barren women are looked as anti-social. Thus in Chattisgarh it is sung among the tribal communities —

> **"You have gone to holy places**
> **You have had a vision of the Gods**
> **When fate is hostile**
> **You can never be a mother"[3]**

While finding out the position of the women in tribal India one must focusses one's attention on the attitude and behaviour pattern of the polyandrous societies towards their womenfolk. The Khasas and the Todas living at the northern and southern parts of India respectively provide an excellent example of polyandry. Among the Khasas of Jaunsar-Bawar an interesting surival of polyandry is to be found in the marriage customs and conventions. They practised fraternal polyandry till recently and the common wife used to get a good deal of free love from others when she lived away from her husbands. The *Dhyanti* and the *Ranti* are the two forms of a married woman among the Khasas. The married woman when she lives with her husbands in their residence is known as *Ranti*, but when she goes to her father's place she becomes a *Dhyanti*. According to social conventions, the *Dhyanti* is regarded as an independent individual and she can go to anybody she likes ; but when the same woman becomes *Ranti* she must observe strict moral code and any breach to that is seriously treated by her husbands. The husbands of the Khasa woman do not take any interest to enquire into the activities when she lives as a *Dyanti*. Therefore as *Dhyanti* and *Ranti* the Khasa women enjoy double standard of morality.

The fraternal polyandry very often results in a great deal of disparity in age between the woman and some of her husbands. According to the customs of the fraternal polyandrous societies, as soon as a man marries a woman she will be regarded as common wife of all the brothers of that man including those yet unborn. Thus among the Toda it was commonly found that the newly married woman after coming to her husband's residence very often used to nurse some of her husbands as they were still in their infancy. In this system of marriage it is very difficult to assert the particular biological father

of the children born to that woman. It is for this reason the married woman in the seventh month of her pregnancy is to start for a secluded place in the nearabout forest for the performance of *purusutpumi* or the determination of social father organised by one of her husbands. The husband concerned will be regarded as the father of all the children of that woman even long after his death, as long as another husband has not performed the same ceremony. These customs centering round the women have great sociological importance and in these features the tribal women get more regard from their male partners.

In most of the patrilineal societies it is apparently seen that the women are the main-springs of the socio-religious festivals and, naturally, they hold a better position in the world of rites and ceremonies. Sachchindananda observes that, "many acts connected with worship is allotted to them (the Munda women). If worship is to be performed at a particular place the wife of the Pahan or any other married woman on his bidding plasters the place with cowdung. As soon as the Pahan's assistant prepares the meals for dinner, women bring pitchers of the native drink, Hanria" (Sachchidananda, 1965 : 84-85). Moreover the institution of priestess as is found among many tribes of North-Eastern India may be taken as an important point to show that the tribal women receive due honour and prestige in the world of religious beliefs and practices. Elwin has seen among the Saoras of Orissa that each village possesses one or two women, known as *Kuranbois*, who engage themselves in the activities connected with divination and the spiritual treatment of illness. The *Kuranbois* play the most important roles in the society as they are very often called by the sick persons to discover the cause of illness. On finding out the actual cause through some spiritual means the *Kuranbois* communicate it to the male priest and thereby suggests a remedy.

Thus the tribal women, it is seen, enjoy a respectful position in the society whether it is the matriarchal or patriarchal, polygynous or polyandrous, and hunters or agriculturists in its manner of living. They are not regarded as the competitors of the menfolk, rather they are the most reliable and dependable factors and, naturally, they are loved very much by their menfolk.

Before concluding our review on the position of the tribal women we should mention the changes that have effected in the tribal culture in India due to some politico-economic factors. It has already been said earlier that right from the British period many tribal groups in India had come under the direct influence of the Christian missionaries as an ultimate result of which many tribal people had been converted

to Christianity. It was quite natural that they received assistance from various sides to improve the conditions of their life; and with this the value pattern and levels of aspirations had also been changed. In this way two distinct classes of the same tribal groups had been established—one kept itself away from the other. The converted class with the changed pattern of the life-activities retain only a slender link with their native villages. They have been able to take up wide range of occupations that are unknown to the unconverted class. The womenfolk of this group of the tribal people also take the services of teachers in schools and nurses in hospitals.

Various legislations and social reforms, that have been effected after independence, have brought many overall changes in the life of the people of India including the tribals. According to the new Constitution of India no discrimination should be permitted on grounds of religion, race, caste, or place of birth. Naturally the tribals are given the equal position as the rest of the citizens. They have given the equal opportunity to send representatives to the administrative units of the Central and State Governments. But in actual practice, it is seen, that in most of the cases the converted people are enjoying this opportunities by virtue of their education, improved economic position, and outside contact whereas their non-converted brethrens are not getting any direct and practical benefit. It results in a class conflict which will be felt in many tribal concentrated regions of India. previleged class with its changed outlook begins to hate the indeginous customs and traditions. They do not like to see their womenfolk collecting fruits and digging roots in the jungle; and in course of time most of the traditional socio-economic activities of the women have been restricted by them. The horror of taboo relating to mensturation, pregnancy, childbirth etc. has been minimized. In this way two groups of women belonging to the same tribal stock begin to look at the things differently. So a dichotomy has naturally been established there resulting a considerable social distance between the groups in question.

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1. From Verrier Elwin's "Folksongs of Chhattisgarh" (1946) song No. 189, pp81.
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PURNIMA SINHA

THE STRUCTURE OF INDIAN MUSIC: THE BASIC CONCEPTS*

In the previous article the relationship and similarity and diversity that exist between Oriental and Western music were discussed. Here the magnificient structure of Indian music—which stands on various *Ragas* and *Raginis* has been dealt with by the contributor who herself is a physicist in discipline and a student of India music as well.

Introduction :

In the first essay in this series I pointed out that both the Indian and the Western systems of music have been built up on the recognition of consonance, but the two systems have utilised it along different directions. I have also mentioned that in order to emphasize consonance during melodic progression, consideration of note intervals smaller that a minor tone become a necessity. The tempered scale of the Western system had to make the component notes of a chord slightly dissonant in order to form a chord in the piano on the principle of consonance. But in the Indian system small interval of *sruti* are added to the notes of the twelve-note scale in order to bring the important intervals into perfect consonance.

In this paper I shall discuss the principle of division of the octave into *srutis* along with the other concepts of basic materials for building up melodic structures or *ragas* as is traditionally carried down through chains of master and disciple. I shall occasionally refer to the historical development of these concepts. Specialists on Indian history and culture are aware that there is always an underlying "perhaps" about the dates of Indian History. I would take this to be implied throughout this series of articles, but may have to select some of the widely accepted dates for the convenience of discussion. It is not possible to give an account of the vast literature of fragments of historical records of development of the theory of Indian music in this paper. There are many reviews by authors interested in the field Tagore (1896), Danielou (1943, 1949), Prajnanananda (1960), Goswami (1961). Without going into the details of historical speculation, I am interested mainly in the logical sequence of the deve-

* The article is based on a talk given by me in a series of seven lectures at the Summer Programme in South Asian Studies, Chicago University in 1962.

lopment of the basic concepts which have provided a basis for the exponets of classical music of modern India.

The earliest proto-type of classical Indian music is usually traced to the Saman chants dated around the first millenium B.C. But from contemporary as well as textual evidence (Matanga) it appears that besides Vedic religious chants, various folk motifs have also contributed to the evolution of classical Indian music.

Around 500 B.C., Panini, the famous Sanskrit grammarian, also made contributions to the theory of music; music and language being considered as two branches of the science of sound. There are also descriptions of musical performances in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and in many of the Puranas.

During the Buddhist period there is mention of musical instruments, but not much descriptions of the type of music are available. The Buddhists may have reacted against Sanskrit education and some of the original musical texts may have been lost during this period.

The earliest and perhaps the most important compilation on the theory of music is the *Natya Shastra* by Bharata dated variously from 2nd century B.C. to 4th century B.C. (Danielou 1949: 24).

The following concepts have been defined in the above text:

> Two *gramas*, twenty-two *srutis*, fourteen *murchhanas*, eighteen *jatis*, *vadi*, *samvadi*, *anuvadi*, and *vivadi*. These concepts, which provide the base for the development of melodic structure, will be discussed later on.

Bharata divides the musical instruments into four categories:

> 1. string—e.g., Veena, 2. wind—e.g., Flute, 3. percussion (leather)—e.g., Mridanga, and 4. Percussion (metal)—e.g., Cymbal. The most important form of music was called *Dhruba*. It should be noted that vocal and instrumental music, along with drama, have been considered together in the text.

There have been many reinterpretations of the principles laid down in *Natyashastra* in later period. Around the ninth century A.D. *Matanga* in *Brhaddeshi* indicates the theoretical existence of infinite *srutis* of which 66 are distinguishable and 22 are musically significant. The next important text is *Sangeet Ratnakar* by Sarngadeva compiled in the twelfth century. He defines the concept of *raga* and describes the different types of *ragas* and rhythms and also the musical instruments prevalent during that period.

During the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, several important texts came from South India which gradually led to the development of the concept of *mela,* or scale, permutation and combination of scale notes being supposed to form the basis of the various *ragas.*

The important taxts of this period are :

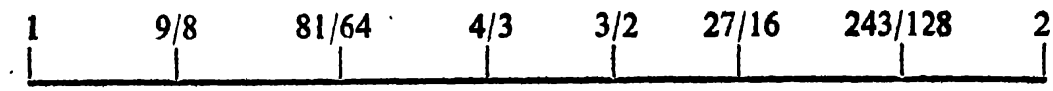
1549—*Svaramela Kalanidhi* by *Ramamatya*
1610—*Raga Vivodha by Somenath*
1620—*Chaturdandi Prakashika* by *Venkatamukhi*
1625—*Sangeet Darpan* by *Damodar Misra* (This text does not mention the concept of mela).

The Basic Concepts :

The basic concepts on the theory of music obtained from the texts mentioned above may be arranged as follows :

1. *Grama :* Grama is the basic division of the octave into musical notes or *svara* (expressive notes). The basis of such a division according to the Hindu system (comparable to the Greek and the modern Western system) has been given below :

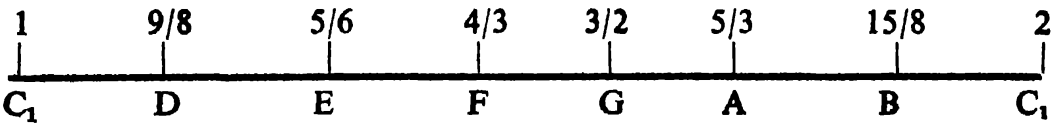
It is well known that a freely vibrating string produces along with the fundamental note several overtones. For example, if the string is tuned to the middle C, the most prominant overtone produced by the string would be C_1, or the note one octave higher with a doubled frequency with respect to C. G (the fifth of the seven-note scale), with a frequency ratio of 3/2 with respect to C, comes next in order of intensity, and then E with a frequency ratio of 5/4, which is called the *Svyambhu Gandhar*, or the third born spontaneously, according to the Hindu system. This corresponds to the harmonic third of the Western system. Other notes are also produced with a gradually diminished intensity. The "interval" * between C and C_1 defines the octave space. The interval 4/3 between G and C_1 gives the note F, or the fourth. The other notes of the following seven-note scale is obtained by the successive operation of fifth (i.e., successive multiplication by 3/2) on C. Thus the fifth of C gives G. fifth of G gives D, in the next octave, fifth of D gives A+ and so on. Transposing all these notes in the octave between C and C_1, we have the following seven-note scale :



* The term "interval" between two notes would always represent the frequency ratio between the notes. All the ratios tabulated in the seven-note scale correspond to the frequency ratio of the notes with respect to C.

As the fifth defines the tonality, this scale is called the *Sadja Grama* or the scale of the tonic. This scale corresponds to the Pythagorean scale.

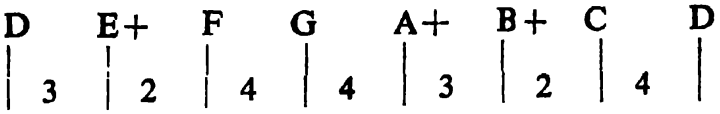
We note that the third note of this scale is note the harmonic third. If we replace the third of the above scale by the harmonic third E (5/4). the 6th note A+, considered as the fourth of E becomes A, having a frequency ratio 5/3, and the 7th note as the fifth of E becomes B with a frequency ratio 15/8. The scale thus formed is called the *madhrama grama* or the scale of the fourth, and corresponds to the harmonic major scale of the fourth, and corresponds to the harmonic major scale of the Western system having the following note intervals :



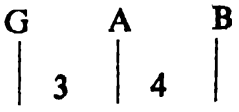
2. *Sruti*. The interval between E and E+, A and A+, B and B+, is 81/80. One cannot ignore E, the *Svayambhu Gandhar* and A as the fourth of this note, and also A+ as the fifth of D. So one cannot ignore the interval A A+ =81/80. This interval was called the *Pramana Sruti*, or the basic standard interval by Bharata ; it has been described very concretely in the *Natyshastra*.

"Tune two Veenas in the *Sadja Grama*. Adjust the note A by comparing the interval E A and A+D. With respect to the new A, tune the second Veena in *Sadja Grama*. Then each note of the two Veena would differ by one *Pramana Sruti*." This interval is the basis of the division of the octave into *Sruti*.

D was considered to be the tonic in the ancient Indian system, and the 22 *srutis* were distributed within the seven notes of the *Sadja Grama* in the following way :



In *madhyama grama*, the distribution of the *srutis* between G and B becomes :



A relation of perfect fifth is separated by 13 *srutis*. This is the condition for perfect consonance. Notes 20 *sruti* apart are dissonant.

Srutis are 'regions' of the octave and not sharp points. Within the limits of each *sruti* several positions may be possible, allowing an adjustment of tuning of the notes of the modes or *ragas*. As long as the notes

do not trespass the limits of the *sruti,* their expression keeps the same character.

Sruti appears as interval between several possible notes used in different musical scales. The 22 *sruti* intervals are not equal. Any interval less than a minor tone may be called "one *sruti* interval," but the exact magnitude of the interval depends on the position of the *sruti* in the scale.

For example, the four *sruti* difference between A and B is distributed in the following way :

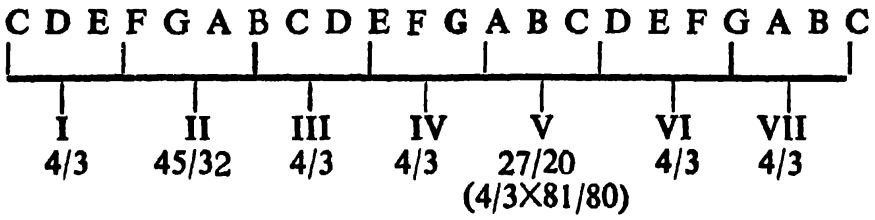
$$\begin{array}{cccccc} A & & & & & B \\ \left|\frac{135}{128}=\frac{81}{80}\right. & \times & \frac{25}{24} & \frac{81}{80} & \left|\frac{256}{243}\right. \\ & & 2 & 1 & 1 & \end{array}$$

Thus "one *sruti*" may be 25/24 (minor half tone), or 81/80 (one *"pramana sruti"* and also Pythagorean "comma"), or, 256/243 (one "limma").

Sometimes the term *"sruti"* is also used for the notes corresponding to the 22 divisions of the octave. These 22 positions contain the 22 intervals : they are not in addition to the 12 notes.

A difference of one *sruti* is not meant to be played consecutively, nor to be added to a note at random as an embellishment ; but it becomes necessary to raise a note of the 12 note scale by one *sruti* in case of important intervals for maintaining consonance.

For example, as we move along the diatonic scale to consecutive octaves, we have the following distribution of intervals :



We note that the interval A D is greater than perfect fourth by one *'Pramana Sruti".* In other words, the interval D A becomes smaller than "perfect fifth" by one *sruti.* If the tonic is at D, D A has to be a perfect fifth, or A has to be raised to A+. But this makes E A+ too large. Thus one has to choose between different *srutis* according to the context.

For example, the note minor 7th is used in both the Ragas *Malkosh* and *Bhimpalasree,* but actually two kinds of minor 7th separated by one *sruti* are to be used for the two Ragas ; the teacher would insist that the minor 7th of *Bhimalsree* is of a special kind, which cannot be represented in the 12 note scale. The correct placing of this note depends on the highly trained and sensitive ear of the teacher, who would remark "you have failed to touch the proper *sruti* until he is satisfied.

Sruti Jati : The *srutis* are grouped into 5 classes according to their expressive character. There is an amazing correspondence between this grouping based on subjective feeling and the numbers corresponding to be frequency ratio of these notes.

If we start from C we get the notes G (3/2), D ($3^2/2^3$), A+;$3^3/2^4$)... as the successive ascending fifths. All these ratios are of the form $3^n/2^m$. The series of descending 5ths (or relation of 4ths)—F (2^2/)3, Bb ($2^4/3^2$), Eb ($2^5/3^3$)... have a reciprocal form, $2^p/3^q$.

The first set of notes obtained by the operation of 5th are supposed to represent 'active' principles and the second set obtained by the operation of 4th corresponds to 'passive' principles.

If for a frequency interval, the number 5 appears in the numerator —e.g., the harmonic third (5/4)—the corresponding note would represent tenderness, and when 5 appears as a denominator, the corresponding note would represent passion.

The operation of 5th and 4th on these notes would give notes corresponding to compound expressions like 'active tenderness', 'passive tenderness' and 'active passion', 'passice passion'.

Moving along the octave in steps of "thirds" and performing the operation of successive ascending and descending fifths at each step, we get some sets of series of notes. Among the notes thus derived, those corresponding to too acute or intense and too depressing or negative expressions are rejected in music. It can be shown that the note corresponding to the fifth ascending fifth of a series becomes almost coincident with the fourth descending fourth of another series. These partially overlapping sets of series give sixty-six notes. Further division becomes indistinguishable by ear. But theoretically the number of possible division is infinite because the sets of series move like a spiral and never meet. From these sixty-six notes, eliminating the notes which are musically unimportant, we get the 22 essential *srutis*. Further simplification gives 12 notes. The detailed calculation for the derivation of the sixty-six *srutis* and the complete list of the sixty-six *srutis*, which contain the important 22 and 12 intervals are given in *Northern Indian Music* by Alain Danielou (1949).

The 22 *srutis* are named as *Dayavati* (compassionate), *Ratika* (sensuous), *Tivra* (sharp), *Krodha* (passionate), etc., and are grouped in five classes as (1) keen (2) moderate (3) large (4) tender (5) compassion.

A professional musician is able to locate the exact region of the octave corresponding to a particular *sruti* just from the name symbolising the expression corresponding to the *sruti*. It is almost impossible to construct a standard musical instrument giving the correct frequency range of all the twenty-two *sruti* regions. But as the human voice is flexible enough to produce all of them it was convenient to communicate

the position of a *sruti* through expressive symbols which only the trained ear would recognise.

When we describe a person as having a tender or rude expression, we do not have to describe the graphic position of all the muscles and tissues of his face, but abstract the tenderness out of the details of the objective structure. Such qualitative terms are sufficient to communicate our feeling. Any good artist if asked to draw a face with tender expression can satisfy the connoisseur. One does not have to measure the wave length of red colour to use it properly in a painting. Similarly, the expressions corresponding to the *Sruti* were so vivid to the musicians that they could communicate easily with qualitative terms like *Dayavati*, *Trivra*, etc.

3. *Murchhana:* Are scales derived by the shift of the tonic of the seven-note scale. Two *gramas* give fourteen *murchhanas*.

4. *Jati:* Represents melody types. Bharat enumerated eighteen of them. *Jati* later become synonymous with *raga*.

5. *Vadi, Samvadi, Anubadi Vivadi:* These terms describe the roles of the notes in building up a melodic structure. *Vadi*—the sonant—literally means 'the spokesman'. It is the most important and frequently used note in the melodic movement of a *raga*. It is compared to the 'king'. *Samvadi,* is the consonant note, i.e., the fifth or the fourth to the *vadi*. It is compared to the 'minister'. *Anuvadi*—the assonats are compared to the 'servants.' *Vivadi*—is the note dissonant to the *vadi* and works in opposition to the *vadi*.

6. *Raga:* has been defined as pleasing arrangement of musical notes.
   (1) A constant tonic is implied through out the melodic structure of *raga*.
   (2) At least five notes and at the most nine notes are necessary to build up a pure *raga*. The mixed *ragas* may contain more than nine notes.
   (3) For a particular *raga* some definite characteristic rules are to be followed about the relative sequence of the difference notes selected for the *raga*.
   (4) During the progression of the melodic structure of a *raga*, three definite notes would consistently play the role of *vadi, samvadi,* and *vivadi*.

7. *Mela* : Venkatamukhi, in his *Chaturdandi Prakashtika*, attempts further systematisation of the *raga* structure and introduces the concept of 72 *melas*. These are derived on the following basis :

From the twelve notes of the octave : $CD^bDE^bEFF\pm GA^bAB^bBC_1$, C, F, G, are taken as four fixed points ; C—F forming the first half and G—C_1 the second half. Then two notes from the four notes in between C and F are introduced in between C and F. Keeping this arrangement fixed, the space between G and C is filled with two notes out of the four intermediate notes, i.e., $A^bA\,B^bB$. There are six such possible combinations, which gives I set of seven note scales :

I	1)	C	D^b	D	F	G	A^b	A	C_1
	2)	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	A^b	B	,,
	3)	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	B^b	A	,,
	4)	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	B^b	B	,,
	5)	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	A^b	B^b	,,
	6)	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	A	B	,,

For all possible arrangements of the first half of the scale, we get six such sets, i.e., 36 scales. We get another set of 36 scales by using F± in place of F. This makes a total of 72 seven-note scales, which are considered to be the basic scales—the *Janak* or the father of all the *ragas*.

But even at the time of Venkatamukhi it was recognised that all these scales cannot be utilised for building up *ragas*, because some of them involve *vivaditva* or dissonance. Forty out of 72 suffer from this fault. Thus the concept of *mela* does not seem to be based on the analysis of the natural evolution of the *ragas*. Otherwise some of the *melas* would not have to be discarded.

What then should be the basis of building up *ragas* ? What prevents *vivaditva* ?

I shall come to this point after describing the situation in North India. In North India, no one definitely knows from what source the melody types have been divided into two categories—*raga* and *ragini*—male and female. It is said that a music theorist named Hanuman divided the basic melodic types into 6 *ragas* and 30 *raginis*, the total being 36. The 36 *ragas* and *raginis* are also referred in the *Panchatantra*. But the reason for dividing into two categories remains obscure.

Anyway, the North Indians continued using these terms and played the *ragas* and *raginis* and composed musical themes according to traditional rules, without analysing the underlying principles behind the rules. South Indians, on the other hand, never used the term *ragini*—the female counterpart.

During the turn of the last century and in the early twentieth cen-

tury, a famous Maharashtrian musicologist, Pandit Bhatkhande, compiled many prevalent themes of North Indian classical music. He leaned on the South Indian concept of *mela* or *that*, but reduced the number to ten only, as the basic of all North Indian *ragas* and *raginis*. The theoretical basis of this reduction in the number of *melas*, however, is not explicit.

Amiya Nath Sanyal (Sanyal 1959), presents a very logical basis for distinguishing between *ragas* and *raginis*. His analysis also brings out the significance of the basic number 36, and the principle underlying the choice of *vadi*, *samvadi*, etc., for a particular melodic scheme. He admits that he has received the principle of the method of analysis from his teacher, Shyamlal Khetri, who again received it from his teacher, Ganesh Lalji of Mathura, and so on. Sanyal states that the principle has also been referred to in a cryptic form by *Narada* in *Sangeet Makranda*, but somehow on one seems to have paid much attention to it for many years. But the method of teaching and the practice of music along that line still prevails in some schools (Garanas) in North India.

The fundamental concepts introduced in this method of analysis are *Meru*, *Khandameru* and *Matrka*.

Meru: The successive arrangement of the 12 note scale is called the *Meru*.

Khandameru: The notes of the twelve-note scale are related by *samvad*, *anuvad* and *vivad*. Some examples of these relations are given below:

1) C - - G.....*samvad*

2) $\left.\begin{matrix} C - - E \\ C - - E^{b} \end{matrix}\right\}$.....*anuvad*

3) C - - D.....*vivad*

Of these relations, (1) and (2) create pleasing sensation. On each note of the scale we can build up the following sets of pleasing combinations:

$$C - - - \begin{cases} (1)\ C\ E^{b}\ G \\ (2)\ C\ E\ G \end{cases}$$

$$D^{b} - - \begin{cases} (3)\ D^{b}\ E\ A^{b} \\ (4)\ D^{b}\ F\ A^{b} \end{cases}$$

.....and so on

These combinations, which correspond to horizontal distribution of minor and major chords, are called *khandamerus*.

Matrika (lit., 'little mother'): There can always be two *khandamerus* having a common mediant. In the chord couple C E^{b} G, E^{b} G B, E^{b} G C

acts as a common mediant. Such chord couples are called *mithuna*. A chord couple of the above type can be linked in the following way: C E^b G B. Such a combination of four notes, which can be resolved into a minor and a major chord, is called a *matrka*. A *matrka* is supposed to be the essential basis for building up any *raga*. The argument for this proposition will be given in the course of the following discussion.

Twenty-four *matrkas* can be built up on the twelve-note scale. If each of these *matrkas* are linked with the tonic 'C', we have twenty-four *murchhanas* or scales like :

1) C E^b G B^b

2) C E G B

3) C D^b E A^b B, and so on.

Eight of these scales produce an additional chord due to the presence of the tonic. For example, in the ninth *matrka*, C+E G B D, addition of 'C' gives the extra chord C E G in addition to the original couple E G B and G B D. Thus the total number of basic *murchhana* scales having a single couple becomes sixteen. But these scales are not sufficiently stable. If we take the first scale and resolve the *khandamerus* we have :

C - - E^b (F) - - G } where C - - G

E^b - - G - - B^b } and E^b - - B^b are related by consonance.

Since both E and E^b have a relation of *anuvad* (in this case mediance) with C, E^b may tend to move to E and consequently B^b to B for maintaining consonance. There is no check to such movements. But if a note F is included in between the scale, F being consonant to both C and B^b (descending fifth of C and ascending fifth or B^b) fixes the position of B^b with respect to the tonic C, without introducing an extra chord in the pattern due to its presence. Such notes have been termed 'neutral notes' since they do not affect the basic pattern, but help to establish the motif

Choosing such neutral notes for each of the sixteen *matrkas*, we get eighteen basic *murchhanas* which are supposed to be the basis of the pure *ragas*. This explains the necessity of at least five notes in a scale for building up a pure *raga*, as has been stated in many of the ancient Hindu texts. It may also be noted that such five notes are selected on the basis of consonance, or avoiding *vivaditva* between principal notes. Within this predominant motif other notes may be introduced in the scale along the same principles.

Each of these eighteen *murchhanas* has, two components within itself—one major and one minor chord. Sanyal purposes that whether a melodic structure will be regarded as *raga* (male) or *ragini* (female) is

to be determined in terms of the predominance of the major or the minor chords respectively in the basic *murchhana* used for the building up of the *raga*. Thus each *matrka* or 'little mother' may give birth to either a *raga* or a *ragini*. The total number of basic *raga* and *ragini* thus becomes *thirty-six*.

The method of classification suggested by Sanyal is as follows: The outstanding *matrka* (e.g., CEGB or C D^{b}F A^{b}, etc.) represented by the predominant couple in a musical theme should determine the main class or group. Then depending on whether major or minor chord (e.g. CEG or EGB) part of the *matrka* has greater value, the class should be subdivided into male or female. Notes of the scale forming the *raga* may give other couples or chords. Further classification can be made according to the position of the next important couple and so on.

If a theme does not manifestly show a couple, for example, if the note E is missing in a pattern C X G B, generally CG or GB exceeds 40% of the total duration of other notes creating an 'expectation' or 'latent value' for the missing note. In those cases if E is taken to the present by implication then such themes can be fitten in one or another *raga* or *ragini* class.

A logical explanation of the terms *vadi, samvadi* and *vivadi* have been given by Sanyal as follows:

In the couple CEG EGB, if B has greater value, then minor predominates and if C has greater value, then major predominates. Thus C and B work in opposition, being the determinant for the claim of the theme as *raga* or *ragini* respectively.* We already know that C and B have *vivadi* relation being separated by twenty *srutis*. In the scale built up on the above couple, CEFGB, C or B cannot be a *vadi* because a 'servant' would then become an 'enemy'. Either E, F or G be a *vadi* and the corresponding consonant note the *samvadi*.

In order to test whether the prevalent *raga ragini* themes in North India indicate the principles discussed above, Sayal proposes the following method of analysing melodic themes:

In a starting theme or *sthayee,* which is set in rhythm and is supposed to show all the essential feature of the *raga* or *ragini*, the duration of each note is counted and the percentage of all possible *khandamerus* used in the theme are calculated. Then the dominant *matrka* is determined and the correspondence between traditional class names and the categorisation on the theoretical basis is compared. The principle seems to be quite compatible with the other aspects

* It may be mentioned that in his book *Ragas and Raginis,* Mr. Sanyal has confused the notes of the major of the Western system with the minor chord and *vice versa*. This, however, does not invalidate his logical scheme of analysis.

of Hindu music theory—i.e., recognition of the difference in musical expressions in accordance with various combinations of tonal interval relations.

Sanyal has analysed many themes in terms of the above analytical concepts. It appears that the dominance of notes has been determined by too simple (though an important) consideration, i.e., on the percentage of duration (*proyog vahulya*) of the note in the *sthayee* theme. In the development of a musical theme other factors like the stress on the note or the duration of the neighbouring note may also emphasise a particular note. Such factors may have to be given special weight in determining the predominance of notes in a theme. Further, the level of significant percentage for determining predominance needs to be carefully worked out.

It appears that with further refinement of the mathematical tool this method of analysis promises to clarify our concept of Indian classical music beyond the range of textural theory.

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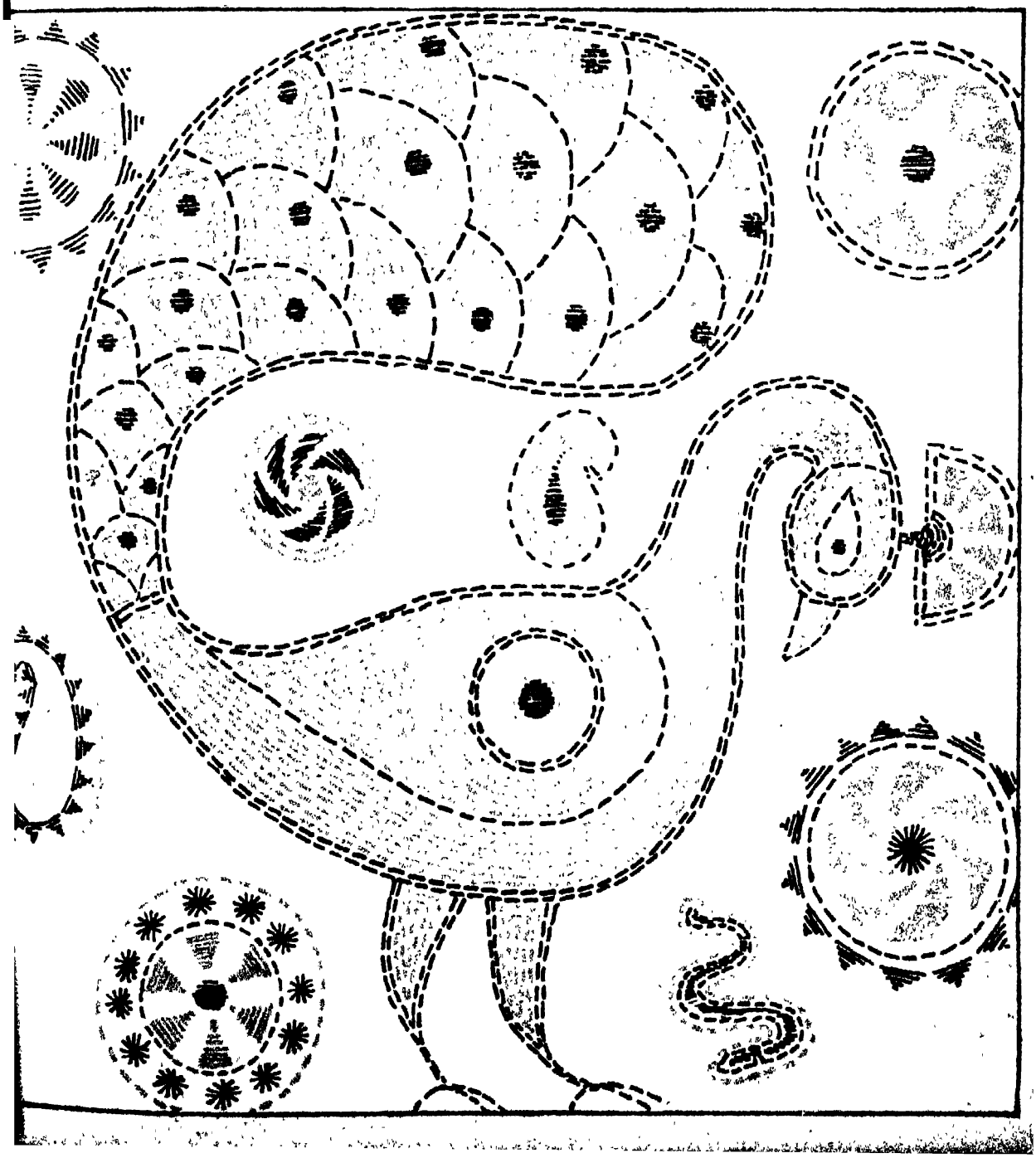
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SAMIR GHOSAL

WOMEN IN FOLK-RITES AND BELIEFS

Social directives had persisted from generation to generation. It was thus a common accepted saying that Hindu women in childhood, youth or old age alike must always live under a guardian. This conviction still remains though the changing economy and resultant new habits of life in our own time are atleast spelling the downfall of the old ideals in practice. In the following pages one will find an image of womenfolk that offers orthodox and primitive ideals but obviously cannot be brushed aside as irrelevant.

WOMAN is compared in innumerable ways to *prakriti* (nature), *maya* (illusion), and earth. Her role in the formation of the family, procreation, sexual union, etc. has been conceived by Indian thinkers in accordance with this notion. The relationship of woman and man is considered to correspond to that of the Supreme Being and *maya,* or *purusa* and *prakriti. Prakrti* is the material cause of the physical universe and *sakti* is the personified energy of God, the creator, who creates with his *sakti.* Here *sakti* is an instrument to His. According to Lord Krishna "Nature is my *yoni* (womb), and I am the seed-giving father" (Gita X IV, 3-4). Further, *yoni* is the source of universe according to revelation. The woman is considered the medium through which man manifests himself. She is necessary for establishing fatherhood of man and continuing his family line. These are significant even in marriage rites and rituals. Marriage is a sacrament in Hindu tradition and continuance of the family line is one of its primary aims. A man cannot fulfill his social, ritual and spiritual obligations without his wife. A wife is, therefore, called the root of the *purusartha,* the basic values of life. She is compared to the field or the earth. The seed comes from the father. Even in the sexual act woman's pleasure is

soley dependent on man's. The creation of the world is due to union (*sambhoga*) between *prakriti* and *purusa,* between woman and man.

Everybody knows that Hindu marriage are performed with *shastric* rites. Along with the *shastric* rites, a body of customary rites, follows which is known as *striachar.* In the following lines we will describe some such rites taking Bengal and Orissa as base points. But it should be remembered that this a generalised statement on certain folk rites. As is known to everybody these rites vary from place to place, from community to community, and from village to village.

Striachar in West Bengal:

We start with West Bengal. In different places of West Bengal, the day before the marriage, the *barankula,* the welcoming winnowing fan and *barandala,* the welcoming shallow basket, have to be arranged. This is the starting point of *striachar.* The *barandala* contains a little Ganges mud, a small stone, a conchshell, collyrium, turmenic, a small mirror, a comb, an earthen lamp, vermilion, sandalwood, white mastard seed, *maskalai, dhanya, issar mul, durba,* flowers, a small knife, a bit of copper, *ghee* and swastik. The winnowing fan is similarly arranged. There are small earthen jars or *ghats* which are smeared with turmeric. The whole thing is covered with a silken cloth. After the bridegroom has taken his bath, he is made to stand on a little dais, specially erected for the purpose. The winnowing fan is moved before him in a graceful arc by a *sadhaba.* Then the *barandala* is raised to him and each particular article that it contains is touched on his forehead. A *tilak* or mark of sandal and *ghee* is put between his eyebrows. This may be called inaugural ceremony of *striachar,* the first recognition of the man as a bridegroom.

The next ceremony of *striachar* is performed in the early dawn of the marriage day in the bride's house. Some *sadhabas* with husbands alive sit together in the early morning and cry *ulu, ulu, ulu,* an auspicious sound in ejaculation of joy. The conch-shell is blown, and *tomtoms* and *shanai* strike up a joyful tune. Curds, *chira,* a preparation of rice, and sugar are mixed up together and three or five *sadhabas* are fed with it by another *sadhaba.* After the feeding is over the whole company take a good repast and disperse. This is called *dadhimangal* ceremony or the auspicious ceremony of curd.

Next we come to the day of marriage. The bridegroom arrives in the evening. Some hours before he comes some *sadhabas* go to fetch water. This is called *jalsadha* ceremony. They take a little water from the house of the bride and go on collecting water from the houses of three

or five neighbours, and last of all, they go to a neighbouring tank or river to make the pitcher full the brim. A winnowing fan and a small shallow basket is taken on the head to the river bank. The lady who goes with the winnowing fan on her head puts on a trail of a new napkin smeared in turmeric. This is called *sohaglotan,* or the trail of love. After she returns from the river side, her husband comes to her and cuts off the trail with one stroke of the axe and carried it home in a basket.

The bride is taken out and is made to place her left foot on a flat wicker work, specially made for the purpose. A *sadhaba* also places her left foot on the wicker work. A bundle of straw is then kept there which is three times round the left foot of the *sadhaba.* The bundle is then spread out, and the bride stretches her hand to the fire and feels its heat while taking the name of the bridegroom. Then she is bathed in water that was collected in the evening. She then changes her cloth and goes to her chamber. A red thread of *monamuni,* a kind of fruit, is put on her neck. After retiring to her chamber an earthen pot with full of water is placed before her and she weiths the water out in a small bamboo basket, as big a as man's hand, which is called *pali.* Two arica nuts are placed in her mouth, one on each side, but she should not chew them. This ends welcoming winnowing fan and basket.

Let us see another important technique of welcome which is necessary to describe here. After the arrival of the bridegroom in the bride's house this practice is done with. It is called *sree,* or representation of good fortune and beauty. It is a small temple shaped heap placed on a disc, made of a mixed paste of rice and *maskalai.* It is beautifully decorated, and oil is poured on its head. The *sil,* the pounding slab of the household, is placed on the floor and four plaintain trees are placed on its four corners. The bridegroom is married on this *sil,* by a beavy of ladies, and he stands on it in an erect posture. He is then given a welcome by the *barandala* and the *sree* by some married women, preferably an agnate relation of the bride. The fruits of the *dhautra* tree are cut into two and their stones are taken out carefully without injuring the pericarp. Twenty eight such cup-shaped fruits are then arranged on a disc and a lighted wicker is then placed on each of those. The disc with its lamps of *dhutra* fruits is then thrown over the head of the bridegroom. An earthen lamp with its covering disc, is also waved before the bridegroom. Fourteen threads each to the length of the bridegroom from the crown of his head to his toe are then put tightly round his right wrist. A paste of *heghamla,* a mixture of spices, is applied on his breast. Then a shuttule is put in his hand, and he is asked to bleat like a lamb. A padlock and key is handed

over to the bridegroom and he is asked to close the lock. After the lock is closed, it is thrown into water. This is symbolical for the closing the mouth of the bridegroom, so that he may not quarrel with the bride in after-life. The bridegroom's hands are then tied with a piece of creeper by a lady, the bridegroom's party pays a ransom to her and makes the bridegroom free. The bridegroom then washes the hands of the lady who tied him up with the creeper. The bride is then seated on a wooden plank and carried seven times, round the bridegroom. The bride and the bridegroom are then seated face to face, and the latter is allowed to exchange looks with the bride. This is called *subhadristi* and this finishes the *striachar* prior to the actual marriage ceremony. The marriage ceremony proper begins now; and the priest offers the bride to the bridegroom with due incantations and *shastric* rites. The bridegroom accepts the offer and undertakes to maintain his wife. He has not to utter a useless formula as Christian marriages, that he should love his wife and none else during coverture. After the marriage is over, the wearing clothes of the bride and the bridegroom are tied up with another piece of cloth.

Then bride and the bridegroom retire and go to the sleeping chamber for the night. Ladies gather round them, and make themselves merry in all imaginable ways; jests, mirth and songs go round freely. The bride and the bridegroom play with *kouris* by tossing them up in the air catching them in the palm of their hands. The *barankula* is then brought up and the bride takes out the four little pots, containing rice and *maskalai*. She throws out their contents with her left hand and the bridegroom has to refill them with his right hand. The *sara* or disc that serves as a covering to the auspicious lamp, used during marriage is then brought to the bridegroom and he has to cover it with the cloth that he wears. He has then to take the name of his wife and make a promise, three times, that he would try to cover all faults and blemishes of his wife. No one is free from faults. It is unfair for the husband to expose his wife before other members of the household or neighbours. The bridegroom carries a *janti*, the familial nut cracker, in his hand. The bride has also to carry a *kajal-lata* or collyrium-holder. The betel nuts that the bride carries in her mouth during the early part of *striachar* are then cut with the *janti* of the bridegroom. He is given some pieces out of them inside a betel-leaf, folded and dressed in the ordinary way. It is believed, by taking the nut that the bride carries in her mouth, the bridegroom becomes partial to her and begins to dote upon her from the very moment. It must be remembered in this connection that the bulk of the *striachar* ceremony takes places in the bride's house after the arrival of the bridegroom in the

evening of the marriage day. The bride's party have the upperhand over the bridegroom. It is said that a bridegroom is no better than a *chor* or a thief, that is to say, the bridegroom should not assert himself in any way. He should not wrangle. He should put up with everything quietly as though he has come to bride's house like a criminal, the whole of *striachar* ceremony is directed with one end in view to rivert the affection of the bridegroom on the bride, and to make him subservient to her.

Next morning some *sadhabas* go to the bridal chamber to take out the bridegroom's bed. They charge a small fee from the bridegroom for doing the work. The bridegroom then goes to the parlour and is allowed to take a little rest. Just before taking their bath, the bridegroom and the bride are made to stand on the *sil* as in the previous night. The bridegroom takes a little vermilion on the little finger of his right hand, and describes a small image on the back of the bride. The bride does the same on the back of the bridegroom with the little finger of her left hand. A little water is then put on their head, and they take their baths separately. After their bath is finished they perform *kusundika* ceremony if they happen to belong to a twice-born caste. In Sudra marriages *kusundika* ceremony does not take place, the *kusundika* is a purely *shastric* ceremony. It occupies some hours. Its duration depends upon the Veda according to which it is performed. Many *mantras* or incantations are uttered during *kusundika* and a *yajana* or burning of clarified butter takes places according to *shastric* rites. The *kusundika* sets the final seal of the *shastras,* as it were, to the marriage and makes it valid and binding on the practices. Although marriage without *kusundika* is no marriage at all, yet if a bridegroom dies before *kusundika* the bride is doomed to perpetual widowhood.

There is a ceremony called *kanakanjali.* It is performed just when the married couple are about to depart for their home in the afternoon or evening of the day after marriage. The bride winnows the earth, thrown out before a hole in which mice live, and takes a rupee, and offers them both to an elderly member of her house. The bride and the bridegroom are then seated together and *baran* is made in the usual way. This is parting ceremony and it is similar to the welcome *baran.* The lady, who gives the parting to bride, wipes her feet with the end of her cloth.

We next come to the bridegroom's house. The married couple have come and there is great rejoicing in the household. Ladies flock to the outer door. A pitcher of water is thrown under the conveyance, be it a palanquin or a carriage, that has brought in the married couple.

A little milk and *alta*, a solution of lac, are put into the stone plate. The bride stands with her left foot and palm uppermost on the head of the bride. The bride then holds a pitcher full of water in her left arm, and a fish with scales and a little ball of powdered rice paste in her left palm. The *baran* is then made to the married couple with the winnowing fan and the welcoming basket. The bridegroom holds on his palm which he has put on the head of the bride, a small basket for measuring and a vermilion holder. After the *baran* is over some sweets and *pan* are given to the married couple. A cloth is speared right up to the room where the married couple are to sit. They walk slowly over it, just before entering the room, the bridegroom throws down the basket used for measuring rice, and the vermilion holder. The married couple are then seated on a mat, the ladies of the bridegroom's family put a little honey on to the ears of the bride, so that their words may sound sweet to her.

The third night after marriage is the night of *fulsajya* or flower bed. On that night the married couple are left to themselves, although eaves droppening goes on freely. Thus the uncontaminated *purausa* became enjoyer. This conceptual and imputed contract of *purasa* and *prakriti* is bondage. This is what the traditional Hindu does. Thus from what have been said so long one can find a sketchy picture about the folk-rites of women or *striachar* in Bengal. Before we come to the folk-rites of Orissan women let us describe the idea of an ideal wife.

Ideal wife :

An ideal wife is she who is to devote herself to her husband. She is personally to minister to his comforts at table, on his reaching home and so forth. She shares in her husband's fasts and vows, not brooking a refusal. She attends festivities, social gatherings, sacrifices, and religious processions, only with his permission. She engages in sports approved by him. That the husband might not find fault with her, she avoids the company of discreditable person at the door step, or in solitary places. She is not puffed up with prosperity, and she does not give charity to anyone without informing her husband. She honours her husband's friends, as is their due, with gifts of garlands, unguents, and toilet. She serves her father-in-law and mother-in-law and abides by their commands. When in their presence, she makes no replies, speaks few but sweet words, and does not laugh aloud. She engages servants in their proper work and honour them on festive occasions. Above all, when her husband is gone abroad she lives a life of ascetic restraint ; she gives up wearing all ornaments excepting *sankha,* the

marks of her married state; she engages in religious rites and fasts; she acts as a bidden by her superiors; she does not go out to visit her relations except on occasions of calamities or festivities. When she visits them, she does so only for a short while and in the company ot her husband's people. When her husband returns home, she goes forth immediately to meet him in her sober dress, and then she worships the god and makes gifts.

Apart from attending to her husband and his parents, relations as well as his friends, the wife has complete and comprehensive charge of the household. She keeps the house absolutely clean, adorns it with festoons of flowers, and polishes the floor completely smooth. She looks after the worship of the gods at the household garden attached to the house, she plants beds of various vegetables, herbs, plants and trees, A woman who holds all these qualities is known as an ideal wife by a Hindu according to traditional idea.

Orissan Striachar :

Let us describe here some *Striachar* or the rites of the womenfolk as they are found in Orissa. The ninth and the tenth days after a marriage are deemed unfortunate in Orissa thus a bride shuts herself up in her room in her father-in-law's house for these days. The day she gets out of her room, she has to show a little molases to her neighbours and relations in the belief that as molasses tastes sweet so would her words sound sweet to her friends and neighbours, and no quarrel or brickering would mar the peace of her married life. In Bengal the whole of *Striachar* ceremony on the occasion of a marriage is directed to the end that the bridegroom might heareafter be under the thumb of his wife. *Striachar* is the customary rites which womenfolk follow over and above the *shastric* rules. In Bengal, it takes place in the bride's house and it is directed and controlled by relations, it is meant to make the bridegroom as much devoted to bride as possible. But in Orissa, the *striachar* takes its place in the bridegroom's house after the bride has come to her father-in-law's place. The whole *striachar* is directed to the bride so that she be a willing slave to her husband. She has to pick up seven *piras* (or wooden seats on which people sit) while taking their meals, and arrange them in order, after they have been carelessly kicked at by the bridegroom. She has to fill some pitchers with water which the bridegroom has kicked away and emptied. The bridegroom's younger brother gives her a rap with a bunch of thorns and she has to bear it with a smile. These contrast unfavourable with the *striachar* ceremony of Bengal where the bride-

groom is made to sit and rise seven times at the bidding of the bride and is asked to bray out when a shuttle is put into his hand. In Bengal, it is only when the bridegroom is going out to marry that his mother asks him what he is going to bring for her and the invariable reply on such an occasion is that it is a maid-servant that he is going to bring for the mother. Earlier we have discussed certain aspects of *striachar* of Bengal. This bit of *striachar* reminds one of the plight of the bride in her husband's family. But, on the whole, it is quite clear that in the *striachar* of Orissa the bridegroom's party seems to have the upperhand over the bride's party.

Fortunate woman :

Further, it is considered good for a Hindu woman to die before her husband ; for she is considered only as an instrument for the husband. If the husband dies first, a devoted wife may ends her life. This is the basis of the well-known *sati* system, the merit and demerit of which is proverbial and so many things have been written both by the eastern and western scholars on it. Then, the word *patni* is an aphorism which means "the contact which is established through marriage, sacrifice, etc. gives the woman wifehood" (Panini, IV, i, 33).

Mohini :

Thus when a woman dies a permature death without enjoying the full course of life, is changed into a devil or ghost according to folk-belief and she remains in that astral body till her term of years is over. Those that die an unnatural death by suicide or falling into a well etc., if females, are known as Mohinis, or she devils.

The belief about *Mohini,* she devil or spirit is almost universal. Let us describe few such examples here. It is a general belief that the male spirits and female sprits appear in cremation grounds, which are generally situated outside the village. Some of them are supposed to appear like men or women in their proper dimensions. Others again have an abnormally tall shape. They do not generally naked, but appear with a white cloth on.

Women, who dies during the life time of their husbands appear with red-bordered *sari.* Women spirits are dangerous ; those who have left children or died with a child in their womb are called *Chirsunies* or *pitasunies* in Oriya language. Women who dies during pregnancy reappear in the ceremation ground with their children, they give their children suck, affect to smear them with oil and turmeric and fondle them in various ways. If anybody goes near them, when they

are fondling their babies, he is sure to die. The spirits think that the man has come to rob them and of their babies and they pounce upon him.

Spirits in general, and women spirits in particular, evince a strong desire for fish. A fisherman who goes at night to catch fish often meets with women-spirits who beg of him to them a fish or two. If the man has the courage to refuse them and can brave their wrath, he can hope to effect a safe retreat. If on the contrary, he honours their request or succumbs to fear, he is gone.

In some parts of Orissa dead women who have left behind them children are given near their cremation ground *panai-kakharus* or pumpkins which they fondle as their babies at dead of night. These pumpkins, it is believed, do not rot so long as they receive caresses at night from the spirit.

Witchcraft :

Belief in witchcraft comes next in order, and it occasionally causes much suffering to the innocent. It is said by some that witchcraft comes with birth owing to the influence of the stars. But there seems to be a contrary opinion about it. Like a bad habit witchraft is learnt early in life and it grows with years. The woman who practices it loses all control over herself and cannot rid herself of it. The whole of witchcraft consists in a string of incantation which the witch apprentice learns by heart. Witches in a body go to the outside of the village at dead of night, strip themselves off and feed on human diet with their heads down and heels up in the air. This dirty habit, though highly reprehensible, is not all that brings the witch sisterhood into odium. The most pernicious thing about the witches in popular superstition is that they happen to cast an evil eye on all lovely babies that come in their way. The moment a witch sees a lovely baby, she mutters to herself her fatal incantations, with the result that the baby withers and dies within a couple of days or so. Even the witch's own baby is not free from danger on this score. In a fit of momentary oblivion the witch forgets that it is her own darling praises its beauty and looks straight in the face and the fatal incantations rise to her lips inspite of herself and the fate of the baby is sealed all glance. Witches which are befooled by the access of the witch doctors often confess their sins and make a solemn promise to live a pure life. But nothing short of this utmost humiliation can cure the witches of their evil habit. Not only babies, but every good and healthy pet, such as a cage bird, a cat or a kitten is liable to fall a

victim to a witchcraft and has to be guarded against it. The dust broom which sweeps away all dirt and rubbish is the dread of the witches, so much so that if a small bit of it is attached to the neck of a baby by rag or string, the baby can go to a witch and who is unable to do any worse to it. Some say that the evil eye exists even in the mind of the parents and when they think their babies are lovely and take pride in them, the babies get sick mysteriously all on a sudden.

Here an illustration may be cited from a traditional literature which we meet in the popular superstitions and nursery tales of Bengal. In such tales one can find that witches fly by night on trees that move at their command. Let us describe an incident which is connected with witchcraft. A Santal family consisting of husband and wife and their boy aged about five years lived peacefully in a village. It so happened that the boy began to pine away for nothing, and the father took it into his head that his wife had learnt something of witchcratt which she was practising upon her own son. He had his suspicion only but he could not speak of his mind to his wife. A mango tree that stood near his house for long time suddenly died out as if smiteen by a bolt from the blue. This was a deciding factor and the father gave out to the villagers that his son was pining away as his wife was practising her witchcraft on him. A *gunin* (witch doctor) was called, and the *gunin* while uttering his incantations threw some mustard seeds on the head of the wife. The woman winced in pain and make her confession by bits. She confessed herself a witch and showed her precious substances—human hair and nails in an earthen pot buried deep beneath a cross-road. She vowed up her evil practice and some sort of reconciliation was patched up between the husband and the wife. But the cloud between the husband and the wife never lifted, and after a short while the husband divorced his wife and went away elsewhere with his son. In this way a happy home was broken up owing to witchcraft.

Sneeze :

Here is a curious myth on the sneeze of a man. When a man sneezes, if his mother is near by, she raps her fingers and says aloud, "Live long my darling". From this has grown up a curious myth. It is said that Yama, the God of Death, once took away the soul of a beautiful boy. The spirit of the boy had strong longing for its home and it requested Yama's mother to send it back to its home. Yama's mother knew that this was not at all possible, so she resorted to a stratagey. When Yama was taking his meal, Yama's mother had the spirit of the boy near about and asked it to sneeze. It did as it was bid ; and Yama's

mother thinking that her own son had sneezed, uttered the usual blessing. When it was found out that the spirit had sneezed and not Yama, his mother took her stand on the blessing of a goddess and requested her son to send the spirit back to life most reluctantly. Mothers to this day remembering this incident deem it a good omen if their sons sneeze over their plate of rice and give them an additional handful to ensure long life.

Household Superstitions :

We will relate here a few household superstitions that are connected with the womenfolk. Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, is worshipped in all Hindu households. The month specially set apart for her worship is the month of *Agrahayan* (November-December). The easternmost room of the southern row in the house is set apart for her worship. In Karan families a Brahman priest is not called to worship her. The worship is very simple, and it takes place on fourth Thursdays of the month of Agrahayan. It is carried over to the month ot Magh (January-February) if par chance the puja is not held four times in the month of Agrahayan owing to a death or a birth in the family. A plank is decorated with various drawings with a solution of rice paste. On it is poured one *gauni* (3 to 5 seers according to local measures) of unhusked rice. A small vessel of cane which is localy known as *ser* with mango twigs on its head is placed on the rice. A few rupees or a gold *mohur* is put into the *ser*. It is decorated with vermilion and a new *sari* preferable of red colour or a white *sari* with red border. This is an emblematic representation of the goddess Lakshmi. The worship starts offering fruits and flowers and various kinds of rice cakes and sweets to the goddess. *Lakshmi Mahamaya*, a book that contains the rules and tales as to how the worship of the Goddess Lakshmi was spread throughout is then read aloud to the ladies of the household. It also recounts what Lakshmi did many many years ago and it is listened to with rap attention. The *ser* is then fallen out at nightfall after offering some light refreshment to it. This *ser*, it may mentioned, is worshipped as the symbol of Lakshmi. Women in the respectable Karan families do not take fish on the days appointed for the worship of the goddess. They also do not take any bitter vegetable, e.g. bitter, on those days. It is supposed that Lakshmi deserts household if the members happen to quarrel always. No wearing cloth or napkin is allowed to dry on the door leaves, because it might pollutte the goddess when she enters the house. The sight of ladies walking on their tipots is highly repugnant to the goddess. He

who burns *dhup* or *dip* (just as candle light), is supposed to draw Lakshmi to her household.

The cooking room is an important place for the ladies of the house. In it they have to spend a good deal of their time. In every cooking room of a Karan family a place is set apart of *Barabarihs* i.e., the spirits of ancestors. It is a small rised platform of earth inside which new earthen pot is buried containing the sacred things of the family e.g. dust of seven famous places of pilgrimage. The pot also contains some rare coins which have been the heirloom of the family. A bit of gold is also put into it. Before the daily food is taken out of the kitchen and distributed, the lady who cooks the food for the day offers it to the *Barabarihs* or the spirits of the departed ancestors. The *Barabarihs* are also remembered on all ceremonial occasions, e.g., marriage, feasts, or customary feedings of relations after a period of mourning has expired. Formerely it was customary with all ladies in charge of cooking in Karan families not to chew betel inside the kitchen as chewing betel was not in keeping with the dignity of the ancestors.

Raja Sankrati :

We would also mention in this connection curious custom observed during Raja Sankranti. The Raja Sankranti begins on the last but one day of the month of Jaistha (May-June) and ends with the first day of Ashar (June-July). It is supposed that the earth is in her yearly course of these days and so these days are days of fasting. No young woman or girl even walks the earth on her bare feet on these days. The bark of the betel nut tree is extemporised into a pair of slippers which every young lady puts on during these three days. Ploughing, weeding and hoeing are strictly forbidden for Raja-Sankranti which invariably falls on the first day of Ashar every year.

Inkpat :

There are other curious customs which are interesting to note. It is deemed almost a sin to put the pen into an inkpot without writing anything. If after writing out anything the pen is allowed to remain dipped in the pot, it is supposed to get rusty and it won't write freely. All writings in the world are said to be the children of the pen and the inkpot. Prose is their son and poetry their daughter and it is being taught by the womenfolk to their offsprings from the very childhood.

Dhenki :

Then there is a common belief about the *Dhenki* or rice husking-machine that the villagers use. It is considered by them as an important

implement. One day during the month of Bhadra (September-October) the head of the *Dhenki* is worshipped by small boys and girls. The day of worship is called *Khudrakani Osa.* Various offerings are also made on these days to the husking machine of the family; the *Khudrakani Osas* are days of mirth and play for all small boys and girls. The worship of the Dhenki is supposed to ensure a life of prosperity to small boys and girls. Girls make it a point to observe the *Osa* because they believe that the observers of the *Osa* expedite their marriages in rich families, and they are never in want. Preparation for various kinds of rice-cakes is an important duty of the housewives on this occasion. Powered rice, cocoanut kernel and various kinds of grains are made into a paste and the paste is then made into a shape and boiled in steam. It is believed that the cakes wont boil nicely if they are touched by a woman who has not changed her cloth after coming from the privy or who is otherwise unclean. This superstition is meant to ensure utmost cleanliness of the kitchen.

Sathi Ghar

The curry stones which is popularly known as *Pata-puta* in Bengal, have also a peculier superstition about them. A man who breaks them accidentally is considered as an unlucky person. The smaller curry stone which is used as pestle is worshipped on the sixth day after the brith of a child in *Sathi Ghar* or *Sasthi Ghar.* It is covered with a piece of yellow cloth and placed in a spot marked out by earth and decorated with twentyone pieces of *Kauries.* A steel stylo and a piece of palm leaf is also placed inside the *Sathi Ghar.* On this palm leaf the horoscope of the child is written out by the astrologer on the twelfth day after the birth of a baby; the pestle stone is worshipped on the sixth day by seven married women as *Sasthi* and rice cakes with fruit and flowers are offered to it.

Dudhataran:

The ceremony that lead up to *Sathi Ghar* commences on the fourth day after birth. This is called *Dudhataran.* On that day seven married women prepare a pecular kind of food together in proper proportions. They take it out and make ovations to it. It is said that this ceremony increases the milk of the mother.

Hensuati:

The next day, that is the fifth day after birth, the grandfather of the baby makes a rope with *Tandi* or *Banagrass* while chewing fried rice. This is called *Hensuati;* the rope is then worshipped by seven

married women then fried rice, molasses, and sweets are offered to it. It is said that *Hensuati* worship give the child a long lease of life. On this occasion fried rice, sweets etc. are freely distributed to neighbours. The last or final ceremony in connection with the birth of a child takes place on the 21st days after birth. It is a day of feasting, the maternal uncle of the boy sends presents according to his means. At night the worship of Satya-narayn is performed and the child is brought out and blessed by all relations present on the spot.

Kuarpurnima :

Unmarried girls all over Orissa worship the moon on *Kuarpurnima* night. The worship is held with great jubilation and feasting. Rich parents spend lavishly on the occasion and unmarried girls, however poor her parents be, beg a piece of new cloth on the occasion. The worship is however very simple. It starts with the rising of the moon. The moment of moon rises, the sacred basil tree is worshipped by a Brahman. All unmarried girls of the family come out to the basil tree and offer *Arghya* (offerings) to the moon. Fired rice, the kernel of cocoanut finely scraped out, plantains and sauces are made into the thick mixture and offered to the Moon on *Jhinga* leaves. It is popularly supposed that the Moon ensures good bridegrooms for all girls who do the worship of Kuarpurnima night. The flowers of Jhinga are the favourite of the Moon. Girls make it a point to offer these flowers to the Moon at the time of worship. These flowers naturally bloom just at sunnset and their bright yellow colour might have recommended them as favourite flower of the Moon.

By all these what have been said above a critical reader may get an image of the womenfolk as it is protrayed in *striachar*, ghost belief, witchcraft and in some popular superstitions and beliefs. But it should be remembered here that in a vast country like India it is easy to pick up some one aspect here and there and generalize from it. Like the Hindus, Muslim women have also their own rites, beliefs, superstitions and customs which have been left out from this study for obvious reason.

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K. RADHA KRISHNA MURTY

TELUGU WOMEN IN THE FOLK-SAYINGS

To understand the pattern of the home and the family, it is necessary to know the women of a community. Here is an attempt to study the Telugu women from oral traditional materials.

I

FOLK-sayings are the creation of a number of intelligent men and women in the society in some particular situation. These sayings belong to a particular person, and are so remarkable that people remembered and employ them in connection with any man in the same situation. The immense value of folksayings or proverbs is to educate the people. Besides they reflect the wisdom of the creator and pass on from generation to generation. According to Kunjabehari Das "A proverb displays sharp intelligence, broad outlook, strong commonsense, power of generalisation and the intimate knowledge of life and the living world". Thus, in their own way, proverbs are the mirror of the society, through which we may probably feel the pulse of the people's life, their cultural ethos, their innermost experiences and intimate values. These intangible aspects of a community's life are more vividly brought out and portrayed in proverbs. They are the treasure of community's experiences and expressions, thought patterns and value systems, ways and views of life. Hence, time and again, sociologists have employed proverbs as a tool and technique of studing traditional and transitional communities and cultures.

In Andhra Pradesh scholars and analysts of Telugu literature have compiled and interpreted proverbs. But their interpretations have been inspired mostly by the literary interest and biases. They are not conducted from a sociological angle and orientation. Indeed they themselves suggested that this sociological approach was a significant omission in their works, reducing the scientific value of their studies, commendable otherwise. Hence, here an attempt is made in a modest spirit to make and present a sociological analysis of the folk-sayings of Andhra Pradesh, where women as depicted in the folk-sayings of Andhra Pradesh are discussed.

In the Hindu sacred literature woman is accorded an exalted position and a role charged with vital obligations and resposibilities. In status, she is the empress of the domestic world (K. M. Kapadia) and in devotion she is an angel of service. To Manu, "where the woman is respected and worshipped, the Gods live there". She is an indispensable complement to her husband not only for procreation (Praja) but also for pursuit of social and spiritual obligations. (Dharma). To highlight this very notion, she is rightly called the "half-body" (Ardhangi). Manu regards the unmarried or single person as incomplete for want of his "Ardhangi". Several *sutra* writers prohibit performing of certain rituals and Yajnas without the wife accompaying as coperformer. If the wife is dead, her golden image is put there to represent her. In the absence of his wife, the father cannot perform the "Kanya Danam" i.e. the ritual of giving away the bride to the bridegroom. So woman is a necessary compliment to her husband in every walk of life. She is an uncompromising conscience-keeper, who like the great "Sita" of the Epic Ramayana, may function as the family's custodian of Dharma. She is not only the husband's consort and confidente (Sakhi) but also his life companion and wise counsellor (Sachivah). She is the patience incarnate and a harbinger of blessings to the family. Sweet in tongue, modest in manners, unsparing in service, unflinching in loyalty, she is the venerable exemplar of good conduct in the house. Living within the four walls of the house she can manage its affairs quite well and so she is the mistress there.

A woman who fails to bring forth the children is treated in ridiculous light. Sterility is her social stigma and causes heavy psychological damage to her personality. Failure to bringforth a male issue is likewise denigrated and entitles her husband to taking a second wife after a reasonable period of waiting. Upholding of family traditions (*Kulaparampara*) and redeeming of the five debts (*rinas*) depend upon, and require a male issue to the couple and hence failure to beget a son is a serious default and deficiency—all for no fault of her. Again a son is preferred to a daughter because he always remains with his parents, and continues the family line. But Manu regards the daughter "as an object of highest tenderness".

दुहित. कृपण परमु*

She is to be brought up with as much affection and care as is bestowed upon the male child, rather greater kindness is to be shown to her as she is physically more tender and her emotions too are more delicate.

Woman is given freedom of make choice of divorce and of re-

*Manu Dharmasastra IV page 185.

marriage and even some property rights. But many social restraints and taboos beset and circumscribe her life and movement and rigid conformity of norms is enjoined upon her. Strict watch and vigil over the woman is emphasised lest she be betrayed into paths of licentious and disloyalty. Thus, Manu lays down in unambiguous terms that the woman is for ever in need of watch and control and prescribes that she be protected and controlled in her childhood by her father and by the husband after marriage, and by her sons in old age. These are some ideas which we gather from the ancient *sastraic* literature regarding the position and life of woman.

II

It is very interesting to find identical or analogous ideas about the nature and position of woman as depicted in various proverbs. A few of the most illustrative folk-sayings are selected here for the purpose of drawing the parallels between the sacred *sastraic* literature and the popular folk-sayings.

Andhra Pradesh with patriarchal organisation places more importance and weight on the birth of a son. From the child the woman is socialised to subordinate to the man. As a daughter she is expected to obey family members. This trend is clearly reflected in the sayings and other contents of folklore. The following proverbs reveal some attitudes towards the female child in the society.

Abadhealadite Aadapillalu Pudataru
(Those who speak lies will give birth to daughter)

Aadachetta Magabangaramu
(Female child is nonsense, male is gold).

Aadadai Puttekante Adavilo Mranai Puttedi Meelu
(Better be born in the jungle as a tree trunk than be born as a woman).

This is to give an idea how difficult in all aspects, life would be for a woman due to the enormous responsibilities and duties she has to shoulder and shoulder successfully too.

Aswamedha Yagamaina Cheyavachugani, Aadapilla Pelli Cheyalemu
(One can perform even "Aswamedha Yaga" easily but not the marriage of a daughter).

Ammayi Puttindi Ante Aayuvu Sagam Kungindi Annadata
(A woman said, that her half life is over when she heard the news of her female issue).

The first and foremost important duty on entering her new home, would be to exert towards adapting herself to the traditions and sentiments of the house of which she becomes a member. She must do her utmost towards conducting the family affairs efficiently by keeping under control her speech, thought and actions. As a daughter-in-law the woman has to deal with many persons and maintain balance of relationships with them at her in-law's house. She is described as a more quiet, more calm and more integrated woman in the family circle. She has more duties and obligations to perform in the family namely social, religious and economic. Telugu folk-sayings indicate two main hindrances for the supreme position of the daughter-in-law—(1) her "Adapaduchu" (husband's sister) and (2) her mother-in-law. The daughter-in-law wants power, authority, responsibility and honour, besides the power of administering the entire family which the mother-in-law enjoys. Finally with the death of mother-in law, the daughter in-law gets her position, her rights and obligations in the family. The following are the proverbs which show the attitudes of daughter-in-law in the family.

Athaku Naku Aram Beram, Atma Nethukupo Mutyalamma
Athanethukupote Aarugalla Jeevanni Arpisthnu.

(It is impossible to live in peace with my mother-in-law. Oh! My patrorn Goddess, if you take her away, I would go to the extent of sacrificing to you a six leg creature [which is impossible to find].

Atha Chachina Aaru Masalaku Dodali Kanta Neeru Vachindata

(A daughter-in-law sheds tears, six months after the demise of her mother-in-law).

Atha Manchi, Vemu Theepi Ledu

(Neither good mother-in-law, nor sweet neem exists).

Atha Leni Kodaluthamaralu, Kodalu Leni Atha Gunavanturalu

(A daughter-in-law is always good and noble if she has no mother-in-law. And a mother-in-law who has no daughter-in-law always behaves virtuously).

Atha Kalamu Konnallu, Kodali Kalam Konnallu

(The reign of the mother-in-law is for some years, and the reign of the daughter-in-law is for next some years).

Thus struggle for supremacy and power in the family is powerfully depicted in the folk sayings. While living in joint family is the ideals of the Hindus, day to day frictions in it between the various members are quite common. The common folk are cognizant of the fact. Accordingly, the folklore depicts the possible dissentions. The following are the sayings which depict the general nature of woman

Asuya Mundu Aadadi Venuka

(Woman is so jealous, she is preceeded by jealously everywhere. As Shakespeare puts it, "Frailty—thy name is woman.")

Aadadani Bratuku Arataku Vantidi

(Woman's life is as delicate as that of a plantain leaf).

That is to say, it is the leaf that bears the brunt, whether it falls on a thorn, or a thorn falls on it.

Aadadani Mata Aapadalaku Moolamu

(Woman's word is the root cause of all evils, troubles and dangers).

Similar idea can be traced out in the statement of Couley—"But what is woman ? Only one of nature's agreeable blunders".

Aadadanini Choochina Ardhanni Choochina Brahmakaina Puttu Rimma Tegulu

(Woman and money tempt even "Brahma" the creator. This is to say woman and money are the source of all evils).

Lastly the following folk-sayings deal with the image of mother and the importance of a son.

Tolakarini Cheruvu Nindina, Toluchuri Koduku Puttina Labham

(If a tank fills in the early rains, or the first born is a son, it is a great gain).

And next,

Putti Chachina Putrude Melu

(Son is best eventhough he died at the moment of his birth).

III

Besides folksayings, we many also get a picture about the position and status of the Telugu women if we care to study Telugu folksongs. Following is an example where the position of a barren woman is faithfully depicited.

Kotha Chintapandu Gonella Cheku
Godrali Vastralu Pettella Cheku
Pata Chintapandu Bastala Chivuku
Balenta Vastralu Pasupulla Chivuku
Kodukula Gananivalla Kadupemi Kadupu
Kulamudharinchani Kodukemi Koduku
Pidikedu Vithanalu Madikella Chalu
Vakkade Kodukaina Vamsana Chalu

(Just as fresh tamarind eats aways its gunny container, a sterile woman's clothes erode the iron container. Auspicious are the mothers and their wear who bore children, call them what you may, the families that born no offspring. Rail the son who fails or shirks to feed and rend, just one son enough for the family, as a fistful of seed. Suffice a large field).

The above song and sayings clearly reflect the derogatory attitude of people towards a sterile woman who fails to procreate and thus maintain family line. Glorious tribute is paid to a woman who bears children. A mother is the very embodiment of the Goddess "Kali", also called "Prakriti" which symbolises the cosmic activity. A mother is treated as an auspicious person and her blessings are invoked on many occasions. Some people even refuse to take food from the hands of a woman who is not a mother. The mother's importance, comes to a climatic height at the time of the celebration of the Upanayana ceremony for the son. The first ritual alms are preferred by the mother only, to the initiate. In order to attain motherhood, it is common for the mother in the Andhra families to make her newly-wed daughter, perform a series of rites called the "Gaurinomu" and the "Varalakshminomu" at regular prescribed periods. The underlying belief is that there rites bringsforth peace, plenty, progeny and prosperity.

Motherhood is the eternal bliss of a woman's life. So sterile women go to any length and undergo hard ascetic life like prolonged fasting and other types of self mortifications. These women give enormous charities, frequently go on pilgrimages and invoke the blessings of a variety of deities to be able to bear children and escape, the social and psychological oppression. These beliefs, attitudies and value orientations are implicitly or explicitly stated in many other folk-sayings and songs.

Institution of polygyny is popularly expressed in Telugu folk-sayings. The co-wife (Savati) is treated and described as a woman full of rivalry and jealousy. She is seldom picturised as a cooperating one, identified or integrated with the interests and traditions of the family. This is due to her very existence is based on competition to win her husband's love and affection. The following sayings reveal the unwantedness of co-wife and her attitudes towards the family members.

Rendulla Vyavasyamu, Iddaru Bharyalu Cherupu
(Farming in two villages and having two wives are always bad).

Paleru Vaniki Godlu Poyina, Marutalliki Bidda Poyina Dukhamu Ledu

(The death of the cattle matters nothing to the farm servants, nor the death of the child to its step mother).

Matalu Talli Matalu, Pettu Savati Talli Pettu
(Words are of mother, treatment is of step mother).

Thus to conclude, proverbs reveal the inner feelings and aspirations of the women-folk. Through them, the actual and real life of women,

the domestic quarrels between the in-laws, leadership pattern, struggle for power and supremacy, authority and other types of conflict in the home, would be better understood.

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PURNIMA SINHA

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC OF NORTH INDIA

This is the fourth of a series of seven articles to be published serially in this paper.

The musical instruments of India may be divided into the following three groups: (i) wind, (ii) string and (iii) percussion. The contemporary forms of musical instruments of North India are briefly described in the present article. Sketches of the principal instruments used in modern India are given in Fig 1. Detailed description and photographs are given by Day (1891) and Sengupta (1959).

(1) *Shanai: Shanai* is one of the most popular wind instruments of North India. It is a conical wooden pipe with brass mouthpiece. The pipe contains twelve holes, seven of which are used for playing the melody and the remaining five are selectively sealed with wax to control the pitch. The recital of *Shanai is* an essential part of any Hindu or Muslim marriage in India and is always played by the Muslims. The melodic pattern is played on one *Shanai* and another *Shanai* is played as a background drone of tonic. It needs a lot of strength of the lungs to play this instrument.

On a day of marriage, on a temporary balcony structure they start playing on the *Shanai* early in the morning with some early morning *raga*, and go on playing the *ragas* appropriate for the time of the day and play sad tunes during the departure of the bride. The sound of *Shanai*[1] reminds us of festivity. I do not know what effect it will have on western audience.

(2) Flute: Indian flute is made by making holes on a thin hollow bamboo stick. You can compare the tonal quality of the flute[2] with that of *Shanai*. The latter has more rounded and smooth tonal quality, more resembling the human voice.

(3) *Sarengee* is a bowed string instrument made of hollow wood. The lower part of the resonator is covered by leather. The melody is played on four catgut strings and there are many resonating strings made of brass. The instrument is generally played as an accompaniment to vocal music. As the vocalist goes on improvising during the performance, the *Sarengee* player goes on copying it.[3]

(4) The most important plucked string instrument in North India is the *Sitar*, which is a modification of the ancient instrument, *Veena*. *Veena*

is still the most important plucked string instrument of South India. The *Veena* consists of a hollow wooden stem attached to two hollow gourd resonators at both the ends. The front part of the lower and the main resonator is made of wood. There are twenty-two fixed frets attached to the stem in positions corresponding to the natural, sharp and flat notes. There are four strings for playing the melody and three additional strings for indicating rhythm. The essential difference between *Veena* and *Sitar* is that the frets in the latter are movable. The position of the frets can be adjusted before each performance, according to the notes required for playing different *ragas*. *Sitar* is generally smaller is size than the *Veena*. The later modification of the *Sitar* contains many resonating strings in addition to the seven strings, which gives a richer tonal quality. The difference in the tonal quality and style of playing between the two instruments will be apparent if one listens to recital of *Veena*[4] and *Sitar*.[5,6]

(5) Another popular plucked string instrument of North India is *Swarode*. It is a modification of the instrument called *Rabab*. The body of the *swarode* is made of hollow wood with narrow stem and a broad semi-spherical resonator. The resonator is covered with leather and the front part of the stem is made of steel. It contains seven strings for playing the melody and ten resonating strings.[7]

(6) *Tambura: Tambura* is played as a background drone with any kind of vocal and instrumental music. The body of the *tambura* is similar to that of *Veena*, without any fret in the stem. There are only four strings on the stem. The sequence of tuning of the strings is $GC^1C^1C^2$, where C is the tonic. For other choice of the tonic the turning is properly transposed. The four strings are successively pulled with fore and middle fingers producing the above notes and their overtones, which creates a background for playing all the principal notes of a melodic pattern.

(7) The most important percussion instrument of North India is *Tabla* which is a modification of the ancient instrument *Mridanga*, which is still the most important percussion instrument of South India. The *Mridanga* is a barrel shaped drum, about two feet long, made of hollow wood, with one end slightly wider than the other. The girth at the centre is about nine inches. The two ends are covered with parchment, which is tightened and loosened by leather braces enclosing small cylindrical blocks of wood, which is either pushed nearer to or further from the head that is being tuned. At the centre of one of the heads there is a black circular patch about one eighth inch thick, made with a paste of manganese dust, boiled rice and tamarind juice. This loading makes the characteristic musical tonal quality of the instrument.

The *tabla* is practically a *Mridanga* divided into two parts. The two

heads being one on each of the two drums. One of the drums, played with the fingers of the right hand, is called *tabla* and the other played with the left hand is called *baya*. The body of the *tabla* is scooped out of a barrel shaped piece of wood and *baya*, the brass drum is of the shape of a cup made of terracotta or brass.

The rhythmic pattern is built up by various types of distribution of accents on and off beat, and different ways of clustering of varying number of syllables and also by the distribution of long and short syllables.

In a performance of vocal or instrumental music *tabla* has a subordinate role to play. The tempo and the division of bars of the beat cycle is determined by the theme of the musical composition. There may be different types of distribution of the beat cycles. Some examples of the different beat cycles used in North Indian music are given below :

1. *Trital* 16 beats divided as 4/4/4/4
2. *Choutal* : 12 beats divided into 6 bars as 2/2/2/2/2/2
3. *Ektal* : 12 beats divided into 4 bears as 3/3/3/3
4. *Dhamar* . 14 beats divided into 2 bars as 7/7
5. *Jhaptal* : 10 beats divided into 2 bars 5/5

Examples of simpler forms of beat cycles are *Dadra*—3/3 or *Kaharva* 4/4.

Once the beat cycle is started, it goes on and on with the same tempo throughout the composition until the vocalist or the instrumentalist goes on to the third movement and indicates the new tempo. The tempo grows faster and faster in steps. Within the framework of the beat cycle, both the vocalist and the *tabla* player goes on improvising different combinations of rhythmic patterns ; each pattern being calculated in such a way that the pattern is complete on the last beat of the cycle and the regular beating can be started from the first beat.

Tabla may also be played as a solo instrument, when a string or wind instrument is used as accompaniment. In that case the accompanying instrument plays a melodic theme over and over again just to indicate the tempo and the nature of the beat cycle. The *tabla* player makes variations and development of rhythmic patterns on some suitable rhythmic theme within the framework of the beat cycle indicated by the accompanying instrument .

The basic units for forming the rhythmic patterns are different types of characteristic sounds produced by different ways of striking the two drums. These units are represented by symbols like *Dha, Dhin, Ta, Kat* etc., which are like morphemes (without any meaning) which from sentences of rhythmic patterns on the *tabla*. One example of a pattern set on *trital* is given below :

1(+) 2 3 4 5

Kat tete thun tete gadi ghene nag tete ghentere ketetak

6 7 8 9 10 11

tatere ketetak takkran dha tere kete dhet takenne dha dha

12 13 14 15 16 1 (+)

tereketa dhet takenne dha dha tere kete dhet takenne dha

The following extracts from records of solo tabla performances represent the Delhi[8] and Benaras[9] style respectively *

As in the case of vocal music the common belief is that the important forms and styles have been developed by Tansen and his descendants through the male and female lines.

Genealogical chart ** of important figures in the development of instrumental music of North India is given in Table 1.

Two of the most important styles of playing of string instruments in North India today are named after *Uzir Khan* and *Imdad Khan*. The most important exponents of *Uzir Khani* style at present are *Hafiz Ali Khan*, *Allauddin Khan* and his descendants and disciples. *Allauddin Khan*, the court musician of *Maihar* State is now above 90 years. When he was a little boy he left home and went around different parts of India to get good training in music. He learnt many forms of instrumental and also vocal music, but had a very hard time in persuading different musicians to take him as a disciple. Ultimately he received his final training from *Uzir Khan* of *Rampur*. *Allauddin* is a gifted music teacher. Among his disciples, his own son Ali Akbar, (*swarode* player) daughter Annapurna (*surbahar* and *sitar* player), son-in-law Ravishankar (*sitar* player) and Nikhil Banerjee (*sitar* player) are some of the leading instrumental musicians of India to-day.

Imdad Khan : Saheb Singh, the father of Imdad Khan received his musical training from two of the very famous musicians Haddu Khan and Hassu Khan. Imdad Khan became the most important exponent of sitar in his time. He was the court musician of the Raja of Benaras, and was brought to Calcutta by Raja Jyotirindra Mohun Thakur. Practicing music was considered to be a form of prayer to God and was valued above everything in life. There is a story about Imdad Khan that when

* The Delhi style, known as *'Bandh Baj'* is characterised by strokes producing a suppressed vibration of the membrane. The Benaras style, known as *'Khula Baj'* have strokes with the tonal quality of free vibration of the membrane.

** Taken from *"Bharatiya Badya Jantra"* by J. M. Sen (in Bengali), and *"Bharatiya Sangeeter Katha"* by P. Goswami (in Bengali).

he was practising music on one evening, his daughter died, and people came to call him to take care of the funeral. He said "please wait for a while, I am not through my prayer yet. You arrange for the funeral." Before his death, he called his two sons and said to them, "I have learnt many *ragas* throughout my life, but concentrated on only two *ragas*, but the absolute vision of those two *ragas* are not yet clear to me. I have failed to achieve anything. If I could live for one hundred more years I could perhaps have done something."

His son *Enayet Khan* was unequestionably the most reknowned sitarist of the last generation. He was the court musician of the Zeminder of Gouripur of East Bengal.

When *Enayet Khan* died in 1940, his son *Vilayet Khan* was only 10 years old. But he was already well known as a *sitar* player. Today he is one of the leading exponents of *sitar* in India.

Styles of playing of percussion instruments :

It is said that around 1296-1312, Amir Khasru, a very famous musician of the court of Allauddin Khilji first divided *Mridanga* into too parts *tabla* and *baga*. This innovation was popularised and improved later on by *Abed Hussain Khan* of Lucknow around 18th/19th centuries. There are important schools of *tabla* in *Delhi*, *Punjab*, *Lucknow* and *Benaras*. Delhi probably represents the original *tabla* style. In *Punjab*, the style of playing is more like that of *Mridanga ;* in *Benaras* and *Lucknow* dance motifs have been introduced in the compositions of *tabla*.

As in the case of vocal music, the authenticity of the history of the evolution of the instruments and styles are questionable, but on interviewing any musician one would obtain almost the same kind of informations. Thus the common beliefs presented above are important because those beliefs help to keep the different groups of musicians together.

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Table :1 Genealogical Chart

Tansen—[chief court musician of Akbar (1556-1605) famous as a vocal musician and a *veena* player, innovator of different forms of music and the instrument *rabab*.]

(Daughter) Saraswati = King of Ajmir
(*veen* player)

The descendants successively became the court musicians of different Moghul Emperors.

Sadarang [court musician of Muhammad Shah (1720)]

(Son) Vilas Khan
(famous *rabab* player)

Chhaddu Khan (court musician of Shah Alam II 1761-1806)

Zaffar Khan (innovator of *sursringar* which is practically a large star. (18th century)

Fall of Moghul empire. Different chieftaincies developed in *Benaras, Rampur, Lucknow, Gwalior*. The court musicians of the above states.

Uzir Khan (court musician of Rompur)
d
Allauddin Khan (c)
(contemporary court musician of Maihar State)

Dabir Khan (contemporary)
[famous *veen* player of North India]

d

Ali Akbar Khan
(famous *Swarode* player—(c)
d
Nikhil Banerjee
(c) important exponent of *sitar*

Annapurna
= Ravisankar
(famous as *swarode* and *sitar* player respectively)
(c)

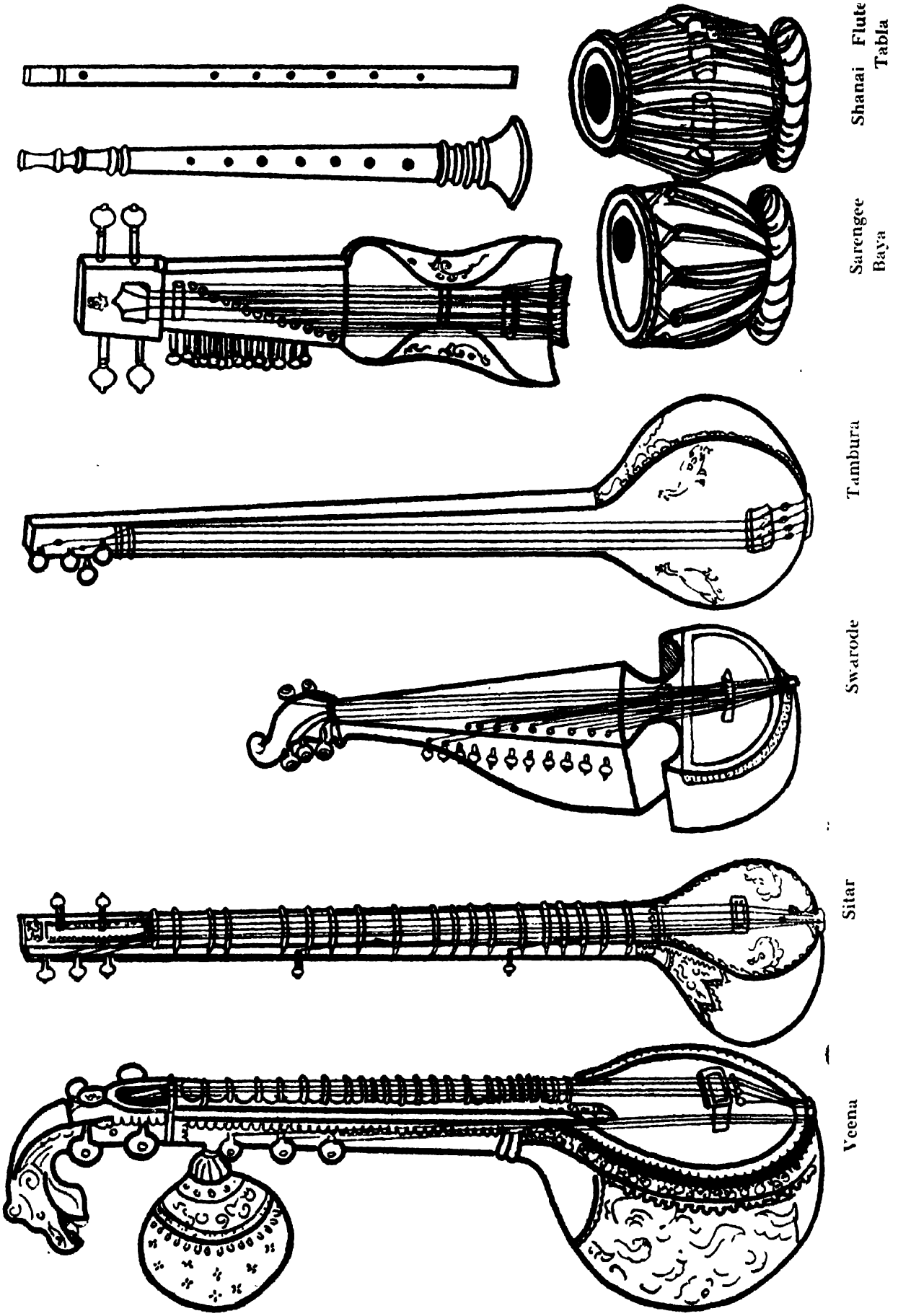
Golam Rasul

shakkar

Muhammad Khan
(d) Haddu Khan & Hassu Khan

Saheb Singh
Imdad Khan
Enayet Khan
Vilayet Khan (c)
(famous *sitar* player).

c—contemporary
d—disciple


Shanai
Flute
Tabla
Sarengee
Baya
Tambura
Swarode
Sitar
Veena

ASUTOSH BHATTACHARYA

SNAKE-DEITIES OF BENGAL

Prof. Dr. Asutosh Bhattacharya needs no introduction. Here he has treated serpent-cult as it is available in different parts of Bengal—East Pakistan and West Bengal. In some earlier issues of this journal he described this cult with a greater details.

The civilized world has not the relation which the society of primitive man had the world of beasts. In the pre-historic age man and beast were constant neighbours and each endeavoured to hold his own against the other. At a time when owing to the laws of worldly changes men felt impotent to protect themselves, yet living in habitations surrounded by forests they could not remove to a far distance from the contact of beasts, they sought to save themselves by supernatural means. It was in consequence thereof that they conceived of particular deities indwelling particular beasts and tried to propitiate the outrageous beasts by worshipping the deities supposed to preside over them.

Serpent : Of all animals held in worship in different parts of India the serpent is the most important. Its cult is widely distributed throughout the whole of India from Kashmir in the North to Cape Comorine in the South. The cult as prevalent in Bengal is somewhat different in character from it is in the other parts of North India. Among the common run of people both in Bengal and in the South the cult has retained its primitive character to a very great extent. Roughly speaking in North India the image of a serpent considered male in character and known as Nagaraja or the king of the snakes is held in worship and in the South it is the living snakes to whom worships are offered. Instead of the image of the 'king of the serpents' and the living snakes an anthropomorphic serpent goddess known as Manasa is worshipped in Bengal. An exclusive cult known as the Manasa-cult has developed in this part of the country and it is highly popular among all sections of the Hindus though more so among the lower classes in some areas. The rites as observed in connection with the worship of the serpent-goddess Manasa are widely different in the different parts of Bengal, but from a careful analysis of them it would be clear that they have originated from a common source. The elements of difference which have developed in the meantime are nothing but local factors and as such have no intrinsic relationship with the fundamental factors.

Of all the places in Bengal the area covered by the district of Birbhum in West Bengal has undoubtedly the largest number of votaries of the serpent-deity Manasa. Any casual visitor to the rural areas of this district will certainly agree with me on this point. Even to this day the serpent-worship in Birbhum is a very well-developed and living cult. Almost in every village in this district a visitor will come across one or more serpent shrines which are but low mud-walled straw-huts situated within the house-quardrangles of some of the lower class Hindus. Daily worship is offered in most of these shrines where invariably a Hinduized aboriginal conducts the worship. People of the various sections of the Hindu community ungrudgingly join the worship though the educated higher class Hindus generally disassociate themselves from it. Such shrines are maintained by a class of priests known as *Deyasi* or *Dyasi*, Sanskritized sometimes to *Devamsi* meaning a part and parcel of the gods though the word is believed to have been derived from *Deva-vasi* meaning associate of god. But I think the word has originated from some non-Aryan source. For in Southern India the word *Deyasi* is still very widely used in rural areas to denote a headman 'who may be said in a manner to corresponde to a 'Justice of Peace'. These priests come, as I have already stated, from the Hinduized aboriginals. But due to the growing influence of Hinduism Brahmin priests are also requisitioned on special occasions. Sometimes the maintenance of the serpent-shrines forms the only source of income of the *Deyasi* who also act as exorcists in snake-bite. It is rather strange that the serpent-worship in the neighbouring districts of Birbhum is neither as wide nor as developed as it is in Birbhum proper. The area of Murshidabad district which is contiguous to Birbhum and falls west of the river Bhagirathi is an exception to this.

The serpent-shrines in the above area are made, as I have already stated, of mud-walls roofed with straw. No provision is however made for the entry of air and light from outside when the only door is closed after the daily worship. Within in the darkness are installed on raised altars the 'images' of the serpent-deity known by various local names at various places, e.g., Chintamani (literally meaning a fabulous gem said to grant the possessor whatever he may wish for), Jalduburi (diver), Visahari (destroyer of poison), Padma-kumari (lotus maiden), Budima (the old mother), Dulaler Ma (Dulal's mother), and various others. A Bagdi, Kaot or Mal, all Hinduized aboriginals is entrusted with the duty of performing the worship which is adopted as a hereditory profession. On the raised altar within the shrine are to be seen three, five or seven earthen pitchers with the carvings of hoods of snakes around and covered with a thick layer of vermilion which is being deposited on them since the day of their installation some decades back. Very rarely, however,

one pitcher is also seen, but in all cases it must be an odd number. On the top of each image are placed in green leaves of the *Cauctus Indica* plant (*Euphorbia lingularum*), which are daily replaced at the time of worship. Sometime brass nails which are offered by the devotees in fulfilment of their mental vows, are stuck to the outer side of the images. These nails are known as *chik* (one which glitters) as they glitter in the dimn light of the lamp which burn within. The images are considered to be mutually related to each other as sisters and they are also differently named. Numerous legends are in vogue with these earthen pitchers which are worshipped as the representatives of the serpent deity.

I have now to give here an account of the serpent-worship as it is prevalent in North Bengal. In North Bengal the serpent-cult is also very widely prevalent. From the archaeological discoveries of Paharpur in Dinajpur district which adjoins Maldah on the east and north-east it is evident that serpent worship was a highly popular cult in this area from as early as the eleventh century A. D. Both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic serpent-images have been discovered from there. In this area there is no permanent serpent-shrine anywhere. The worship is held once in the whole year with great pomp. The orthodox Hindu serpent festival known as Naga-Panchami is unknown here even among the higher caste Hindus. On the last day of the Bengali month of Sravana (July-August) the annual worship is held instead of on the Naga-Panchami day. The worship is held either at the public places of such worships or in the houses of the individual worshippers on that day. No image of the deity is generally made, but on this occasion the earthen images of the eight principal serpents of the Mahabharata legend (or sometimes of one serpent, probably of Astika of the same legend) are worshipped. In most cases instead of any image the *Cauctus Indica* plant is worshipped as the seat of the serpent-deity. Special offerings, consisting of milk and fried rice and sometimes with banana kept in big-sized arum leaves, are offered to the deity. In East Maldah the floors of rooms, verandah and the house-compound are beautifully decorated with special designs of rice-paste drawings resembling the winding gait of the serpent. The womenfolk abstain from taking food on that occasion in some places. In most of the Hindu families no food is cooked on that day. This ceremonial or ritual abstinence of cooking is known as *arandhan* which is observed on some other occasions also.

The Rajvamsi constitute the main population of Rangpur, (East Pakistan) Cooch-Behar and Jalpaiguri districts. Serpent worship is also prevalent among them with due pomp and grandeur. In the Raj family of Jalpaiguri which also belong to the Rajvamsi clan, idols illustrating the principal serpent-legend are displayed on this occasion when a large fair is also held. Sometimes the festival continues for the whole month

during which various folk-entertainments are held.

Barring a few minor exceptions, on the whole, there is unity in the rituals of serpent-worships in the districts along the Ganges. Among them the western part of the district of Murshidabad is naturally influenced by the district of Birbhum. Elsewhere such as in East Burdwan, Hooghly, Howrah, Nadia and 24-Parganas there is very little or no difference in ritualistic observations of serpent-worship. In this part of Bengal there are public places of worship of the serpent-deity in almost every village where worship is held on the prescribed date invariably before a *Cauctus Indica* plant which grows in size as years role by. People assemble there irrespective of caste and creed and offer their worship without, however, any animal sacrifice. Sometimes the higher caste Hindu women, instead of going over to such places of public worship hold the worship at their own houses with the assistance of the Brahmin priests. In that case also a branch of the *Cauctus Indica* plant will be invariably kept upon a conventional type of earthen pitcher which will, however, form the chief object of worship. No image is built nor any animal is sacrificed in this connection. Dasahara (the day on which the river Ganges is ceremonially worshipped), Naga-Panchami (the day on which the serpent is ceremonially worshipped all over India by the orthodox Hindus), the last day of the Bengali month of Ashadha (June-July), of Sravana (July-August), and of Bhadra (August-September) roughly speaking the four months of rains are the occasions when the serpent-deity is worshipped. In some villages small brick-built shrines are also raised permanently at such places of public worship by some dedicated devotee. Permanent images built of metals or stones are also sometimes installed inside the shrines. At Kidderpore near Calcutta, within a shrine there is a big image of the serpent deity made of brass which must have attracted notice of many passersby. Daily worship of the goddess is however held at this place. The following account of the rites of the serpent deity was recorded from a villages known as Uttarbhag in 24-Parganas is worth notice. It has some special features not known to exist in other parts of the State. Writes Dr. S. L. Hora from his personal observations wrote: 'So far as I have been able to ascertain the mode of representing this godling at Uttarbhag by two conical mounds of mud is quite different from all others so far known. Each mound has three clay heads of cobra arranged on one side and a mark of vermilion put in from of them. It seems probable that three mud-mounds are substitutes for water pond or earth pots. It has also to be noted that the *puja* at *Uttarbhag* was performed towards the end of January or early in February and not as usual the months of July and August". The worship of Manasa at Uttarbhag according to the writer, has thus 'to be treated as a relic, without any specific utilitarian back-

ground in its present form'. But from my own experience I have come to learn that the worship of Manasa is held twice during the year—once during the rainy season and again after harvesting in this part of the district.

Serpent-worship is almost like a national festival in East Bengal though it is held only once in a year. Only in a very few places are there permanent shrines of the serpent-goddess.* I know only two such places, one is known as Manasa-Bari (house of Manasa) of Vikrampur in Dacca and the other is known as Jalkumari's Bari (house of Jalkumari) of Sucharkadandi in Chittagong. I have also heard that there are a few such places in the district of Sylhet but I have no personal knowledge of them. Animal sacrifice is an indispensible adjunct to the rituals in East Bengal.

Owing to the wide prevalence of the cult among all classes of people in East Bengal, a very elaborate and complicated ritual has developed in this area with regard to its observance. Though the mode of worship are fundamentally the same, yet they differ in detail to a considerable extent. There is little difference in ritualistic observances of this cult in the area covered by East Mymensing, West Sylhet and North Tippera. This area can be accepted as a social and cultural unit. The annual celebration of the serpent-worship is held here on the last day of the Bengali month of Sravana when whole of the above area is practically covered by a vast sheet of water deposited by overflow from the Assam and Surma Valleys. People irrespective of caste or creed build earthen images of the snake-deity and worship her at their own houses invididually with sacrifices either of goat or of pigeon. The Vaisvavas, (the worshippers of Visnu), who are vegetarian offer the goddess sacrifices of sugar-cane, pumpkin and other vegetables. The image has two or sometime four arms—two clay snakes spread their hoods on either shoulder of her. On the following day, before the image is immersed into the river, the earthen snakes are taken out of the image and kept in the house. People believe that the dried earth of these clay snakes is an infallible remedy of many incurable diseases specially children's diseases. There is one very interesting item among the objects of worship here, which is nowhere met with now-a-days. This is known as *Karandi* which is worshipped along with the image and sometimes in lieu of it. It is made with Indian cork (*shola*) in the shape of a small house, generally not more than two feet in height. Coloured drawings of serpents, the serpent-goddess and some characters and some incidents of the serpent-legend are made on the conical outer roof and

*In Banaripara of Bakherganj district of East Pakistan there is permanent shrine and temple of Goddess Manasa. Ed.

the flat outer walls of it. These drawings are undoubtedly one of the remarkable specimens of folk-art in Bengal. After the animal is sacrificed its blood is sprinkled on the *Karandi* which is sometimes preserved in the house with the stains of blood on it, though more frequently floated down the river on the immersion day. Besides the Karandi there is another essential ingredient necessary for the worship of the serpent deity. It is the tiny pitchers (*ghat*) made of earth and shaped in a peculiar fashion. It is like a thin pipe with two snakes spreading their hoods on either side of it. Sometimes a human face, obviously that of the serpent-deity, is carved out of the upper part of the pipe. These pitchers are known as *Kaitari Ghat*. Though the word *Kaitar* in East Bengal means pigeon, I failed to understand how this particular bird could be associated with an object of serpent worship. These pitchers are filled with corn and kept beside the image during the worship. Milk and banana are kept on some vessels made of plantain bark and are placed in the Karandi as the special offerings to the serpents. Eight kinds of fried things such as pea, oil-seed and other pluses form the special offerings for the eight principle serpents of the Mahabharata legend.

The special feature of the serpent festival in this part of the State is the rice-paste drawing (*alpana*). The entire venue of worship is decorated, with these drawings serpents represent in the various designs. Around this serpent drawing other drawings illustrating the chief incidents of the snake-story are also found. Coloured powders are used in such drawings. The entire floor of the room appears to be a picture-gallery. From the first day of the Bengali month of Sravana until the day of the worship which is held on the last day of the month the principle snake-story is recited in part every day after nightfall before the assembly of the villagers. The immersion ceremony of the deity takes place on the day following her worship. This occasion is marked by a special festival, namely the boat-race. It is very difficult to say how this boat-race has come to be associated with the immersion ceremony of the serpent-deity. I have already stated that this area is covered by a vast sheet of water during the rainy season. These marshy lands are known as *haor*—the word seems to have been derived from the Sanskrit word '*Sagara*' meaning the sea. There are certain public places where the racing boats of the neighbouring villages assemble and hold competition in race, the winning boat ties a new piece of cloth in its prow as a symbol of victory.

The districts of Dacca, Faridpur and Bakherganj of East Pakistan form another distinct social unit. The area known as Vikrampur is included within it which being most effectively influenced by Hinduism in the whole of East Bengal has developed certain rituals in the line more

of Hinduism proper than that of the popular faiths. Serpent-worship is also a very well-developed cult here having its rituals more complicated than in any other part of East and West Bengal.

The Naga-Panchami mentioned above is very widely prevalent here among all classes of Hindus. On this occasion worship of the eight principal serpent of the Mahabharata legend or nine or forty two serpents according to the family tradition of each worshipper, is held. Earthen images of serpents with raised hoods, the number of which is determined according to the tradition prevailing in each family, are made and worshipped on this occasion. Worship in all classes is done by the Brahmin priests without any scruple whatsoever. The serpent-deity is also worshipped on the last day of the Bengali month of Sravana as in other places of East Bengal—the worship of the serpent-deity on this particular day is known as the worship of *Pat* Visahari. In most houses, a pitcher representing the serpent-deity is installed on the first day of the Bengali month of Sravana and worshipped upto the last day of the same month when it is ceremonially immersed. The housewives, young or old, are not allowed to go to their fathers' house on any account after the pitchers have been installed within the house. As there is no dearth of watery stretches in the above area the boat festival is also celebrated here on such and also on other occasions.

Neither Nag-Panchami nor the worship of Pat-Visahari is anything of importance so far as serpent-worship is concerned among the people of the above area. The most important serpent-festival is known here as *Rayani*, a word of doubtful origin.[1] *Rayani* can be celebrated at any time of the year. It is indeed a very important social festival among the Hindus of the above area though it is known elsewhere in Bengal. When a child is born in a family a mental vow is taken by its head to the effect that the snake-festival known as Rayani would be performed on the occasion of its marriage or sacred-thread ceremony if the child is a male and Brahmin or Vaidya by caste. It is indeed a very costly affair. Therefore due to economic reasons a great part of its rituals is now being sacrificed though only a couple of decades back the festival was used to be held two or three days before the actual sacred thread or the marriage ceremony as the case may be. The celebration of Rayani extends over a period either of five or two and a half days according to the custom prevailing in each family or in the absence of that according to the mental vow taken for either of the above periods at the time of the child's birth. In this connection clay images of the serpent-

1. In East Bengal the Sanskrit word 'Yatra' with the double meaning of festival and journey is known as Rayani. The word Rayani may have been derived from that.

goddess as big as the image of the goddess Durga (three to four feet in height) are sometimes built. On either side of the image are placed three or four images of her associates. In front of these images a row of idols representing the chief characters of the principle Bengali serpent-story are placed side by side each on his or her distinct seat. The snake-story is narrated throughout the night. Nobody dares to hold the marriage of his son or daughter without performing this ceremony. Because it is very strongly believed here that on failure to do so snakes will create trouble to the married couple.

The rituals of the serpent-worship in some parts of Bengal have merged into the popular Saivism of those areas. As the serpent is the ornament of Siva according to the Puranic tradition it has been found very convenient to absorb the serpent-cult within Saivism from a considerably early period of time. In many popular Saiva shrines live serpents are found to be preserved. I have myself seen some living snakes in a village shrine of Siva in the district of Burdwan. They live inside holes made on the walls and floor of the shrine and generally live on the milk and other offerings given before the deity at the time of worship. Gradually they increase in number, but nobody coming to the temple is afraid of them nor do these serpents cause any harm to anybody. At the time of the worship these snakes come out of their holes at the smell of the incense and the sound of the bell. After the worship is over they take the food and drink offered by the priest and then quietly retire to their holes. In some places serpents live in the hollow of big *peepul* trees which shade the shrines below. At the time of the annual worship of Siva offerings are also made to them by the devotees. None ever think of causing any harm to them. Snake charmers are also not allowed to catch these snakes which are considered absolutely harmless due to their supposed divine association. In places where the serpent-worship has practically merged into the local Saiva-cult no rites exclusively of the serpent-goddess are found to exist. They have been inseparably connected with the rites of Siva.

In some parts of West Bengal even today a special serpent-festival, secular in character, is observed. This is known as Jhampan which really means a stage erected to exhibit tricks with snakes. It is held on the last day of the Bengali month of Sravana when the annual serpent-worship is held throughout whole of Bengal. Though under the influence of present urban culture it is fast becoming obsolete yet it was a very common thing during the last century. Jhampan is really the annual conference of the snake-charmers or exorcists of a particular area. The exorcists of a particular area or disciples of a particular preceptor in snake-charmer assemble at a place on this occasion and show various tricks and feats with living snakes, claimed to be venomous, as they pro-

ceed with music along the public road. Sometimes the disciples carry the preceptor on their shoulders along the road on a mobile platform on which the latter goes on showing various tricks with live snakes. Sometimes a bullock-cart is also used as the mobile platform for this purpose. The eager crowd on either side of the road, with a mixed feeling of horror and delight, witness the performance. The chief among their dexerities is to show how they remove the poisonous fangs of the serpents. Sometime the exorcists coil the snakes around their necks and arms. Fatal cases of snake-bite among the participants sometime occur in the courses of their display of the feats which is sometimes made with snakes with their poison-fangs unextracted in the exuberance of zeal. I have been told that due to fatal consequence the practice had been long abandoned in many places with the least prospect of future revival. The practice is confined among the *Kayat* or *Kaivarta* (fisherman class) in particular though as a rule every exorcist, to whatever caste he may belong, is allowed to participate in it.

A very rich folk-literature flourished in Bengal on the local legends of the serpent-goddess Manasa as early as probably the thirteenth century A. D. One of such legends in particular written in the form of narrative poetry, gained the widest popularity of all the classes of folk-literature in Bengal though not only this State but also the neighbouring States of Assam and Bihar. Hundreds of poets composed verses with the same theme which is being carried from generation to generation for centuries even to this day. This is known as the legend for the merchant Chand and Behula. It is not however the only story extant in Bengal that sings the glory of the serpent-deity Manasa. There is yet another which is recited in the course of the ceremonial worship of the deity held by the Bengali women during the months of rain. Besides the above there are innumerable snake-stories of secular character in the folk-literature of Bengal.

The principal Bengali snake-story or the narrative of Chand Sadagar in its various forms has been contributing to Bengali folk-amusement of secular nature also from very ancient times. These are the four principal forms in which the narrative has been adopted for folk-amusement, viz., *Bhasan Yatra* or a popular form of drama, *Rayani* or a form of musical recitation of the narrative and *Putul Natch* or puppet dance. In addition ot these principal forms there are a few others of minor importance. All the above forms are still prevalent in different parts of Bengal.

From the wide distribution of the serpent-cult in Bengal it is only natural to expect that this reptile should enter deep into the belief and superstition of the people of the States of West Bengal and East Pakistan.

University of Calcutta. Calcutta.

NOTES AND NEWS

5th Congress of the International Society for Folk narrative under the auspices of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore will be held at Bucharest from August 26 to 31, 1969. In this Congress world famous folklorists and ethnographers are expected to participate.

* * * *

Under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, Govt. of India and Indian Publishers Association an International Seminar on book publishing and selling was held at New Delhi from March 11-15, 1969. Mr. S. N. Kanjilal, Supdt. of the Calcutta Univ. Press & Publication attended the seminar as a delegate of the University. The Director of the Yulu Univ. Press, Manager of Oxford Univ. Press and many others participated in the seminar. In his speech Mr. Kanjilal suggested that an Association of Indian University Press and Publications should be formed. This organisation may look to the production of books, preparation of catalogues and other sales promotion materials which may be done in commercial way. Mr. Kanjilal's suggestion for establishing an Association of the Indian University Press and Publications was highly appreciated.

* * * *

One the Holy festival day, the 3rd March, 1969 there was another human sacrifice in Rajasthan (the first was in Udaipur) in the village Akoria in the Tonk district. The village is located 30 miles away from the district Head Quarter. In the village there are 50 households. More than 90% are agriculturists. The rest 10% consists of blacksmiths, leather workers and day labourers. Even today there has been no spread of education. There is a primary school up to class III. In it's students role there are 15 students. Goddess Chamunda is the village deity. People from neighbouring villages also come and perform worship to this deity. In order to get hidden-leasure a 54 years old blackmith, Bajrang Khatu by name, was killed some greedy villagers before the goddess, but the killers could procure no hidden money except passing their days in jail custody. When the police came to the spot for further investigation, it was reported that they were haunted by the snakes. Thus being frightened the police began to worship the serpent Goddess Manasa.

BOOK-REVIEW

FOLKLORE MUSEUM, By Dr. Shyamchand Mukherjee, M.A., D.Phil, Supdt. of Archaeology, Govt. of West Bengal, Published by Indian Publications, Calcutta-1. January, 1969. Foreword by Smt. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya & Introduction by Sankar Sen Gupta, pp. I-XXXII, + 1-56, price Rs. 10.50.

The book under review can be described as a collection of various theoretical ideas on folklore studies as well as on folklore museum, e.g. on p. IX the author says, "the science of folklore is a historical science in asmuchas it throws an welcome light on the past history of the mankind by inductive scientific method". But unfortunately he has not given at least one analytical case study to illustrate this. By reading this book one may conclude that Dr. Mukherjee has read many books on the subject but none critically and like a socalled good student he has consumed many good ideas to be found in those books and has quoted them verbatim.

The same uncritical approach has characterised the introduction by Shri Sankhar Sen Gupta who says at p XV, "All developing countries after achieving their political independence have formulated plans for betterment of their people". But is it true of say Indonesia, Congo, Ghana or Negeria. Have the Plans which are supposed to have been put to effect in India, bettered the life of the common people ? Our writters have done enough theorizing, time has come to do a little practical work. Shri Sen Gupta again goes on the same page, "One of the most intriguing problems ever to agitate the mind of man has been the quest for an adequate explanation of the amazing socio-cultural efflorescence that occured in ancient India". I don't know why there is a problem on this point and why pick out India alone. What about ancient Egypt, Greece, China or even Mexico ? What is the use of writing this type of statements ?

In the main part of the book Dr. Mukherjee has given a compilation of all types of theories on what is meant by folklore as can evidence by a catalogue of different writers on the subject (pp. 14-18). The book's only utility is that in this publication Dr. Mukherjee has gathered together all useful information on folklorology, museum and other allied subjects in a concise form for the reference purpose of research scholars and there ends the matter. The printing and get-up of the book is good and the price Rs. 10.50 is also moderate.

J. K. Guha, M.A.

Govt. of West Bengal, Calcutta.

EDITORIAL

April, 1969

India's one of the main effort continues to go in keeping the country's education in a state of dynamic development, to keep its people, "a people learning". The growth of overall education of the present type began in 1948. An uphill battle is being fought to provide education through mother-tongue. Today with a population of about fifty million, more than 36 per cent population of India are literates. Here millions are engaged in higher and advanced studies in humanities and sciences. Even the peasants and workers are being encouraged through different agencies to arrange hours of study to increase their knowhow. Special frameworks is being developed to deal with India's heterogeneons population, new methods are being introduced in nurseries and kindergartens, educational and vocational counselling is on the way, correspondence course and different institutes have started for the teaching of Hindi and other regional languages for the use of audio-visual aids as well as helping culturally deprived childrens and persons. Here childrens are dominating factor in education. There are 39% students in kindergartens, 36% in primary schools, 32% in postprimary schools. Research and experimentations are being acclerated to close educational gap. Vocational training is is being vigorously promoted which have provided new openings for the youths. There has also also been efforts of direct connection between the standared of knowledge of the parents and the educational progress of their children. The campaign against illiteracy is directed to give everyone a basic education and to know the country and her people from a unbiased and open mind.

From primary schools more than 60% go on high schools which are not free in India. The primary education is free in some States while it is very costly for the majority States of India. From high schools more than 36% go to colleges and from colleges more than 20% go to the universities. All through their careers Indian students study literature, art, culture, science, technology, history, geography, social study, music, dance, drama, and others. But time has come when from primary level the students of humanity and socio-biological groups of science should know their traditional past, their folklore. Folklore offers such knowledge that are not available in written literature. Let our educators take lead to that effect and formulate syllabus discipline. In doing so they will be doing a valuable service not only to the folklore movement but also to the country at large.



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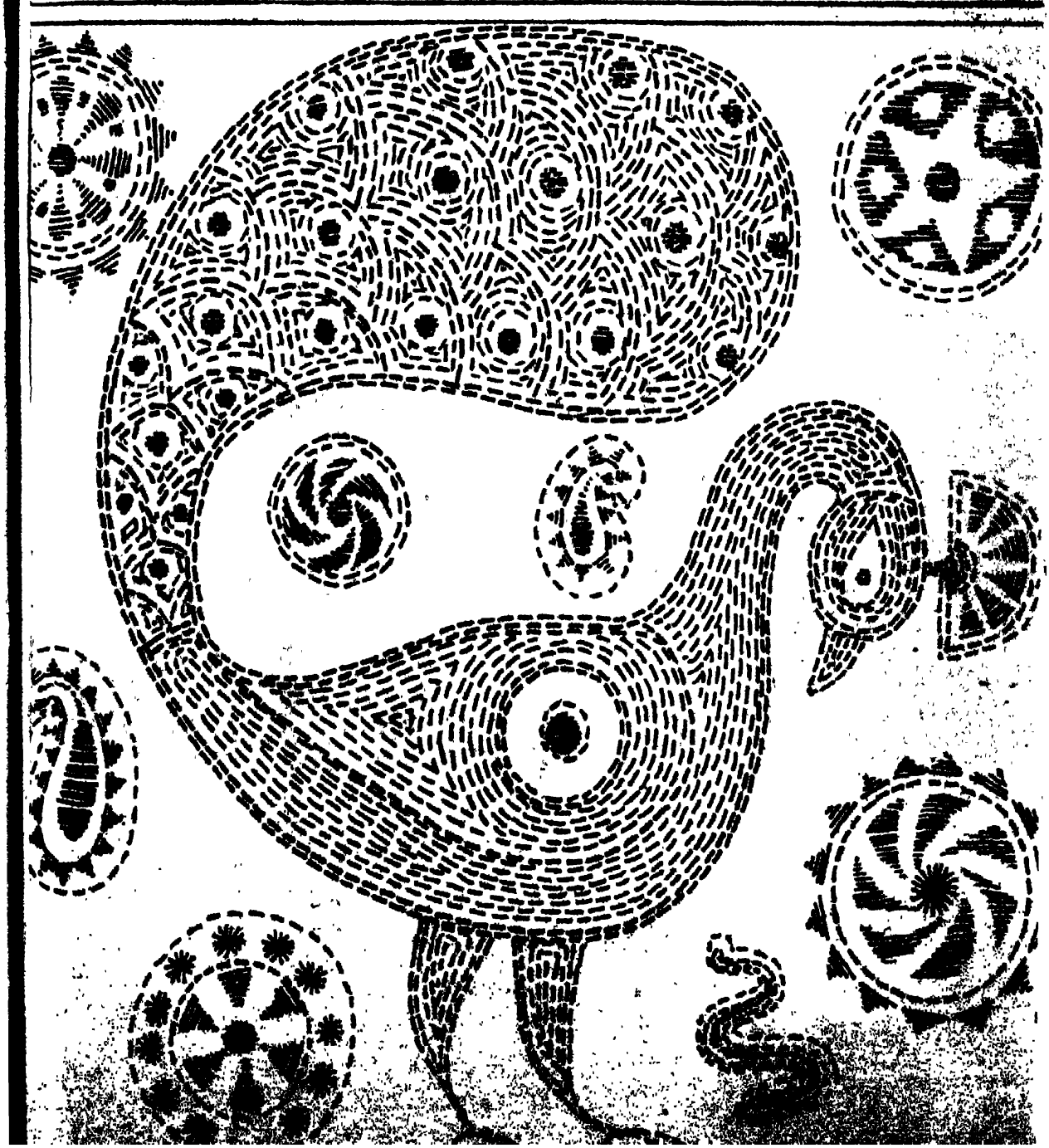
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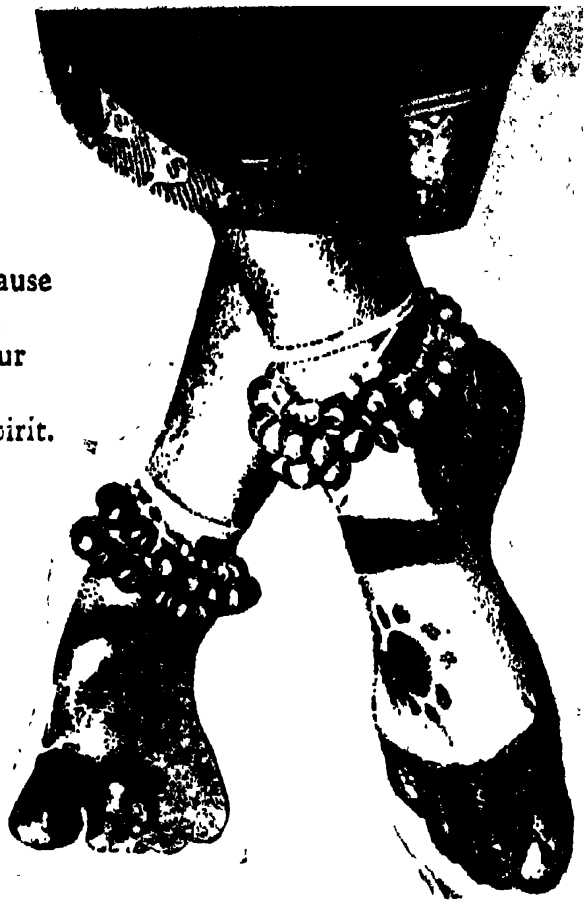
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FOLKLORE

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL WITH CLASS READERSHIP

May 1969 Vol. X No. 5





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as much as in our steel—and because
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other expressions of the human spirit.

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FOLKLORE

May, 1969.

VOLUME X NUMBER 5

DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN

A stunned and grief-stricken nation, stands still to pay its respectful homage to the memory of its revered leader, the late Dr. Zakir Husain, who was its "friend, philosopher and guide'. He was a great statesman, educationist and scholar of a high order. He was the embodiment of humanism, universal love and brotherhood. He held many high offices in public-life with distinction. He is deeply mourned not only by his countrymen but also by the people of various other countries. Condolence messages have come to the acting president from all over the word. Loved by all in the country he has rightly been called *Ajatshatru* which means, a person who has no enemy. Besides, he was an enthusiastic supporter of folklore movement and had ecouraged the editor of this journal with several letters and goodwishes for years together. He came in our contact as an educator and since 1958 when he was the Governor of Bihar he had encouraged us in our activities till he breadth his last.

The late President, Dr. Zakir Husain was born in Hyderabad on 8th February 1897. He lost his father when he was only nine. He started his education in a residential school and later went to Aligarh University where he met Mahatma Gandhi for the first time when the latter visited the place with the Ali brothers. He had barely finished his college education when the first wave of the non-cooperation movement swept across the country. But he chose the less exciting but equally important field of national service—education. He helped in the establishment of an institution which has earned a country-wide reputation—the Jamia Millia Islamia. He served this university as Vice-chancellor for about 22 years during which he built up the Jamia Millia into a distinguished centre of learning.

Dr. Husain secured a Ph. D. in economics from the University of Berlin. During his educational career he wrote articles on Mahatma Gandhi and delivered lectures in Scandinavian countries. In 1937, when India attained a measure of provincial autonomy and Gandhiji urged the new popular governments to adopt his scheme of work-

orinted 'basic education' he invited Dr. Zakir Husain to preside over the National Committee on Basic Education. Later Dr. Husain took up the Vice-chancellorship of Aligarh Muslim University at a very critical time when Aligarh had been a storm centre of seperatist politics. Here he served for a period of eight years till 1956 and set everything right.

Political Life

Left to himself, Dr. Zakir Husain might never have entered political life. He was drafted into political life in 1952, at the age of 55 when he was nominated a member of Rajya Sabha as one who had distinguished himself in the field of literature, art and social service.

He was appointed Governor of Bihar State in 1957. Later, in 1952 when Dr. S. Radhakrishnan was elected President, Dr. Husain was chosen as the most suitable succeessor as Vice-President by late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. Dr. Zakir Husain, in the capacity of Vice-President won the respect and affection of all the sections of the Upper House.

He was honoured with 'Padma Vibhushan' in 1954 and was awarded the 'Bharat Ratna' in 1963 in recognition of his public service of the highest order.

In May 1967 Dr. Zakir Husain was elected as President of India. In a short speech after his swearing in as President he declared : "The whole of *BHARAT* is my family. It shall be my earnest endeavour to seek to make this home strong and beautiful, a worthy home for a great people engaged in the fascinating tasks of building a just and prosperous and graceful life." This was not a mere speech. Dr. Husain worked hard to keep his family of the whole Bharat united till the last.

A Writer

Dr. Zakir Hussian was also a powerful writer of Urdu prose. His best known published work is an Urdu translation of Plato's *REPUBLIC*. He wrote several books for children. His favourite authors were Plato, Goethe and Marx whom he often quoted in his speeches, academic contributions and private conversations.

Even after assuming political offices Dr. Husain served the cause of education and culture in India and abroad in many capacities. Let him rest in peace in heaven.

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

MALAYALAM WOMEN : THEIR PAST AND PRESENT

In this article the contributor have treated Nair women. This can also be applicable to womenfolk of other communities of the State where a little bit of addition and alteration may be necessary.

Introduction :

NAIR women of Kerala, who had hitherto represented the typical Dravidian womanhood, have considerably changed with the dawn of the 20th century. They now vie with their male counterparts for jobs and social honours. They occupy exalted positions. An attempt is made here to depict their life on the basis of proverbs, social and ritual observances and folk-traditions.

Matriarchy among Nairs received a setback when the report of the Malabar Marriage Commission was published. The institution of monogamy and changes in the law of the *Marumakkathayam* system of inheritance brought about 12 years ago by legislation have dealt a fatal blow to matriarchy. Though Nairs still reckon their lineage from the *Tharvad* (extended family), nuclear family is the rule and joint family an exception. The converse was the case till the beginning of the present century.

Women enjoyed an enviable position among Nairs. All the family property was vested in them and they only could hold and inherit it. No male member of the *Tharvad* was permitted to hold, inherit and dispose of property, though acquisition was largely their duty. The traditional calling of Nairs being fighting, they played a significant role in the history of Kerala when the European nations vied with each other in building empires. The advent of European nations was responsible for the evolution of the money economy which in turn changed the age-old matriarchal system. The men were not required to marry, procreate children, bring them up and maintain the family. It was the exclusive duty of the women-folk. Men formed connections with ladies, the duration of which depended upon the whims of women. This is responsible for the *Marumakkathayam* law of inheritance, the genesis of which is expressed beautifully by Bishop

Friar Jordanus 650 years ago. The Frair who visited India and stayed in Kerala in between 1323-1330 A.D. in his "Mirabilica Descripta" (The Wonders of the East) says: "In this India (—India the Greater—i.e. Malabar) never do (even) the legitimate sons of great kings, or princes, or barons inherit the goods of their parents, but only the sons of their sisters; for they say that they have no surety that those are their own sons, because wives and mistresses may conceive and generate by someone else, but it is not so with the sister, for what ever man may be the father they are certain that the offspring is from the womb of their rister and is consequently thus truely of their blood".[1]

Nair women exercised great influence in the social and domestic life of Kerala. No restraints were imposed on their sexual or social life and every Nair introduced himself as the son of 'so and so' lady of 'so and so' *Tharvad.* The saying 'Nairkkum Nayakkum Achchanilla' (i.e. Nairs and dogs do not know who their father is:) is typical of the polyandrous social system that existed among this highly cultured community of India.

With these introductory words, we shall assess the social life of women among Nairs as reflected in Malayalam sayings. We confine ourselves to treat mother, wife, in-laws, marriage and women in general.

I. LIFE IN PROVERBS

Mother:

The position of the mother among Nairs is very high though matriarchy and *Marumakkathayam* are things of the past. In every Nair family it is the 'Ammavilayattam' (omniscience of the mother). She occupies a dignified and honourable position. She governs the whole house. The remark of Rev. Samuel Mateer, made a hundred years ago, that "In the families of the Nayars she governs the whole house, often a large one consisting of from twenty to thirty persons, provides for the wants of each, settles all disputes, and rules even her grown-up sons, who never in public sit down in her presence, but stand humbly behind her chair"[2] still holds good.

Uterine Mother: Polyandry among Nair women did not dishonour or lower them in esteem. Though children belonged to several husbands, their love and affection towards their mother was unequivocal. They say :'Paththamma chamanjalum pettammayakilla" (even if ten mothers may make up themselves, they can't become the mother who gave birth) and 'Mattamma chamanjal pettammayaka' (a second

mother cannot equal a mother who gives birth). The mother's curse is irredeemable ('Mathrusapam thadukkavathorikkalum').

Affection : The disinterested affection of the mother to her children is beyond any description. The truth of the saying 'Ammayolam sthayi makkalkkuntenkil perattile vellam melpoatte' (if children can reciprocate the love of their uterine mother the current of the river takes a reverse course) is universally acknowledged. The children can never pay off their debt to their mother. They are rather ungrateful. The proverb 'Pettammakku thavititikkukayilla, aarante ammakku irimpitikkum' (Children do not polish rice for their own mother, but will hammer red-hot iron for others) illustrates this point.

Jewellophobia : Mothers become laughing stock even of children, if they take to non-traditional jewellery. A lady should wear only ornaments of her status and financial position. If they put on fineries, people ridicule them by saying "Ottumillathatha ammakku arakkapanathinte thali' (A penurious mother wears a precious marriage badge).

Morality : It is the duty of the mother to arrange for the marriage of her daughters when they come of age. Mother is the source of guidance and inspiration to children, especially daughters, in a Nair *Tharvad.* The existence of polyandry, i.e. temporary marriage of one particular husband for a particular period, did not stand in the way of her being the moral custodian of the family. No indiscriminate entertainment of suitors was possible to a Nair lady without the sanction of the *Karanavan* (senior male member) of the *Tharvad.* If a mother led an immoral life, the daughter cannot but be grossly immoral. The saying, 'Amma pulayatichiyenkil makalum pulayatichi' illustrates this truth. The irreverent attitude of a daughter towards her mother at times is reflected in the maxim, 'Ammakku prasavavedana, makalukku veenavayana' (While the mother is in labour pains, the daughter is fiddling).

Old age : The maintenance of a lady in her old age was the duty of the *Tharvad.* Her fortune did not depend upon the whims and fancies of her husband or children. But, if the *Tharvad* had become indigent, children were required to look after her well. If they do not discharge their duty in this respect, people often say : 'Pettammkku chilavinum kodukkayilla, sandhyakku villakkum vakkukayilla" (The mother will not be maintained and the house will not be lighted at the dusk) and ask 'Pettammakku choaru kotuththo, mooththammakku arialappan' (Has the mother been fed to measure rice for the grandmother ?). The mother comes first in the supply of her wants. The proverbs—'Pettammakku illatthatho poattiya mutthachikku' (Is the mother to be denied for an ayah ?). 'Mulako-

tuhtha ammayekkal valutho muttham kotuttha amma' (Is the lady who kissed the baby greater than the mother who breast-fed it) illustrate the universal fact that there is no female above the mother for being looked after better.

Partiality : The children brought up by mothers are often spoiled on account of their excessive affection as they spare the rod. This truth is illustrated in the saying, 'Amma poattiya makkalum umma poattiya koazhiyum atangukayilla' (The children brought up by the mother are as uncontrollable as the chicken fed by a Muslim lady). The children are babies to a mother even after their attainment of maturity ('Makkal ethra Valuthayamlum ammakku kutti') and in-laws are in-laws to her. Her partiality to her own children is brought out by the saying, 'Makkalkku matiyil chavittam, marumakkalkku thotiyil chavittikkoota' (Her own children can thumb her on the lap, but in-laws are not permitted to touch the tip of her cloth), 'Makan marichchalum ventilla, marumakalute dukham kantal mathi' (The bereavement of the daughter-in-law is better than the death of the son). She may even beat her own daughter to scare away her daughter-in-law ('Marumakale petippikkuvan makale atikkuka).

Children are enjoined not to initiate a work unless they get the blessing of their mother ('Amma moolam aravakkuka'—build a granary after taking advice from the mother). The sayings 'Ammayum makalum pennu thanne' (Mother and daughter are females) and 'Ammayum makalum orupoale' (Mother and daughter are alike) point out that they are birds of the same feather.

Guide : Tenacity is required to achieve the desired goal. If anyone fritters his energy by doing two diametrically opposite things people often ask, 'Ammayute matiyil irikkukayum venam, acchante koote natakkukayum venam' (Is it possible to sit on the lap of the mother and at the same time walk with the father ?) and one who fails in his ventures by fissiparous tendencies consoles himself, 'Athumilla ithumilla ammayute deekshayumilla' (There is nothing, not even the beard of the mother).

Martial Spirit : Being a martial race, Nairs were reputed masters of fencing (*Kalari payattu*). Boys are advised not to show their temper towards their mothers, but instead they should show their valour in the fencing arena. This is what is implied in the saying, 'Ammayotullathu arangathekku'. Boys are advised to master the art of fencing before taking to the field and not complain about their failures to their mothers (Angatiyil thoattal ammayoatoa ?).

Conjugal Life : The conjugal life of a lady was sacred and nobody was ever permitted have a say in it even if it be the *karanavan* of the

household. It is the business of the husband to avenage any insult done to his wife, as it is the duty of the brother-in-law in the case of the sister ('Ammaye thachchal achchan choadikkanam, pengale thachchal aliyan choadikkanam).

We cannot expect one to show the same amount of respect one shows to his own mother towards the mother of someone else. In fact a lady who goes mad becomes the laughing stock of others. This is illustrated in the saying, 'Aarante Ammakku bhrantu pitichchal kanunnorkku orimpam' (Spectators enjoy the insanity of other peoples' mothers).

Fidelity : If a married Nair lady's fidelity is doubted, she was liable to be discarded. As has already been stated earlier, though polyandrous the marriage was, a Nair lady was never permitted to entertain more than one husband for a particular period of time. This temporary marriage, *Sambandham,* required the sanction of the *Karanavan* and the approbation of the villagers. The formation of any such *Sambandham* required the presentation of a bridal cloth in the presence of the village elders as witnesses. The husband visited his wife at night only. The severance of the *Sambandham* required the sanction of the *Karanavan* who must be convinced that the lady was not satisfied by her husband. The saying that 'Naalupar paranjal ammaye kalayanam' (The mother should be given up if four people say that she is guilty—of adultery) means that a lady should be given up for immoral conduct.

Death : A Nair did not know who his father was, and as such the mother was everything to him. The death of his mother was the greatest bereavement to him. His sorrow at the death of his mother was greater than the speed of an elephant running amok ('Amma marichhennu paranjal aanaye etuthatakkuvan parayuka). He is advised to be careful in removing the banana skins in the court-yard (if any) even if his mother is dead, as it will endanger the life of others by slipping on them ('Amma chaththu kitannalum vazhakka-thoalu varikalanjittu karayanam').

Wife :

Wife comes next in importance to mother. The status of a wife among Nairs was far from satisfactory. Though a Nair lady in theory was permitted to discard any number of suitors, her choice was limited to one suitor at a given period of time, whereas a gentleman was not required to disclose the number of liaisons he had formed with ladies. A Nair could form *Sambandhams* from Rameswaram to Neeleswarm

if he had the virility, social standing and marital spirit. A lady is advised to be content with her husband and not to run after another, even if he be the king. If she gives up her husband to entertain the king, she loses both ('Arachane kothichchu purushane vetinjavalkku arachanumilla purushanumilla').

A lady gets a befitting husband. This is illustrated in the sayings, 'Chakkikkottha Chankaran', 'Unthiyakattunna achchikku nirangiyatukkunna Nair' (For a pushing wife, a crawling husband), and 'Ittinirakkunna achchikke nirangi unnunna Nair' (For a wife who draws dining table, a gluttonous husband).

One man's food is another man's poison and conjugal quarrels result from the choice of food. The expression, 'Achchikku konchu paksham, Nairkku inchi paksham' (The wife likes shrimps, but the husband likes ginger). The conjugal life is torpeded by the distrust of the partners. A husband finds everything in disorder if he distrusts his wife ('Ishtamillaththa achchi thottathellam kuttam').

A newly-wed wife and a new broomstick is alike. The initial enthusiasm of the couple dies away. This is the meaning of the expression, 'Puththanacchi purappuroam thookkum, pinne untetam atikkukayilla' (A new bride at first sweeps the housetop, but, later on, she will not clean the dining table).

If anything serves a double purpose, people say, (Achchikku utukkanum Nairkku puthakkanum kollam') (The cloth is suitable for the wife to wear and wrap the husband).

A man can have no complaints about a bride whom he did not get ('Kittaththa achchikku kuttamilla). An avaricious wife is greedy even if she gets a field full of gold.

The position of Nair wives is not clear from proverbs, due to the peculiar social conditions that obtained in the community.

Cousins :

Cross-cousins were preferred in marriage among the Nairs till recently. Maternal and paternal cross-cousins today hesitate to marry, though it is still perfectly legal. There was no permission required to marry one's cousins. 'Ammavante makale kalyanam kazhikkanum pachchachoattil thai vakkanum arotum choadikkenta' (No one need be asked permission for marrying one's maternal uncle's daughter and for planting seedlings in the shade of trees). It was not improper to make overtures towards the daughter of maternal uncles and paternal aunts daughters.

In-laws :

There are few proverbs in Malayalam to depict the life and status of mother-in-law and maternal and paternal aunts. They did not play any significant role in the *Tharavad.* A Nair seldom came in contact with his mother-in-law as there was no matrilocal residence. The mother-in-law was held in decision and her affection towards her son-in-law was not real. People pooh-pooh her pudding ('Ammayi ammete pachhore !), but the paternal or maternal aunt's offer of this delicacy was accepted ('Ammayiyum kutichchu palkanji, nhanum kutichchu palkanji'). Daughter-in-law should be tactful and clever. She should surpass her mother-in-law in tact. This is expressed in the saying, 'Irunnorungunna ammayi ammakku kitannorukkunna marumakal' (A lying daughter-in-law for a sitting mother-in-law).

Marriage :

Nairs disliked marriage as the union of spouses entailed responsibilities. The sayings, 'Pennu kettiyal kalu ketti' (A married man is chained), 'Pennu kettiyal kannum pootti' (Marriage is equivalent to losing eye-sight).

'Pennu kettiyal kannuketti ; kochchuntayal vayum pootti' (Marriage is equivalent to losing eye-sight ; birth of a baby is equivalent to losing the power of speech) illustrate the reasons why a Nair liked to have only *Sambndhams* and not marriage.

Selection : The selection of the bride in marriage is to be done very carefully. The status of the *Tharvad* is to be borne in mind. The sayings, 'Goathramarinju pennum paathramarinju bhikshayum' (check the lineage of the family before giving a girl in marriage and observe the bowl before you give alms) and 'Kuti arinje pennayakkavu' illustrate the point. The checking of the antecedents of the bridegroom and the suitability of a tree is to be ascertained ('Aal noakki pennu, maram noakki koti'). A bridegroom's *Karanavan* should enquire into the family history of his prospective relation. First and foremost is the verification of the moral credentials of the mother-in-law before selecting the daughter ('Thallaye noakkiyittu venam pillaye vangan').

Besides the checking of the antecedents of the mother-in-law, the background of the bride-elect is ascertained, for 'Mannum pennum kante kollavu' (Purchase of land and betrothal of a lady should be done only after ascertaining true facts), and 'Korikkanta vaariyaka ; doore kanta naariyaka' (A lady who is at a distance is as good as the sea, the depth of which has not been measured). Beware,a beautiful girl is

seldom useful for work ('oamanapennu panikaka').

Difficulties : The difficulties on the way of finding out a suitable bride are numerous and the bridegroom should be prepared to use all his wits ('Pennu kettanamenkil perinkalum pitikkanam'). Sometimes it so happens that when a suitable bride is found out, her *Tharvad* is not good and when a good *Tharvad* is selected, it cannot supply a suitable girl ('Pennu cherunpoal veetu cherukayilla ; veetu cherumpoal pennu cherukayilla'). But this does not mean that one should marry his own sister for want of a bride ('Pennillennu vicharichchu • pengale kettaruntoa ?).

A member of a prosperous *Tharvad* could get a beautiful bride ('Pana mullachchanu niramulla pennu'). A girl who is not married in time loses her market, but no such social stigma is labelled on a man, for the saying in this respect is 'Pennu mooththal mannu ; aanu mooththal ponnu' (an aged lady goes to the grave whereas a man who advances in age is gold). A *Tharvad* which is poor should be avoided in *Sambandham* ('Ariyum thiriyum kontu poakentiyidathu sambandham cheyyaruthu'—Marry not where you are required to take rice and light).

Secrets of Sex : A man who has learnt the secrets of sex is like a discerning epicurean ('Unturuchi kantavanum pennuruchi kantavanum vitukayilla'). Nymphomania is not reflected in proverbs, though polyandry is supposed to have orginated by the 'eat and drink and be merry' attitude of Nair ladies.

The bride should be suitable from all points of view, i.e., beauty, family position, relations etc. 'Mannachchikku Mara Nair' (For a dirty bride, a muddy husband), 'Chappachchikku chavaru Nair' (For a sweeper bride, a Chimney sweep husband), 'Cheenkannanu koankanni' For a winking girl a squint eyed) are some of the expressions used to describe the suitability of brides and grooms.

Women in general :

Order of Birth : Girls are the subject matter of a variety of proverbs. The birth of girls in a Nair *Tharvad* was of considerable significance. Though we have not ascertained the merits and demerits of birth of girls in a certain order, it has a bearing on the family's fortunes. The birth of a girl as the third issue, after two boys, is considered to be portent of a fortune, as she will reign like a queen ('Moonamaththe pennu muti vechchu vaazhum'). On the other hand, the fourth issue be a daughter, she will cause ruin to the *Tharvad* ('Naalamaththe pennu natakkallum polikkum'—the fourth daughter will dig up the foundation stone). Though it is said that the eighth be daughter, she

will cause ruin to the places she surveys ('Ettamaththe Pennu etthinoakkunnitam mutiyam') the birth of a girl in the nineth position is believed to bring prosperity to the family ('Onpathamaththe pennu ponpanam vaarum'—the nineth daughter will amass gold). The most auspicious asterism for the birth of a girl is Makam (Magham—10th lunar asterism) as the saying goes : 'Makam piranna manka'.

Querrlousness : Family life is spoiled if there is presence of more than one lady. Ladies will have difference of opinion over petty matters and this leads to quarrel. The presence of two ladies in a house is like the presence of two lions in a den ('Oru veettil rentu naariyum oru koottil rentu nariyum oru poale'). Though four persons can come to a conclusion about any controversial subject, two ladies will not agree on any trival topic. ('Naalu thala cherum, Naalu mula cherukayilla—four heads will agree, not four nipples). The presence of three ladies will keep the courtyard unswept ('Monnu pennulla veettil muttam atikkukayilla") as they will be arguing over their duties. The petty jealousies and idiosynchrasies among ladies find expression in the saying, 'Oruththikku thalu karikku uppillanjittu ; oruththikku thalikku muttillanjittu' (A lady complains about the lack of salt in her taro curry, another complains about missing of her diamond on the marriage badge).

No Pugnacity : Women are not good combatants in a battle. People often say : 'Penpata patayalla, manchira chirayalla' (A bevy of ladies does not form a battalion as an earthen dam cannot make a reservoir) as they have little intellectual and tactical skill ('Pen buddhi pin buddhi'—Ladies' brain works slowly). At the same time, the fury of a lady cannot be controlled by the Creator himself ('Pennorungiyal Brahmanum thatuththu koota) as there are ladies who cannot be controlled by men and posts of house ('Aaninum thooninum atangaththaval').

No Advice : As ladies are inferior in intellect their advice is seldom solicited. One who follows the advice of ladies finds himself in a quandary ('Pen chollu kettal peruvazhyil') as it is believed that a former ruler of Kerala lost his kingdom by listening to the advice of his mistress ('Pen chollu ketta Perumale poale').

Agricultural Operations : Women are forbidden from ploughing the paddy fields. However, it is their privilege to harvest the crops. Minor agricultural operations such as weeding and manuring the field, irrigating the field by indigenous methods etc. are not prohibited. Transplantation of the seedlings of paddy is to be done by women only. Women are not equal to men in physical prowess and hence people say : 'Pennu murichchal mannu muriyumoa ? (Can a lady make a cleavage in

the land ?). Land and ladies improve only to the extent we make improvements upon them ('Pennum mannum nannakkunnitaththoalam nannakum').

Travel : Though Nair women are equal in education to their male counterparts today in Kerala, a travelled lady was disliked in former times, as her home or rather the village was her decreed haunt. A travelled woman is like a garden trespassed by cattle. At the same time there is a saying, 'Penninte bhagyam peruvazhiyil' which means that the fortune of a lady is made in the public road.

Prostitution : Prostitution did not find favour with Nairs on account of polyandry. Prostitutes, therefore, find seldom place in proverbs. There is no physician who becomes weary of travel and there is no prostitute who courts favours sitting at home ('Natannuketta vaidyanum irunnu vetta vasyayum illa').

Troublous : Women have been the cause of troubles between nations, men, and husbands. Gold and girls are at the root of every trouble in the world ('Kanakam moolam kamini moolam kalaham palavidham ulakil sulabham') say people.

Trust Property : Children are to be held in trust. A girl after her marriage becomes the property of her husband. There is no difference between a man who plants plantains to get its bunch and one who brings up a girl ('Nentra vazha nattu kulappikkunnathum pennine kontuvannu pularthunnathum oru poale').

Humility : Ladies are advised to have humility, respect for elders and love their juniors. A lady is an ornament to a *Tharvad* and it is her duty to uphold its good name. A household where a lady indulges in coquetry and a compound where a citrus grows are bound to perish ('Naari natichchetavum naarakam vechchetavum mutiyum). They should have a dignified bearing, neither should they cry nor laugh aloud, but should only pout their lips sweetly to win a world or lose one his faith in the world. Nairs warn themselves and others too thus: 'Chumma karayum pennineyum chumma chirikkum aanineyum visvasikkaruthu' (Believe not ladies who are lachrymose and lads who laugh without reason).

Jealousy : The relationship between sisters and their in-laws or children of two sisters of full blood and other females of the *Tharvad* was never cordial. The jealousy between sisters and their in-laws is universal. This trait has found expression in the saying, 'Kunjangalaye konnalum ventilla, naaththunte thali azhippichal mathi' (No matter the brother is murdered, the marriage badge of the sister-in-law should be untied). The children of the sisters, not to speak of cousins, never considered themselves next of kin. Their relation is transitory like

water poured on a taro-leaf, a drop of which is not retained by it ('Chhettathi anujathi makkalum chenpilapuraththe vellavum samam'). The same is the case with the children of maternal aunts and paternal aunts ('Chittamma makkalum chettayil palliyum thenil kuzhachchalum kachche irikku'—The children of maternal aunts and lizards will have bitter tastes even if they are wrapped in honey).

Labour-pains : A man should acquire expertise by constant practice rather than theorising on a particular topic. A woman who has never given birth does not know the pangs of labour pains ('Machchi ariyumo eattunnovu') and a woman who gives birth to a baby knows how the baby comes out of the womb ('Pettavalkkariyam pillavariththam').

Nobody should poke his nose where he has no business. Mind your own business. What is the use of envying a woman who eats well by one who has not given birth ('Pettaval unnunnathu kantu machchi kothichchittentha' ?)

A lady is a mother first and last and it is her duty to perpetuate the species. Consequently, no lady can't be heard to say that she is weary of childbirth and the muck and muddle of bringing up children. The saying in this respect is : 'Pichchayetthu kettavanum pillapettu kettavalum illa' ('There is no begger who becomes weary of begging and there is no lady who becomes weary of accouchement).

People are want to find out scapegoats for their faults. This human trait is illustrated by the saying 'Pettichchi aakanjittu kutti pennayi' (Through the incapacity of the midwife the infant is a female).

Children : Women are told that children are born by the blessing of God. Like Trust property, they revert to this Trusty. No one should feel proud of having many children as they are liable to die. A lady should bear in mind that 'Pettathellam makkalum netiyathellam dhanavumlla' (whatever is earned is not wealth and the issues of all the birth are not babies). People often ask : 'Pettathellam makkalo ; poothathellam mangayoa ?' (The effloresence of the mango tree is not mango—as they are destroyed by cloudy weather in which case no fertilisation takes place and the issues of birth are not babies) and mothers are advised not to be unduly optimistic of their children ('Makkale kantum manpoo kantum bhramikkenta').

The social life reflected in proverbs and folksayings of a language cannot be taken to be the barometer of the day as a language takes its own time to crystallise them. The life of Nair ladies is entirely different from what is reflected in the sayings we have explained above. The present-day Nair society has progressed at a supersonic speed. Polyandry is a closed chapter in the social history of Nairs. The advent

of a money-economy on account of service, business, trade and commerce, opened up a new vista in the social fabric of Nairs.

The *Tharvad* system which sustained the twin mechanisms of matriarchy and polyandry disintegrated when Nairs began to go out of Kerala and take up service. During the last one hundred years, the progress of disintegration of these two most important social institutions has been accelerated due to the opening up of the country by railways and other amenities of communication. Matrilocal residence of the wife is considered dishonourable today. The dowry system which was unheard among the Nairs 25 years ago is slowly gaining ground. Among the Nairs of Malabar, dowry is today 'a must'. A share in the family property is also given when a girl is married. Nair ladies who live in the towns and cities of Kerala and outside the State are second to none in sophistication. There are Nair ladies who spend the late evenings in Calcutta's and Bombay's most fashionable night clubs. Society girls are soaring high. There are a number of Nair working girls in the important cities of India.

II. RITUAL LIFE OF NAIR WOMEN

Ladies were excluded from the ritual life of Nairs. No lady was permitted to act as a priest of the community. The religion of Nairs was, and still is, a fusion of animism and shamanism. The Hinduisation of the community took centuries. The vestiges of the old creed are still embedded in the religious practices of Nairs. Still ladies were not given a hand in it. The worship of weapons, seasons, natural objects and ancestors are still the order of the day among Nairs.

The traditional calling of Nairs being fighting the cultivation of land was in the hands of the aggrestic serfs—Pulayas. The immigration of Eravas and Muslims and conversion of the native population into the Christian fold centuries ago helped Nairs to devote their energies to the practice of weapons. The landed property of Nairs being in the hands of other communities, the ladies had no need to take part in the agricultural operations. In fact they were required to enter into *Sambandhams* only. The traditional education of Nair ladies consisted of learning the correct steps for their favourite dance, Thiruvathira.

The most important ritual of the ladies was the *Talikettu Kalyanam.* This ceremony consisted of tying of a *tali* (the heart-shaped marriage badge) around the neck of a girl who had attained puberty. A member of the Thirumulppadu caste (a degraded Brahman) usually tied the *tali,* or in his absence, a Nair boy. The Tali-tier may be a complete stranger and he acquired no marital right over the girl. The man who tied the

tali got a fee and a sumptuous meal. The aim of the *Talikettu Kalyanam* was to proclaim that the girl had come of age and suitors may approach her for forming *Sambandhams*. The institution of monogamy and the disintegration of the *Sambandham* system has not dispensed with the *tali*-tying even today. The tying of the *tali* is the most important item in a Nair marriage. A community feast follows the marriage. It is today incumbent upon the bride to live in the house of her husband or at his work place. The bringing up of children is his responsibility. He gets a share of the bride's property, if the family has got landed property. As most of the ancient *Tharvads* have become disappeared or emaciated, the bourgeoisie hold sway in the community. During a marriage the groom is advised : Don't forget to tie the *tali* in the hustle and bustle of the marriage ('Kalyanathirakkil thali kettan marakkolle').

Pulikuti is another important ritual for a lady during her first pregnancy. This is performed during the 5th, 7th or 9th month on an auspicious day. It consists of giving tamarind juice to the pregnant woman in the presence of the ladies of the locality. Ladies who live outside Kerala, especially in far-off places, seldom observe this rite. The observance of birth pollution is gradually getting into disuse. Death pollution is observed for 15 days and on the 16th day, a communal feast follows after propitiating the manes. Though puja is offered daily for these 16 days by the next of kin among the male members of the departed soul, ladies are permitted to take part in this important ritual only on the 15th and the 16th day, that too, in an insignificant way.

Menstruation :

The first appearance of the menstrual blood is celebrated with great eclat and this is called *Thirantu Kalyanam*. A communal feast, devoted exclusively to the feminine population of the village, was formerly given, but today it is restricted to the members of the *Tharvad*. The attainment of puberty is widely publicised. Menstrual pollution lasts for 3 days and married ladies are lodged in separate rooms for 4 days. No coitus is performed for these days. Those who live outside Kerala can ill-afford to observe menstrual pollution.

The significance of the appearance of the first menses on different lunar asterisms is given below : If the menarche appears on Aswini it is supposed to bring happiness; Bharani bring vagrancy, Krittika attributes poverty; Rohini raises hopes of sons; Mrigashirsha makes maiden beautiful; Adra assures chastity; Punarvasu proclaims love to

husband; Pushya pins hypocrisy; Ashlesha announces loss of children; Magha marks abortion; Poorva Phalguni promises increase of wealth and property; Uttar Phalguni urges support to children; Hastha heralds chastity; Chitra chirps children; Swati swathes in beauty; Visakha visualises love to husband; Anuradha announces divorce; Jyestha justifies sons; Mula mounts sorrow; Purva Asadha proclaims wealth; Uthara Ashadha ululates happiness; Sharavana sends sons; Dhanistha dawns long and happy married life; Satha Bhisag suffixes possession of good husband; Purva Bhadrapada presupposes possession of good fortune; Uttara Bhadrapada ushers wealth, prosperity; and Revati reveals misery.

The appearance of the first menstrual blood on different days of the week signified different things: Sunday indicates illness, family run; Monday chastity, long life; Tuesday poverty, loss of life; Wednesday possession of children, fortune and prosperity; Thursday felicity, increased wealth and wealthy husband; Friday beauty, affection to husband and mother to many sons; and Saturday misery, ruin and barrenness.

Further the appearance of the first menses on different days after the full or new moon indicates the following attributes: Prathama—widowhood; Dwithiya—many boys; Thrithiya—gaining wealth: Chathurtha — prostitution; Panchami — beauty; Shastha — quarrel Saptami—wellbeing; Ashtami—cruelty; Navami—widowhood; Dasami —happiness; Ekadasi—malignity; Dwadasi—dealth of husband; Thrayodasi—beauty of person; Chaturdasi—sinning and fullmoon newmoon—lengthy life.

Similarly the 12 months of Malayalam year fortells the following: Metam (Apr.-May)—poverty; Etavam (May-June)—increase of cows: Mithunam (June-July)—nymphomania; Karkitakam (July-Aug)—quarrel; Chingam (Aug-Sept)—loss of children; Kanni (Sep.-Oct.)—numerous daughters; Thulam (Oct.-Nov.)—disintegration of *Tharvad*: Vrischigam (Nov.-Dec.)—excessive cruelty; Dhanu (Dec-Jan)—loss of husband; Makaram (Jan-Feb)—sugar coated words; Kumbham (Feb-Mar)—family management and Meenam (Mar-Apr)—more beauty.

III. DANCES, GAMES AND PASTIMES

As Nair women were never required to do agricultural operations, polish rice, pound spices for curries and other dredgeries or chores of the kitchendom, they spent their leisure in perfecting their traditional dances, sports and games. Thiruvathirakali is a highly sophisticated

country dance, the steps and songs of which required years to master. The songs sung for Thiruvathira required recitation by heart. Memorising of hundreds of songs of different meters without the help of mnemonic aids required patience, perseverance and talent.

Thiruvathira :[3]

The importance of the Thiruvathira festival may be imagined from the fact that married Nair ladies of Kerala fifty or sixty years ago could discard, with impunity their husbands if they failed to turn up on the occasion of the festival. The festival falls in the Malayalam month of Dhanu (December-January). Though the elaborate rituals and pageantry associated with this exclusively feminine festival are no longer observed in Kerala under the impact of western culture and the consequent establishment of monandry in the Nair society. Thiruvathira has not lost its appeal for leading a chaste life. Onam and Vishu, the two other leading festivals are universally celebrated, but Thiruvathira has remained confined to the upper castes, especially Nairs. The festival is not observed by the Hill tribes and proto-Dravidians including the Eravas. This leads one to the conclusion that it is a relic of Animism which ruled supreme over the ancient kingdom of Kerala.

The festival falls on the 6th lunar asterism, Adra (—Thiruvathira in Malayalam, from *Thiru*—sacred—and *Athira*, a corruption of Sanskrit Adra) which is believed to be the birthday of Lord Siva, the Mahadeva of the Vedas. He is, no doubt a god of fertility as is indicated by his bull symbol Nandi, and the crescent on his forehead. The celebration of Thiruvathira on the birthday of the Great God is a fertility rite and the story connected with the incineration of the Indian cupid, Kamadeva strengthens this belief.

The incineration of Kamadeva on account of his audacity in shooting his flowery arrows even on the Great God while He was taking penance after his bereavement is too familiar in India. The story of the reduction of the cupid into ashes has universal appeal in India, but the celebration of the event by the upper castes of Kerala alone is inexplicable. Holi, the Spring festival of India, is celebrated in his honour and Thiruvathira has nothing to do with the North Indian Holi. The origin of the feminine festival of Thiruvathira must be sought elsewhere. The free translation of an old poem, recited every morning and evening in Nair households by married Nair ladies gives a better explanation of the origin of this festival. It is as follows :

Long Long ago, in the *Trctha Yuga*, there lived a beautiful maiden (probably a Nair girl). She was a devotee of Parvati, the consort of

the Great mountain God, and used to observe austerities and penance in honour of her patron goddess. When she came of age, she was married to a scholar, but he died before consummation. The god of death took his soul to his realms. People felt sorry for her. Parvati and her retinue were bathing in a river adjacent to the deceased's house and heard the wail of the woman and enquired of the cause of her grief. Parvati fell upon the feet of her lord and implored Him to restore the life of her devotee's husband. She threatened Him saying that she will consider herself a widow unless her request was not conceded to. Thereupon lord Siva took a leaf of *Calotropis gigantea* and sprinkled a drop of nectar on it and restored life to the deceased. Parvati, accompanied by her maids, visited the devotee's house and blessed her for having health, wealth and children. The girl consummated the marriage. Those who recite this poem, the rustic bard has reminded us, will prolong the life of their husbands.

Rituals :

The festival which lasted for 27 days (a lunar month) in former days is celebrated for two days only for the lunar asterisms Makayiram (—Margasirsha) and Adra. Fasting is compulsory for mothers on Makayiram and Thiruvathira days. Rice is prohibited for the festival.

The most important feature of the festival is the early morning bath in the village temple tanks or canals. This is called *Thudiyum Kuliyum* (splashing and bathing). This splashing and bathing ceremony is a very elaborate affair, as it begins 3 hours before the sunrise. By daybreak the maidens and married women return home. During the three hours of the splashing and bathing, the leader of the group starts the first stanza of a peculiarly rhythmic song, accompanied by a splashing of the water in a gurgling manner. The water is splashed by the palm of the half-closed left hand, keeping it just below the surface of the water. The right palm is forcibly brought down in a slanting direction and struck against the surface of the water. This action makes the water completely ruffled and splashed in all directions, leading to the generation of a loud deep noise. The rest of the party splashes the water in the same way as has been done by the leader when they sing the refrain of the song. When the refrain is over, the leader caps her first stanza with another, beating the water as described above. The rest of the party repeats the process and in this way the song is finished. Many a song in praise of the exploits of Kamadeva is sung in this way till the day breaks when the maidens go home after rubbing themselves dry. The ladies consider it a pleasure

to perform this "water ballet" even if cold eats into their bones. The biting cold of the bleak December/January which makes the people of Kerala shiver seems to add much pleasure to their ecstatic frolic. The splashing of the water symbolises the beating of their breasts to signify the deep-felt sorrow for the physical destruction of Kamadeva.

The 'Tudiyum Kuliyum' over, the ladies take their breakfast. After dressing in their traditional fineries, 'Uzhinjal Attam' (swinging) is performed. The swinging of the maidens, according to some, is symbolic of an attempt to hang themselves on account of the death ot Kamadeva.

Kaikottikkali :

The Kaikottikkali (clapping dance) comes as the culmination of every day's programme. The maidens and married women of every village assemble at a particular place for dancing to their hearts. This cotillion is a must at least for six days beginning with the first lunar asterism Aswini, though the dancing for the whole night is performed only when the asterism Adra occurs. The dance around a lighted lamp is the most colourful one in Kerala. After dancing for two or three hours every day for the first 4 days, an important ritual, namely the offer of *Ettangadi* (8 delicious substances) is observed on the fifth day, i.e., Makayiram (—Mrigasirsh—*Lambada Orionis*). The night-long dance on the Thiruvathira day ends with the rite *Pathirapolochoodal* (—pinning of the 'mid-night' flower). The Atkkamaniayan shrub (*Spaeoranthus Indica*) is the one usually worn on this occasion for which the ladies go to far away fields with singing songs and taking with them lighted lamps and spout vessels. The intention of pinning the flower in the chignon is the prolongation of the life of their husbands, in the case of married ladies, and getting the husbands of their choice, in the case of maidens.

The number of women who dances varies according to their population in any locality. There is no restriction in joining the dance, provided the participant does not break steps. The prima ballerina leads the party. She sings a stanza of a song which is repeated by the chorus singers keeping time with their hands and gently moving their toes. The body is gyrated gently, all the dancers repeating the performance in unison. The dance is very lively, and is singularly devoid of monotony on account of the varieties of steps taken according to the mood of the songs. The hopping and clapping dance (*kummi*) is the most lively piece of Thiruvathirakali. (—Kaikottikkali).

The Nair ladies have a rich repertory of Kaikottikkali and songs to last for a whole night. There is a certain amount of precedence of songs and the variety of dances to accompany them. No quick steps are taken in the beginning. The songs generally sung on the occasion relate to some exploit of Kamdeva or the marriages of mythological figures like Seetha, Savitri, Rukmini etc. The mellifluous chorus singing of Nair women, especially those in the age-group of 15-45, under the canopy of full-moon is the pleasantest oper-air opera in India. The dancing spirit is still kept alive by Nair women.

Poothiruvathira :

The Thiruvathira that comes after one's marriage is celebrated with extreme gaiety. On the Poothiruvathira day the bride is the prima ballerina and she leads the rest of the party, in two rows, for performing the rite of Pathirapoohoodal. The bride is to be attired in the orthodox manner on this occasion, and is led with Ashtamangalyam (a lighted coconut half placed in a silver plate along with other seven auspicious sights), Kuthuvilakku (lamp with a chain) etc. The Pathirappoovu mentioned earlier is first pinned in the chignon of the bride. On her return home she is to circumambulate the sacred *Tulsi thara* (where a plant *Ocimum sanctum* is planted). The flowers used for the ritual are then offered to the groom. The whole ceremony is marked by the intermittent ululation of married women and joyous shouts.

The origin of Thiruvathira and the rituals connected with it bear ample testimony to the fact that it is a fertility rite.

Onam :[4] Onam is the national festival of Kerala. It is celebrated for 10 days in the month of Chingam (Aug-Sept). It is the duty of ladies for Onam to decorate the place of worship to offer flowers of various hues, as they excel in aesthetic tastes. The preparation of the mud platform for worship and cleansing it daily with cowdung emulsion etc. fall on women. The gathering of flowers is done by boys and girls. The welcoming of Mahabali with the offer of coconuts, cakes etc. is the duty of ladies.

Swinging (*Uzhinjal Attam*) is an important sport of the ladies for Onam and Thiruvathira. The swinging is accompanied by singing songs appropriate to the occasion. *Pazhukiakali* is a game specially liked by girls during this season. A few girls sit in a circle facing the leader of the game who sits inside the centre. Girls pass on an arecanut through their hands which the leader cannot see as the hands are clasped behind their bodies. The leader guesses the holder

of the arecanut at a particular time from her facial expression only. While the game is played the girls recite songs appropriate to the occasion.

Net and lion : 'Net and lion' game of the girls show that they are not lagging behind their male counterparts in showing their physical prowess. A few able-bodied girls stand in a circle with outstretched arms interlocked. Another girl is let in first, but she is not allowed to go out of the 'net', unless she breaks the net formed by her friends. When she tries to break the cordon to get out of the net, the girls apply pressure on the interlocked arms so that the girl is not free to get out of it. While making frantic mock efforts to break the girl implores her friends to let her go on many a pretext. The requests are addressed in songs appropriate to the occasion.

Request—Let me give way to go home my dear friends
For my mother calls me to suckle !
Answer —Let your mother call you to suckle the breasts
But there is no way to go home dear friend !
Request—Let me give way to go home, my dear friends
For my father is calling me to give me a new cloth !
Answer —Let your father call you to give a new cloth
But there is no way to go home dear friend !
Request—Let me give way to go home my friends
For my paternal uncle calls to give me a *guava* fruit !
Answer —Let your paternal uncle call you to give a *guava* fruit
But there is no way to go home dear friend !
Request—Let me give way to go home, my dear friends
For my uncle is calling me to give a dice !
Answer —Let your uncle call you to give a dice
But there is no way to go home, dear friend !
Request—Let me give way to go home my dear friends
For my eldest brother calls me with red-hot eyes !
Answer —Let your eldest brother call you, let his eyes be red hot !
But there is no way to go home, dear friend !
Request—Let me give way to go home my dear friends
For my youngest brother is calling me !
Answer —Let your youngest brother call you
But there is no way to go home, dear friend !
Request—Let me give way to go home my dear friends
For my aunty is calling me to give *Kuppari* !
Answer —Let your aunty call you to give *Kuppari*,
But there is no way to go home, dear friend !

There is another game of the girls in which a group asks for a bride to which the other group replies in the negative. This game is in the question-and-answer form with humorous singer of songs. The songs sung in this regard are too lengthy to reproduce here.

Some of the games of ladies are almost extinct. *Mookel Vidya* and *Kaithamara Attam* have become extinct in central Kerala. In *Mukkel Vidya* a girl dances balancing a decorated stick on her nasal bridge while another lady sings a song appropriate to the occasion to the accompaniment of the music produced by beating small drum. In *Kaitharama Attam* a girl holds on two bunches of flowers on her right and left hands and dances to the accompaniment of an appropriate song and drum-beating. *Ammana Attam* (throwing the balls) is not an easy job to perform as none of the three balls should fall to the ground. Circling rings on toes and thumbs at the same time is also done by women.

Vishu : The third important festival of Kerala is Vishu which is celebrated in the month of Metam (April-May). This is primarily concerned with the beining of the agricultural operations. The women are commissioned to light the auspicious sight (*Kani*).

Though there are several feasting and fasting days, games and pastimes for women, brevity compels us to omit even their names. The observance of fast on Monday, *Ekadashi, Janmashtami* etc. are important. The 'dos and don'ts' for pregnant women, the omens about them and the restrictions of food placed on the fair sex are also omitted here.

The folk ballads of Kerala depict the exploits of at least two famous ladies i.e. *Unniyarcha* and *Kunhikanni,* besides *Bala* and Kularmala Konki. The exploits of Unniyarcha thrill the hearts of every woman in Kerala even today. She has been filmed. The ballads are too long to insert here. The life of the women depicted in the folk ballads and songs is left out here.

Conclusion :

An attempt has been made here to depict the position of Nair women of Kerala with the help of folk sayings and practices though fragmantary it is from the social point of view. The impact of Western culture has been the cause of the disintegration of the matriarchal system. The proverbs tell us the position of women as they existed before the beginning of the present century. Though they reigned supreme in the social structure, there is no tradition of a gynocratic government. Nair women today have lost their evviable

position in the affairs of the community and this writer will not be surprised if they are reduced to mere chattels and cattles in the years to come. We do not see a silver lining in their future as the traditional values attached to the culture of Nairs are being trampled. They have given up their rituals. Their festivals are neglected. And the day is not far off for their cultural downfall.

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EVOLUTION OF THE HINDU MARRIAGE SYSTEM

Marriage, as an institution, is as old as the human society, and like the society, it evolved through several stage before it has reached the present stage. The Hindu marriage system also passed through these stages, and has still retained those primitive elements which it acquired while passing through those stages. Indeed many primitive ideas and rituals are quite obvious in the Hindu marriage system. In the following pages the writer have endeavoured to treat the evolation of the Hindu marriage system.

ANTHROPOLOGISTS like McLennan, Morgan, Kohler, Lowie and others think that the primitive state of man was one of unqualified promissuity. By promiscuity we mean loose cohabitation. Man must have began as a promiscuous being, since the most primitive men had no idea about norms. With the rise of culture, attempts were made to regulate promiscuous relationship. As a result, group marriage came into existence, in which the young men of a particular clan married the young women of another clan. The group marriage was gradually replaced by the intermediate stages of polyandry, marriages of the Beena type and ultimately by the monogamous marriages.

That the Hindu marriage system had undergone a similar process of development is evident from an Aryan mythology. It can be conjectured that once promiscuous relationship was prevalent among the primitive ancestors of the Hindus. The Aitariya Brahmana, while explaining Creation, narrates that the Prajapati, the original Creator married his daughter for this purpose. There is also a reference to the sexual connections between Pushan and his mother. (Rg. Veda, VI, 55). It seems that this practice began to be discountenanced later, because the later Sacred Books, like the Matsya and the Vayu Purana, while speaking the same thing of Brahma, the Creator, reserve that he became cautious, took the disguise of a deer and went to his daughter who also had disguised herself as a *rohita* deer. Similar cases are also found in the Harivamsa. Satarupa became the wife of her father Visistha Prajapati. Manu married his daughter, Ila ; and Janhu, his daughter, Janhavi-Ganga. The Sacred Books abound in stories of this type. The Magians of Iran practised for a long time the "Khetuk-das"

(i.e. next-of-kin marriage) amongest very near relations (between mother and son, and father and daughter, and brother and sister).

Intermarriage of brothers and sisters was continued for a long time. The Achaemenian royal house practised the brother-sister marriage. According to Herodotus, Cambyses, the son of Cyrus the Great, started the brother-sister marriage in the Achaemenian royal house. He carried the system to Egypt when he had completed his conquest of that country. In the coastal regions of the Eastern Mediterranean, a similar practice appears to have been prevalent in those and earlier times amongst holders of high sacerdotal offices. Frazer thinks that this was owing to the wide prevalence of mother-kin succession in these regions. That the brother-sister marriage was once in vogue in India is evident from the Sacred Books. There is a story in the Taittiriya Brahmana of Sita-Savitri, the daughter of Prajapati, who wanted the love of her brother Soma. Soma did not want her but his other sister Sraddha. Then Sita-Savitri sought the advice of her father who gave her an amulet, with the help of which she succeeded in winning Soma. But this system seems to have already been looked with abherrence. We read in the hymn of Yama and his twin sister that brother-sister sex relation was considered proper in "ancient" time, but wrong "now". So when Yami, the sister of Yama, declares her love for her brother, Yama rejects her by saying that Varuna would see and be angry. Yami argues on the contrary that some of the gods of old cohabited with kin. So it appears that the brother-sister marriage which had been in vogue, fell into disuse in the Rigvedic period.

In course of time promiscuous relationship was replaced by the group marriage, which gave rise to the organisation known as Ganagotra. We have a story in the Puranas that sixty sisters, who were daughters of Daksa, formed into seven groups of 10, 13, 27, 4, 2, 2, 2, and took seven Prajapati husbands. This sort of marriage was probably a survival of "group marriage". The word "Ganika" clearly derives from group-wives. Group marriage led to the foundation of two practices—sororate and levirate. Sororate is the rule whereby a man who marries a woman has a pre-emptive right to marry also her younger sisters, whereas under the levirate, when a man dies his widow becomes the wife of one of his brothers. Frazer argues that as levirate points to the marriage of women to a group of brothers, so the sororate points the marriage of men to a group of sisters. When the two customs are taken together, they point to the prevalence of marriage between a group of husbands as brothers, and a group of wives as sisters. Morgan also thinks it is a relic of group marriage.

Levirate was common to the Indo-European family. It was prevalent also among the Iranians. This custom came to be known as Noyoga and must have been in vogue for a long time, at least in Rig-widow was taken charge of by the brother of the deceased, who could Vedic India. It appears from Rig-Veda (X, 18, 8 and X 40, 2) that a widow was taken charge of by the brother of the deceased, who could marry her with the permission of the elders.

The Dharmasutras of Gautama have been roughly assigned to the 7th century B.C., i.e., towards the close of the Brahmanic period. The Vedic custom of marrying a brother-in-law was in vogue during Gautama's time, for we find in his Dharmasutras, "A woman whose husband is dead, and who desires offspring (may bear a son) to her brother-in-law.....on failure of a brother-in-law (she may obtain offspring) by (cohabiting with) a Sapinda, a Sagotra, a Samana-pravara, or one who belongs to the same caste."

The Mahabharata abounds in a number of instances of Levirate which prove that the system also prevailed them. Vyasa and Vichitra-virya were half-brothers. When Vichitravirya died childless, his mother wanted her daughters-in-law to produce children by levirate with Vyasa. Vyasa consented and had by them respectively two children, Dhritarastra and Pandu.

Baudhayan Dharmasastra also recognises the system of Niyoga as a legal institution, though the later law-givers have decried it. He says, "A widow shall avoid during a year the use of honey, meat, spirituous liquor, and salt, and sleep on the ground." Then referring to an early law-giver, he adds, "Maudgalya declares that she shall do so during six months. After the expiry of that time she may, with the permission of her *gurus*, bear a son to her brother-in-law, in case she has no son." Though the system of Niyoga is admitted by Vasistha, it seems to be fast disappearing because regarding the ownership of a son he comments, "There is a dispute among the wise and some says, "The son belongs to the begetter."

From the time of Manu the levirate system began to be censured. While recognising the system thus, "On failure of issue by her husband, a woman who has been authorised, may obtain, in the proper manner prescribed, the desired offspring by cohabitation with a brother-in-law or with some other Sapinda of the husband," else where Manu contradicts the above statement by saying, "By twice-born men a widow must not be appointed to cohabit with any other than her husband; for they who appoint her to another man will violate the eternal law." Levirate was also prevalent in Europe. A spartan law attributed to Lycurgus required an old man who had a young wife to

introduce to her a youngman whose bodily and mental qualities he approved, that he might beget children on her.

Many instances of Sororal polygyny are found in the Sacred Books. Thus we find the following story in the Taittiriya Samhita ii. 3, 5. "Prajapati had thirty-three daughters he gave them to king Soma, among them he only went to Rohini. The others jealous returned (to their father) : he went after them, he sought them again ; but he (the father) did not give them again to him. He said to him, "Take an oath that you will go to them alike, then I will give them to you again." He took an oath, he gave them back to him." We find similar instances in the Mahabharata. Brhadratha, son of Uparichara, married two sisters. Vichitravirya also married two sisters.

Two principles are involved in the group marriage and each complements the other. One is that when a man contracts a marriage with a family he marries all the marriageable females of that family. The other principle is that when a woman contracts a marriages with another family she marries all the marriageable males of that family. The first principle projects into the practice of polygamy and the second principle, into the practice of polyandry. McLennan thinks that the custom widespread among savages, of female infanticide created a superfluity men in each tribe. It was due to the death of women which was the consequence of female infantacide that the tribes practiced polyandry. Moreover, where there custom of group marriage or polyandry was prevalent, the paternity of a child could not be known. As the mother of a child was known, kinship was reckoned in the female line to the exclusion of the male. According to McLennan, the conceptions of consanguity and incest have nothing to do with the custom of exogamy, because these ideas originated much later. To quote McLennan's words, "As exogamy and polyandry are referable to one and the same cause -a want of balance between the sexes-we are forced to regard all the exogamous races as having originally been polyandrous.....Therefore, we must hold it to be beyond dispute that among exogamous races the first system of kinship was that which recognised blood ties through mothers only."

There are some vague allusions to polyandry in the Vedic mythology. However, we have the classic instance of Draupadi having the five Pandavas as her husbands. But Vyasa judged the marriage to be against usage and, as such, against dharma. Yudhistira, on his part, put forward three reasons to justify the marriage. First, he justified the marriage by illustrating the marriage of Jatila with seven Rsis, and Varksi with ten brothers called Prachetas as precedents for the practice the Pandavas had followed. Secondly, he justified it as righteous

because it was in accordance with the wishes of his mother. And lastly, the marriage was justified by the tradition of his family. "We follow the path which has been trodden by (our ancestors) in succession." It was from the time of Aitareya Brahmana (800 B.C.) that the system seems to have been discredited, because a man could have many wives but a woman could have only one husband.

Polyandry and marriages of the Beena type are the intermediate stages in the evolution of monogamous marriages. "Beena" is the name of marriage which prevails among the Sinhalese in Ceylon. In it the daughter lives in the father's house where she is visited by her husband, and her children become her father's kinsmen. But the term "beena" marriage was extended by Morgan as a technical term to imply all marriages of this type in which the husband visited the wife. This type of marriage finds its analogues in the Mahabharata stories of the marriage of Arjuna with Ulupi and Chitrangada, and of Bhima with Hidimba. In all these cases it is to be noted that the sons remained with the mother.

The evolutionists believe that the matriarchal form of family organisation is prior to the patriarchal. In the matriarchal societies husbands are only visitors and have no authority over the children. The children live with the mother and the mother's brother becomes the habitual guardian of the family. As the maternal system of descent is found in all parts of the world where social advance stands at a certain level, it can be assumed that every group which advances to a culture passes through this stage. The matrilineal system was also found among Aryan peoples. The Lycians, reports Herodotus, have this peculiar custom wherein they resemble no other men, they derive their mothers, and not from their fathers, and through mothers reckon their kin. According to the Mahabharata a matrilineal system was prevalent in the kingdom of Mahismati about the Narbada river, where the women had liberty to choose a plurality of husbands, and among the Arattas, probably in the Punjab, "whose heirs are their sisters' children, not their own." The Pandyan dynasty seems to have been originally matrilineal, as Tamil poems allude to its founder as a woman. Megasthenes reports, it was founded by a daughter of Heracles. striking : "Unrelated by blood was she to the man that she slew."

The process of transformation of the matriarchal society to the patriarchal one was gradual. Bachofen thinks that a grim struggle took place between declining mother-right and rising father-right in that process of transformation. He accordingly points to the Oresteia of Aeschylus as an illustration of that struggle. F. Engels sums up the views of Bachofen in the following admirable language, "Cly-

temnestra has slain her husband Agamemnon, just returned from the Trojan War, for the sake of her lover Aegisthus; but Orestes, her son by Agamemnon, avenges his father's murder by slaying his mother. For this he is pursued by the Erinyee, the demonic defenders of mother right, according to which matricide is the most heinous and inexpiable of crimes. But Apollo, who through his oracle has incited Orestes to commit this deed, and Athena, who is called in as arbiter-the two deities which were represent the new order, based on father right-protect him. Athena hears both sides. The whole controversy is briefly summarised in the debate which now ensures between Orestes and the Erinyes. Orestes declares that Clytemnestra is guilty of a double outrage; for in killing her husband she also killed his father. Why then have the Erinyes persecuted him and not Clytemnestra, who is much the greater culprit? The reply is striking:

"Unrelated by blood was she to the man that she slew."

"The murder of a man not related by blood, eventhough he be the husband of the murderess, is expiable and does not concern the Erinyes. Their function is to avenge only murders among blood-relatives, and the most heinous of all these, according to mother right, is matricide. Apollo now intervenes in defence of Orestes. Athena calls upon the Areopagites—the Athenian jurors—to vote on the question. The votes for acquital and for the conviction are equal. Then Athena, as president of the court, casts her vote in favour of Orestes and acquits him. Father right has gained the day over mother-right."

D. D. Kausambi has discerned a similar conflict between mother right and father right in the dialogues between Urvasi and Pururavas as narrated in the Rigveda, X.95. Pururavas has been married to Urvasi; but he is to be sacrificed after having begotten a son and successor upon Urvasi. Pururavas asks, "When will the son that is born yearn after his father? He will have shed flooding tears, knowing (what happened). Who dares separate the wedded pair in accord as long as the (ancestral) fire burns at the house of the fathers-in-law?" Urvasi—"I answer you, let him shed ample tears, he will not, heedful of (my) sacred office; I shall send you that of thine that thou hast with us. Go to thy destiny; thou canst reach me."

It is a kind of sacred marriage where the husband is to be sacrificed ultimately. Urvasi and her associates like Menaka, Ghrtachi, Alambusa etc were all "apsaras". The "apsaras" followed a matriarchal custom which required them not to submit to a husband as permanent lord and master. While violating Rambha Ravana remarked, "aparanam patirnasti," and conscious neither of sin nor

crime. In the whole course of the dialogue Pururavas was pleading for the father-right "Who dares sepearate the weeded pair in accord as long as the (anceastral) fire burns at the house of the fathers-in-law ?" But Urvasi was still championing the cause of mother-right.

From the condition of mother-right the transition to father-right took place through the institution of marriage by capture. Beyond a certain stage, the ritualistic basis of promiscuity was condemned and exogamy displaced endogamy as a general principle that is, sexual relations became restricted to persons in other groups, involving commonly the obtaining of the woman from these groups by violence. According to Dionysus of Halicarnas, this type of marriage was prevalent among ancient Greeks ; it existed also among the Romans and the Arabs. It prevailed among ancient Semites. Capturing women for purposes of matrimony is common to primitive society. The Rakshasa type of marriage is equivalent to the system of acquiring bride by violence. "In the Raksasa, the girl is carried off by force, after killing (her relatives) and cleaving (their heads), while she weeps and they weep."

Exogamy is the prohibition of marriage within the supposed blood-kinship, as denoted by the family name. Such marriage, among many backward races, is reckoned incentuous, and is punishable by death. The general rule of the Hindu marriage system is that a man must not marry a woman belonging to the same gotra because all the members of the gotra are theoretically supposed to have descended from the same ancestor. Marriage can not take place between relations within six degrees on the mother's or the father's side. Originally gotra meant "Cow-shed", and later on it came to denote the "family" or the "clan". The "gotra" of a family is said to be named after the rishi-ancestor who founded the family in the immemorial past. Closely connected with the "gotra" is the other term "pravara". "A pravara is a passage, or rather perhaps the names contained in such a passage, in the vedic formula used in the worship of his ancestors by a follower of any particular vedic school ; and the use of pravara involves the recital, at specific points in the sacrificial ritual, of the names of certain quasi-dified ancestors who followed that particular school of vedic worship also followed by the descendant reciting the pravara, and who are commemorated in the act of worship." (Hutton) Marriage is also restricted according to pravara. It may be that two or more gotras have their pravara in common. In that case marriage is not permissible, eventhough man and woman belong to two different gotras.

So far as the paternal side is concerned marriage is regulated in terms of gotra, and with reference to the maternal side there is an

injunction that a person shall not marry a woman who is a sapinda on his mother's side, up to the sixth degree in ascending or descending line. The three terms "gotra", "pravara" and "sapinda" are connected with the Hindu laws of exogamy.

Max Weber observes, "Out of this practice (i.e., the practice of acquiring brides by violence) should have developed marriage by purchase." Marriage by purchase is one of the recognised forms of vedic marriage. "In vedic times brides were won by rich presents to their fathers, though a certain discredit would seem to have been attached to the sale of daughters." The elements of bride-price (sulka) are discernable in the Asura form of marriage, where the father of the bride is gladdened with money. Vasistha mentions the Manusha rite in place of the Asura form of marriage. He says, "If, after making a bargain with the father, a suitor marries a damsel purchased for money, that is called the Manusha-rite." In the Mahabharata it is mentioned that Pandu paid to the Madra in gold, jewels, elephants, horses, cars and various other articles for the hand of his sister.

Cross-cousin marriage is a by-product of exogamy. It is a marriage between the children of brothers and sisters. There are two varieties: (1) Mother's brother's daughter (2) Father's sister's daughter. Tylor gives an explanation why cross-cousin marriage is permissible while parallel cousin marriage is tabooed. He assumes that the custom arose in communities subdivided into exogamous halves with fixed rules of descent. Here parallel cousins will always belong to the same half and will therefore be prevented from marrying by the exogameous law, while cross-cousins will belong to complementary halves and remain unaffected by the exogamous law. As for example, a man and his brothers and sisters all belong to their fathers half of the tribe, A. The children of this man and those of his brothers will also be A, and as such they are not permitted to intermarry. But his sisters must marry men of B, i.e. outside A, and their children are all B whom the brother's children (i.e. A) must marry. There are also other reasons for the prevalence of cross-cousin marriage. Swanton suggests that the motive of keeping property within the family circle may well lead to marriage with the father's own sister's daughter or the mother's own brother's daughter. Another reason is that where the caste system prevails, union with a person of lesser rank can be avoided by cross-cousin marriage. The earliest reference to the cross cousin marriage is to be found in the Baudhayana Dharmasutras. Baudhayana mentions the marriage of the daughter of a maternal uncle and that of the daughter of a paternal aunt as customs peculiar to the

South. There is also a faint trace of this system of marriage in the fifty-fifth verse of seventh Mandala of the Rigveda to which Madhava-acharya in his gloss on Parasara, refers in support of that system. We find instances of mother's brother's daughter type of cross-cousin marriage in the Mahabharata. The marriage of Arjuna with Subhadra, of Krishna with Rukmini, was of this type.

A. Lang says, "On the whole, wide prohibitions of marriage are archaic, the widest are savage; the narrowest are modern and civilised." In that sence the Hindu prohibition is wide and therefore old. The Hindu marriage system has all those primitive rules and regulations which have been acquired as a result of sedimentation incourse of its development through different stages.

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THE SIGNIFICANE OF GAMES IN SAORA CULTURE

Mr. Suryanarayan is now serving as a Senior Research Fellow of the Anthropological Survey of India, South India Station. This is written from his field report for M. Sc. in Andhra University.

SAORAS are one of the aboriginal tribes in India, widely scattered all over Srikakulam District in Andhra Pradesh, Koraput and Ganjam Districts in Orissa. The present study is confined to the Saoras of Srikakulam District, where the Saora population is 67,137.

Saora games play not only a recreational role but also have an educative value. Their day to day observations and mode of life reflect in their games. They teach them how they have to behave and act in their routine way of life closely knitted with their environmental pursuits.

Moon light nights are very interesting to watch in a Saora village. Boys and girls gather in their groups for playing games. Some others spend their time by sitting at elderly persons to hear short stories and riddles. Still others spend their nights by singing songs and cutting jokes at each other. It does not mean that they play their games strictly during nights. Young boys and girls gather at one place after their parents left for fields and play games imitating their parents roles. Boys mainly imitate the activities like ploughing, hunting, food-gathering, fishing and on attending shandies, whereas girls imitote the roles like bringing water, pounding, grinding, cooking and hoeing. The following is the detailed account of the various Saora games :

Ayo-didan : It is a fish game played by the boys and girls in the age group of 6-12 years. They collect together and form a circle by holding the arms of each others. A boy stands inside whose eyes are covered with a cloth and is asked to catch and identify a person in the circle which will be rotating gently. A person in the circle asks questions and he answers like this :

Where have you gone ?
To sea.
For what purpose ?
To catch fishes.
With what you caught ?
With a trap.

In what you brought ?
With leaves.
With what you cut ?
With a knife.
In what you cooked ?
In a pot.
With whom you ate ?

The person has to reveal the name of the victim whom he is holding in the hands. If he says correctly the eyes of the victim will be closed and will repeat as before. If he fails in the identification he has to continue until he succeeds.

Ganat-didan : It is a digging of tubers game played by the boys and girls between 6 to 12 years. Some boys and girls sit by stretching their hands and feet. Two to three boys imitate digging of tubers and cut away the stretched hands and feet saying that they are removing the unnecessary roots and bushes around. Then they say that the persons sitting are tubers and set fire to them. After a few minutes they ask the persons whether they are cooked or not ? The persons sitting cry like this : "Rabadun, Rabadun Sakkar (Not yet boiled)". A few minutes later they touch the heads of each person and see whether they are boiled or not and ask them whether they are boiled. The people sitting cry : "Sakkar, Sakkar (Boiled, Boiled)." Then they pretend eating them and go away.

Atum-didan : It is a game imitating watching of cucumbers. Boys and girls from 6 to 12 years play this game. A person stands in the middle stretching his both hands, small boys and girls sit hanging to each finger. A boy acts as an old person watching the cucumbers and a girl as his wife. The girl says to her husband to keep watching till she returns with food. But the person goes for bath with a friend to a stream. By the time he returns a thief takes away two to three cucumbers (A person acts as a thief). His wife comes with food and counts the cucumbers and finds the deficit. She asks her husband where he has gone ? He replies that he has gone for bath. She quarrels with her husband for not waiting till her arrival.

Selang-didan : It is a play of potter's wheel. One person stands in the middle and 5 to 6 girls sit and streatch their legs and all join their legs to the person standing in the middle making a circle. Then they raise their hands and males (generally) standing in between two girls hold their hands firmly and raise their bodies to 3 feet above the ground and rotate like a potters wheel all saying, "Selang, Selang, Selang (Pots, Pots, Pots)." Boys of 8 to 15 years play this game.

Kasim-didan : The girls between 6 to 12 years stand in a circle and join their hands making the appearence of a fowl house. In the middle a boy or a girl stands like a fowl and another male stands beside as a dog watching the fowl. One person acts as a jackal standing outside the circle. Jackal tries to enter the house but the girls standing in a circle obstruct the jackal. But he enters forcebly somehow and the dog fights with the jackal and the fowl come out and the jackal also follows. Then the fowl enters inside. During this process if the jackal just touches the fowl it is considered to be successful, if not it is continued till he succeeds. Persons change and repeat this game.

Lolo-didan : (a) It is a game imitating the act of hoeing. Some girls imitate hoeing with small hooked sticks. When they come to a particular point a person hiding suddenly jumps out and threatens them like a bear. Then all the girls run away and again start hoeing after a few minutes.

(b) In the same manner as above girls will be hoeing and girls sit at a particular point. When they approach the girl one of them cries "Kumbul sung, Kumbul sung (Rat house Rat house)", and asks her partners to help in digging the rat house. All start digging and the rat runs to a little distance away. Again they repeat and finally catch the rat, set fire to it and eat after it is boiled.

Kimmae-didan : In this one person acts as a tiger. Others acts as goats. Yet another acts as a *shepherd*. He takes the goats to grazing land. The boys cry like goats and walk on four legs, the shephered imitates like tending them. The tiger enters and tries to take away the goats. The shephered attacks the tiger. If the tiger succeeds it will take away some goats. The same is repeated for several times.

Gudi-didan : It is a game imitating the trap game in hunting birds and wild fowls. Two persons stand oppositly stretch and hold each other's arms upwards making and arch. Small girls and boys holding ones back pass through them. They suddenly block one and he or she tries to escape. If he/she is caught he/she has to stop and the others have to continue and it will be played till all are caught. While passing though they cry like this "Jam Jam Jamparui Gudia a tattae".

Remang-didan : It is a game played by the boys and girls of the age group of 6 to 12 years. They sit in a circular fashion. One person holds a piece of cloth in his hand and walks around them pretending as if he is placing the cloth at each persons back side. Finally he drops at one's behind. One should not see behind and also should not reveal, if one observes the placing of cloth. If he knows by himself he gets up and beats the person who placed the cloth, if not the persons who

placed the cloth makes a round the circle and beats the person one whose back side he placed the cloth and he sits there replacing the person who then repeats the game.

Sai-didan : This is also a game played by boys and girls between 6 to 15 years. They sit in two rows facing each other. One row represents one party with a person standing behind. All persons in one side place their hands opend at the behind. The person standing their behind pretends placing a small object at each person's hand and the person who stands on the other side has to identify correctly at whose hands he placed the object. If he can identify correctly his side takes the chance of placing the object, if not the other party continues till this person identifies correctly.

Demna-didan : One person stretches his arm and all the persons playing have to put their pointed fingures on it. He will show a star on the sky while they are seeing it, he suddenly joins the other arm to this. Those persons who smell this retreat their fingures and the person who keeps his finger till the last is called as thief. His eyes will be closed with a cloth and the other members hide near by. He will come out stretching hands. If he touches a person the cloth will be tied to that person and it will be continued similarly, if not he has to continue till he is able to touch a person. In this game all the members should not go far off and has to confine to the limits which will be first determined.

Based-didan This is a game played by the boys between 10 to 20 years of age. Two parties are required to represent each containing 4 persons. Rectangular lines are drawn with ash and at the 4 corners of rectangle 4 person of one party stand. One person from the other party has to enter into the inner rectangular place, while doing so the persons at four corners keeping the lines try to touch the person entering inside. If the person is touched they come out and the persons standing outside have to keep watching the lines. If not the person who has gone in try to touch any person of his party standing outside, while doing so the person watching try to touches the person of the other party. If he succeeds in touching a person's hand he gains one measure of salt. They try to gain as many measures of salt without being out. If they are out the other party take the chance. The more the number of measures one party gains is considered to be the winner of the game.

Pander-didan : This is a girls game of 10 to 20 years of age group. Two parties with four members in each form and play the game. 4 girls sit in a square by holding each other's hands stretched and join their hands. The girls of the other party who stand in between two girls place their heads and hands in a bending posture inside the square, over their joined hands, keeping their legs behind the square.

These 4 girls have to jump into the square like rabbits, while doing so their legs should not be touched by the stretched hands in such a case they are considered to be out and they have to sit and the other party takes the chance of jumping. While jumping the girls stretching their hands raise considerbly to make them out by touching their hands to the jumping party. If the jumping party succeeds they continue this till they are out. The more the number of times one party wins, it is considered to be the winner of the game.

Basser-didan : This is a youth's game which we can as well equate to the tug-of-war game of ours with some variation. One person acts like a Basser (Iguana). A person is tied round his back with a rope of 6 yards. A small boy is asked to hold over his stomach as its issue holds like Iguana and crawls on his fore and hind limbs. A person holds the rope at the other end and a tug-of-war is exhibited. It is generally believed that one cannot defeat the Basser. A person who wins over the Basser is considered to be having more strength.

Arta-didan : This is a game of youth's. A yoke is brought and at one end a person holds it firmly or it is fitted closely to a wall. A person embracing the yoke underneath with his hands (keeping the head to the free end of the yoke) and raise the legs against the ground to a considerable hight and gets down gently like taking pullaps. The more the number of times one succeeds the more is the credit.

Ravun-didan : This is another youth's game. A yoke is tied horizontally over two vertical poles (6 feet above). A rope will be placed over this leaving the two ends hanging one on either sides. At one side a person holds the rope with his hands and placing his legs on the other side of the rope. He has to climb with the help of this rope (without falling down) and has to show his face above the yoke. The number of times one passes his face over the yoke is his credit.

Pappa-didan : Boys over 12 years of age play this game. A party of 4 persons keep watching and another party of 4 persons play the game. 4 persons keep lines at 1, 2, and 4. The members have to enter into A and B rooms without being out by the persons watching. As in the case of *Based-didan* they have to be one the lines and have to keep in lines and have to touch the persons that are passing through the lines. When all the persons come into A and B rooms the persons at 1, 2, and 3 change to 5, 6 and 7. The persons in the A and B rooms have to come to C or D rooms. Then after they have entered C and D the person at 4 comes to the 8th place and persons in the C and D have to come out of the lines. The persons watching at 5, 6 and 7 change to 9, 10 and 11 places. During the process if any person crossing the line is touched the whole party has to keep watching and the other party

takes the chance of crossing. The credit goes to that party which gains more points in crossing the lines successfully.

Ayo-didan, Ganai-didan, Atum-didan, Kasim-didan, Lolo-didan Kimmae-didan, and *Gudi-didan,* which have a functional value are connected with the economic and social life of the Saoras. *Selang-didan, Pander-didan* and *Basser-didan* show how keen they observe nature which they imitate in the games. *Remang-didan, Sai-didan* and *dumma-didan* are purely ment for recreation and we also find these games with slight modifications among plains people. It is difficult to ascertain however that they are diffused from the plains. We also find *Salagudu-didan* and *Centra-didan* which can be equatted to our Kabadi and Koko games, which I have not described as they are well know to all. Besides we find games confined to youths like *Based-didan, Basser-didan, Arta-didan, Ravun-didan* and *Pappa didan.* In some of them, the strength of a person is exhibited. But we do not find corresponding games to girls of this age by which time all most all girls settle in their married life and pay no attention on games.

With a result of the increasing contacts with the people of the plains in due course we may find the traditional games may be oriented towards the plains games. Because it is possible as many of the school teachers who come from plains are paying more attention to their own games rather than encouraging the tribal games.
games.

Anthropological Survey of India, South India Station.

TO BE SHORTLY PUBLISHED

BENGAL—CASE STUDY OF RURAL MARKET, ByP. K. Bhowmick, D. Phil, D.Sc., University of Calcutta. Introduction—Sankar Sen Gupta Foreword Prof. N. K. Bose, FNI

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BOOK REVIEW

THE PEOPLE OF TIBET, by Sir Charles Bell, Oxford University Press, first published. 1928 reprint 1968, demy, XIX+319 pp, maps, photos, price Rs. 37.50.

THE RELIGION OF TIBET, by Sir Charles Bell, Oxford University Press, first print 1931, reprint 1968, demy XVI+235 pp, maps, photos Price Rs. 30.

The author is a famous Tibetologist who has lived the country for nearly twenty years in connection with his official duty and has recorded invaluable informations about the land and the people which is fast being changed, and remodeled. His first book on Tibet—"Tibet Past and Present" contains the history, specially the political position in Tibet in eariler days to the begining of this century and the above two volumes form a sequal to author's earlier work and like that these two volumes are important historical documents. These books are as usual of high merits and they had great demand which is why the volumes are reprinted again after a lapse of about 40 and 37 years respectively. The author has said in the preface that "The area of Tibet is large. Intercourse of one part with another is restricted, for the country is difficult and the means of travel are primitive". The people follows that manners and customs which vary in different districts. In present day Tibet white man's life and customs are getting penetrated owing to developmental work and political reason.

In the first book the author has described the people in their own homes in the following chapters :—1. Geographical, 2. Historical; 3 Shepherds and Herdsmen, 4, 5, & 6. The Peasants, 7, 8, & 9. The Nobility, 10. The Traders, 11. A Mercantile Nation, 12. Beggars, 13. Robbers, 14. The Women, 15. The Position of Women, 16. Women's Work and Recreation, 17 & 18. Marriage, 19. The Children, 20. Children and Others, 21. Food, 22. Drinking and Smoking, 23 & 24. Ceremonial Etiquette, 25. Amusements, 26. The New Year Games at Lhasa, 27. The Rites with appendixes, bibliography and index. The headings of the contents speak of the range of the book. The author has done every possible justice to the cause.

The Second book—*Religion of Tibet*—has two parts with fifteen chapters. They are—

1. A Hidden Land, 2. The Old faith, 3. Gotama, the Buddha, 4. Buddhism comes to Tibet, 5. Expulsion and Return, 6. Buddhism Becomes the National Religion, 7. Cotton-clad Mi-La, 8. The Yellow Hats, 9. Buddhism Captures Mongolia, 10. The Priest Enthroned, 11. Christian Missionaries in Lhasa, 12. Modern Times, in part one : how it came. 13. The Power of Monesteries. 14. Priest as Civil and Military

Officers, 15. A Deity as King in chapter two ; how it rules along with appendix and index.

Sir Bell very rightly expressed his categorical views from his own experiences and association with the sons of the soil since he worked as an administrator in the land for about one fifth of a century and has acquired such knowledge by which he can say that "Tibet does not lack land for cultivation but lacks the men to till it".

Any student of Tibetology or an interested person would find these volumes of considerable interest. There are such observations and data in matters where modern Tibetologists may not accept author's approach or his views. But that is irrelevant to the main point that Sir Bell's obviously wide knowledge and experence of Tibet has not in any way inhibited him from putting the real, original and striking ideas and the points on of life and living of the people he discussed and thereby the study provides abundant food for thought for the discreminating readers.

Dr. B. N. Shastri

LAND AND THE PEOPLE OF THE HIMALAYA, Prof. Dr. S. C. Bose, Indian Publications, Calcutta, Demy, xiv + 284, maps, photos (1968), Rs. 30.00.

The author of the book writes in the preface "The book has rather been printed in haste to present it before the world geographers on the occasion of their visit to India in connection with the International Geographers Union Meetings in December, 1968". He also writes "I myself have travelled widely in the Himalaya and studied its physiography and its people, so far as I could, in a lone effort. The result is this book" which has twenty-three chapters and many photos and maps. It is a collection of author's papers published in various learned and technical journals. The whole work of a specialised scholar, as a whole, and in one place, to read it in continueo, is important. It is a detailed account written from an intimate acquaintance with the Himalaya. This book brings together a bundle of facts but it has many repetitions that irritates a critical reader. The chapters of the book are as follows : Location, Extent and Relation, Geology and Structure, Physiography and Landforms, Glaciers and Glacial Geomorphology, Lacustrine Basins, Terrain Evaluation, Enviornmental Control on Land-use, Development of Transportation, The People and their Varieties, Village Location, Urban Location, The Semi Nomad, The Siwalik Belt in Kashmir, Morpho-Ecology in Pir-Panjal, Vale of Kashmir, The Northern Valleys of Kashmir, Trans-Himalayan Kashmir, Upper Yamuna Valley, Uttarakhand, Sikkim and Darjeeling Hinalaya. Taken on the whole one is impressed by the book and the general results of the book under review will be found quite satisfactory.

Dr. B. N. Shastri



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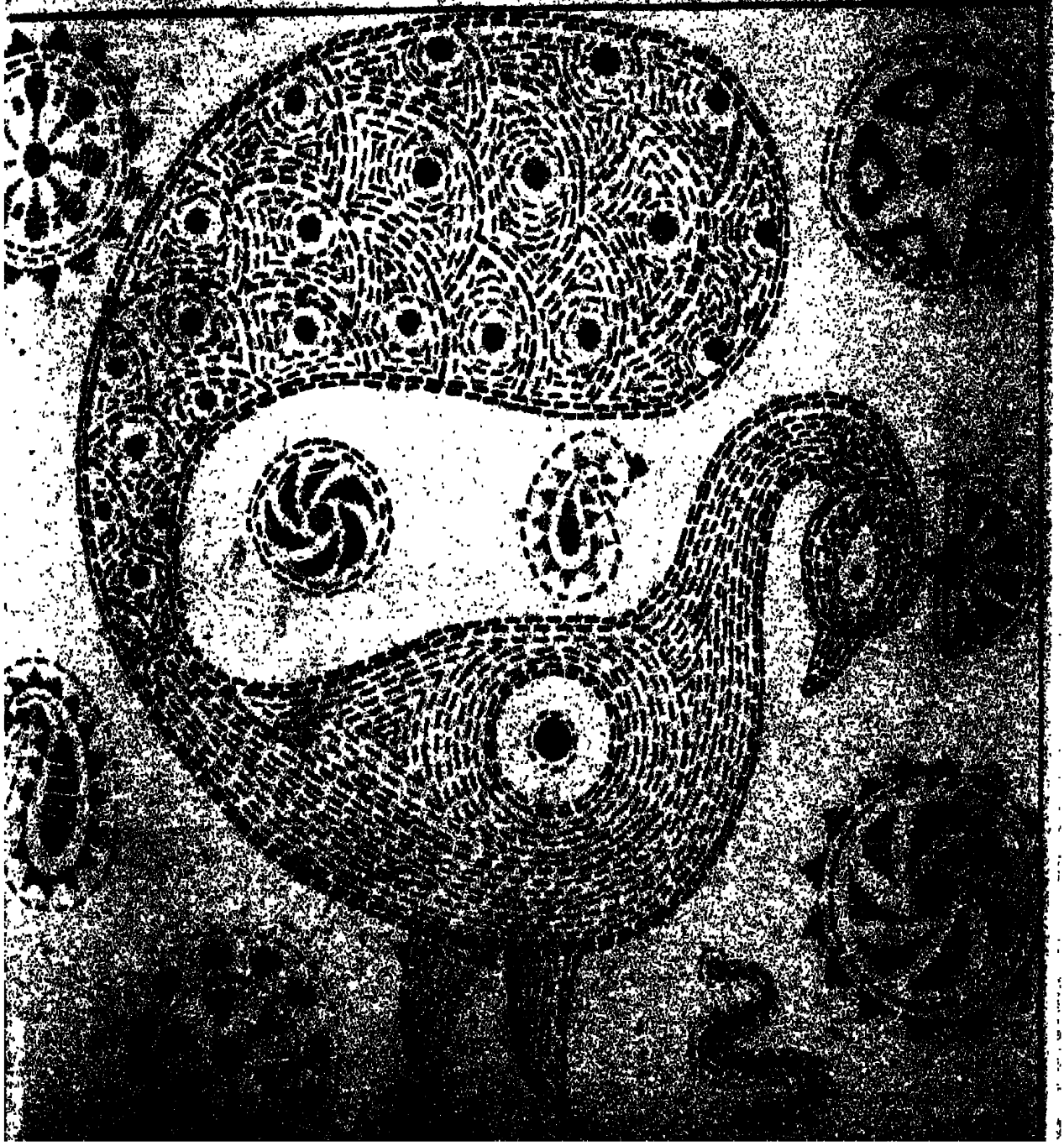
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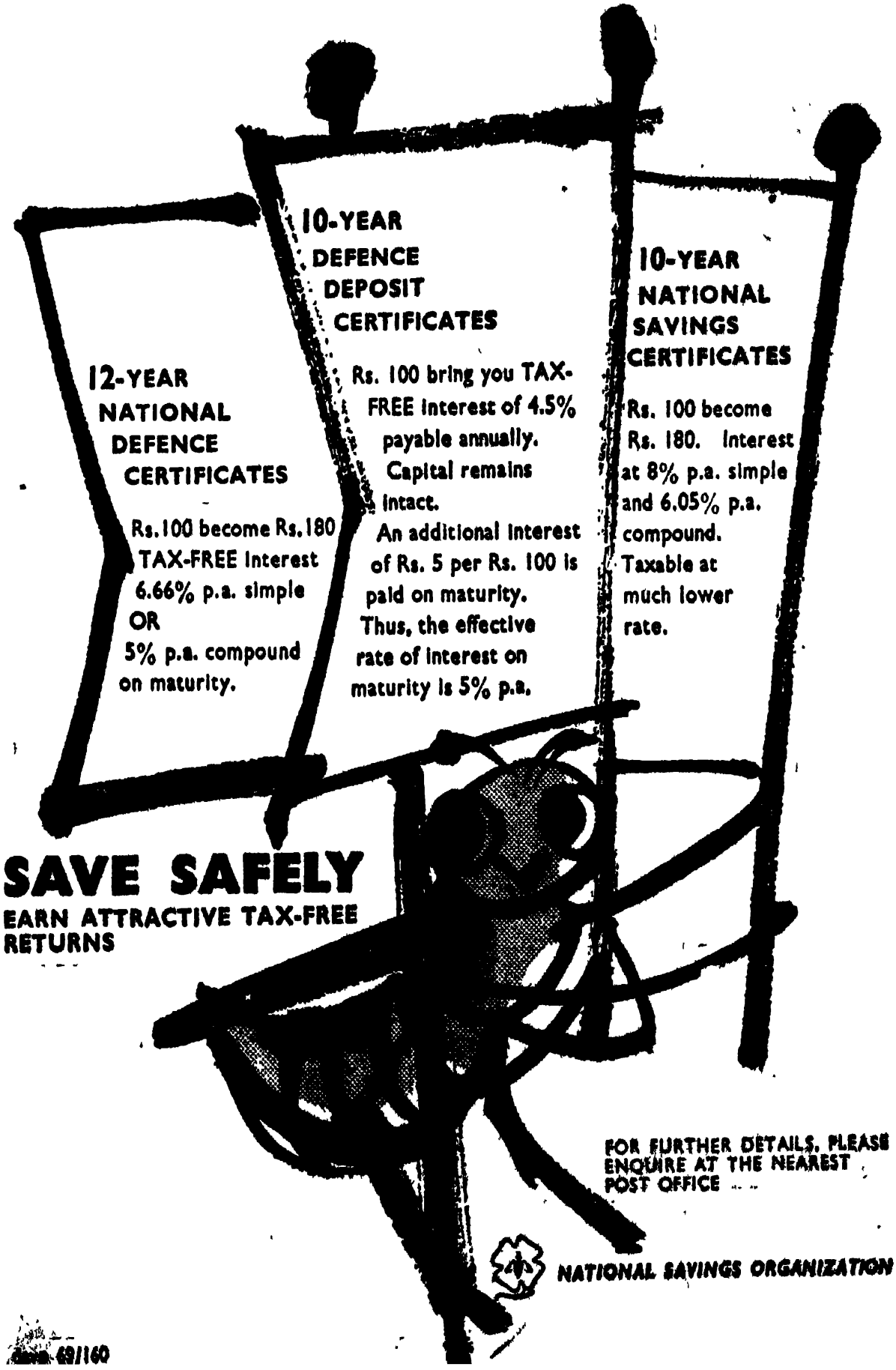
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M. N. BASU

THE MOON AND THE MAN

Jules Verne's "Form the Earth to the Moon" 1865 was based on fairly sound scientific principles which follows H. G. Well's "First Man in the Moon". Tsiiokovsky, Robert H. Goddard. H. Oberth inspired many for space travel. How folk people of India reacted to moon is described here by a socio-biological scientist. This may attract many and more serious interest may be found to widen our knowledge about the moon even after the landing on the moon.

MOON lore is fascinating and mingled with fable, fantasy and romance. From the long gone ages the moon's phases have been one of the man's most reliable means of recknoning time, with the twenty eight day period between the successive appearances of the new moon the counting of the month. The lunar calendar is a good guide for the orthodox Hindus to their domestic and socio-religious routine work. It fixes up the auspicious dates for the name giving and marriage ceremonies. The second day of week which the Bengali call *Sombar* or Monday, is named after the moon as per Gregorian calendar.

The moon figures in the religious and ceremonial beliefs and practices by the people of all countries without any caste or creed, without any religious faith, be they moderns or primitives. Among the Hindus of North India *Karba chauth* is one of the old Indian customs connected with the moon. This is observed in thousands every year. On the fourth day in the month of Kartik (October-November) after the full-moon or *Purnima* the married Hindu women dedicate the day to the welfare of their husbands by observing fast from the dawn to the apprearance of the moon at night. When the fast is broken the married women look at the rising moon. A drink is then offered to the moon and thus the day long ritual ends.

Practically all over India particularly in rural areas full-moon-day is an occasion for festivity and religious observance. Fairs are held and both men and women pay visit to the temples. Holy bath is resorted to in the *Maghi Purnima* (Full-moon-day of the Bengali month Magh, January-February). The holi festival (*Dol*) is observed by the Hindus on the full-moon-day in the month of Falgoon (February-March). The people of Bihar and U. P. observe *Rakhi Purnima* in the month of Bhadra (August-September)—a day for close and intimate friendship and relationship by tying red or coloured thread. In geographical Bengal *Nastachandra*—a day on the day of the full moon in the month of Bhadra is observed. On this day young boys and girls are found to steal fruits, sweets etc. The Hindus observe a great festival on the 6th day of the full-moon known as *Jamai Sasthi* when the sons-in-law are specially invited in the house of their fathers-in-law. The mothers-in-law observe fast and usually take fruits and sweets on the day. The sons-in-law are sumptuously fed and presented with new clothings. This is usually done by a woman who is a mother of a child. It indicates an idea of her child's welfare.

Towards the close of the Autumn the *Sarodiya utsab* in the name of the *Durga Puja* is celebrated by the Hindus specially in Bengal. After the 7th day of the month of Aswin (September-October) and before the 4th day of the month of Kartik on the 6th full-moon-day is known as the *Sasthi,* opening of the four day *Durga Puja* festival. Here the mother-goddess *Durga* is worshipped as the daughter of the Himalaya. *Ma Durga* with her two sons *Kartick* and *Ganesh* by names and two daughters known as *Lakshmi* and *Saraswati* come to her father's house and stay for 4 days. Then on the full-moon night of this month goddess of wealth, *Lakshmi,* is worshipped. In the month of Agrahayan (November-December) *Rash Purnima* is held with decorated lights etc. The goddess of learning, *Saraswati,* is worshipped in the month of Magh (January-February) on the 5th day of the full-moon. The day is popularly known as *Sri Panchami.*

The moon also figures in the religious beliefs, faiths and ceremonies of other groups like the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Christians and so on. The calendars of the Muslims and the Hebrews are based on the lunar months. The Jewish Passover is celebrated on the full-moon and the Easter occurs on the first Monday following the full-moon after the Spring equinox. The *Id,* a Muslim festival, is always celebrated on the day following the appearance of the new-moon. If the very small crescent moon is not visible on the sky in the west in the evening the performance of *Id* festival is postponed by a day. The expectancy is specially keen on the eve of *Id-ul-Fitr,* which follows the *Ramzan*

month—a full fasting for the day of the whole month. Everyday on the glimpse of the moon in the evening one breaks his fast. The proverbial usage *Id-ka-Chand* is expressed to describe a relation or a friend whom one meets after a long interval.

The founder of the Sikh religion, Guru Nanak, was born on *Kartik Purnima,* the day of the full-moon. The Sikhs celebrate his birth anniversary by congregating in their temples known as *Gurudwaras* in the morning and they illuminate their homes at night.

In the month of Baisak (April-May) on the full moon day known as *Buddha Purnima,* the Buddhists observe a sacred day with three fold significance. The day is marked as the day of Buddha's birth day, enlightenment and death or the attainment of salvation, means *Nirvana.* In recent times some of the primitives specially the tribal people like the Santals of Ayodhya Hills of the district of Purulia observe the Buddha Purnima day by hunting.

Among the Lodhas of Midnapur, West Bengal those who belong to *Kotal gotra* have adopted the Moon as their totem. When the moon completely disappears from the sky i.e. on the darknight or *Amabasya* the *Kotal gotra* members go into ceremonial pollution and throw away their earthen pots which being replaced by new ones on the day following. This is rigidly observed by the *Kotal gotra* members on every complete disappearance of the moon from the sky.

When the sun rises during the day time and the moon at night have been delineated by the Lodhas in their folk-lore. They believe that the sun and the moon are two sisters and they live together. Both of them have large number of children. The stars are all their children. But the moon wanted to have more children than the sun. Both of them (the sun and the moon) were afraid of the space in the sky. Then moon devised a plan to kill some of her children. She once told the sun of this plan and the sun agreed to. The moon then hid her children and told the sun that she had devoured her children. The sun on good faith devoured her children. But then the moon appeared in the sky with her children and a quarrel in between the sun and the moon began. The sun decided not to see her sister's (moon) face any more. Since then the sun has been found to rise during the day time and the moon at night.

The moon is associated with the name giving ceremony among the Oraons of Chotanagpur as noted by S. C. Roy. He says 'a child born on a Monday is called *Soma* or *Somai,* if a male, and *Somri* if a female.

The Kharias believe that the sun and the moon are husband and wife and the stars are their children. The sun is named by them as *Bero* and the moon is called *Lerang.* A year is called by them as

Memoñ. A month is called *Lerang* (the Moon) as the Kharias reckon the lunar month of two fortnights.

In the month of Baisak, on the third day of the full-moon what is known as *Akshay tritiya,* new enterprises are done by the Hindus. One such thing is to husk mustard and to make solution in hot water called *Kasundi.*

In Egypt and Greece there runs a proverbial belief that sleeping in the moon-light weakens the eyes. But in some parts of India it is believed that the conception of a child in moonlight during a full-moon will be a male one. The Indians also regard the full-moon of *Sharad-Purnima* (in Autumn) as auspicious. The legend says that on this night when Lord Krishna danced with the Gopis, the sky is supposed to rain nectar. Pots with milk are kept in the open throughout the whole night to catch the nectar. This is credited with health-giving properties. This milk is sometimes used as a special ingredient in medicines. The *Sharad-Purnima* is also associated with a belief, a combination of romance and faith. In India, specially in the north, there is a belief that on this night if a childless lady sees the Taj Mahal in Agra, the greatest monument to marital love, and sees the reflection of the full-moon in a pot with milk, she will soon be pregnant.

Old traditional treatises on sex have numerous references about the moon and has also its influence on sex relations. Thus the moon plays an important role in sexual behaviour which has also come in recent times from Havelock Ellis the renowned British psychologist and sexologist. The word 'honeymoon' is derived from moon. Originally this was not meant a period of holiday spent together by a newly married couple but a gradual waning of mutual love like the waning of the moon.

In many religious faiths the moon is personified as a god or a goddess. The early Egyptians worshipped Thoth, the god of the moon. Salene, Artimis and Hecate are all identified with the moon as the Greeks. The Roman hunting goodess, Diana is believed to have used the crescent moon as her bow and moon beams as arrows. The moon eclipses have always been regarded as portents of evil or misfortune. The moon is believed to have been blood red at the time of crucifixation. In the middle of the second century B. C. when the Romans were at war with Macedon, an eclipse of the moon was interpreted as portending the eclipse of a King and discouraged the Macedonians. During the last voyage of Columbus when he and his men were stranded and also on the verge of starvation, he exploited the primitive fear of the moon eclipse to tide over the critical situation. The natives were warned against the divine wrath for failing to bring food for them.

He told them to watch the rising full moon that night as a token. On seeing the inflamed red moon the Red Indians were seized with consternation and they came running to the ship from all direction with food for them.

The moon has a prominent place in Indian mythology. There are many legends and romantic tales connected with the origin of the moon, its phases and also its dark spots. One old Indian tradition relates that the moon was born when the gods and demons churned the ocean together for *Amrita,* a highly tasteful liquid of immortality. Besides the moon there were Lakshmi, goddess of wealth and Dhanwantari, brother of the moon, who is claimed as the author of Ayurveda, the first Indian system of medicine. Another fable runs thus —when the god Rama was a child he was fascinated by the beauty of the moon and cried to have it. But he was consoled when he saw the reflection of the moon in a pot containing water. The mythology of the Hindus has a romantic expression of the waxing and waning of the moon. It is believed that the moon had twenty-seven wives and all were the daughters of the god *Daksha* (Lord of demons). The affections of the moon were centred only in Rohini being youngest the wife. The other twenty-six wives being neglected complained to their father. Daksha being enraged cursed the moon to have made him extinct. But the twenty-six wives interfered and begged for a less punishment. Daksha agreed upon the prayer and said that the moon would continually languish to a point of vanishing but would revive and grow again. According to another story, the moon kidnapped *Tara,* wife of *Brihaspati* or Jupiter which led to a great battle. The son born of the illicit union was *Budh,* the god of wisdom, which is named as *Budhbar* or Wednesday.

About the dark spots on the moon a legend ascribes to an act of Brahma, the Lord of Creation. When Brahma wanted to make a wife for Kamadeva, the god of love and passion, he looked for the lovely substance from which to fashion her and scooped it out of the face of the moon. So many spots are formed on the face of the moon. The spots in the moon have been depicted in the folklore of the Bunas of Bengal. The sun and the moon are described by them as brother and sister. The moon was once brighter than the sun. One day they quarrelled and as a result the sun took some mud and flung at his sister's (moon) face. The moon did not wash her face and the moon became less powerful than the sun and the spots that are found in the moon are due to scattered patches of mud. The spots in the moon are also attributed by the village folks of Bengal. There is a banyan tree in the moon. The old mother of the moon is found to sew torn clothes

into a wrapper like material what is known in Bengali term as 'Kantha'. The moon is identified as a physical beauty with loveliness and brightness and glorified with silvery cool radiance. The poets and the writers are attracted to make comparison. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee a great novelist of Bengal, has depicted a comparison in his book 'Devdas' with moon and the heroine. When devdas sloshed Parbati, and made scar marks on her beautiful face, Parbati asked Devda, what you did? To this Devdas replied the charming moon has black spot so your lovely face should have. Many writers have nurtured the old belief that the moon sometimes affects men and women's reasons and drives them to foolish activity or desperate deeds being mentally unbalanced. The word 'lunacy' is derived from the Latin word 'luna' for the moon. Byron gives an unusual view when he says 'The devil's in the moon for mischief'. So also Twain cannot help in expressing that every man, like the moon, has a dark side he never shows to any one.

There are many superstitious beliefs current with the moon specially with eclipses. The cultivators in some countries believe that the most suitable time to sow crops which grow above the soil is when the moon is bright. The waxing or the waning of the moon, according to an old English belief, affects the growth of hair. Looking at the moon or pointing at it over some one's shoulder sometimes brings trouble. A belief prevalent in India is to see the moon in the month of *Bhadra* or *Ganesh Chaturthi Day* one becomes unlucky as it is revealed in the case of the Lord Krishna who was accused of steaing a necklace. In Tulsidas's Ramayana it is narrated that seeing the moon on the *Ganesh Chaturthi Day* one can be faught with mischief as looking at the shinning forhead of woman.

The Kom Kukis believe that if any one of their group performs good work in his life time he will go to the moon after death—a place of serene beauty. But if he does not do good work he will go to the sun to be fired by heat.

The traditional Hindus are apprehensive of both the solar and lunar eclipses. The duration of an eclipse is observed as a time for bathing, fasting, prayers etc. Pregnant women are warned against looking at an eclipse or cutting betel nuts, fruits, vegetables and fishes during an eclipse as these might affect the child and make him deformed. The Bunas of Bengal believe about the solar and the lunar eclipses that there is one *Rakshash* (demon) who is very powerful. But the thing is this that the *Rakhash* possesses a great hole in his throat. During eclipse that Rakshash gobbles the moon and that is why the earth is full of darkness. But as he has a big hole in his throat he cannot swallow it fully and the sun or the moon comes out

through the hole and that is why on eclipse the earth is in darkness for a short while and then sun or the moon reappears.

About the causes of the eclipse of the sun and the moon the Birhors of Chotanagpur believe that the sun and the moon stood security for the debts of the poor men. The creditors often send bailiffs to arrest the sun and the moon for the debts of those for whom they stood security. The Birhor mythology tells us that when the sun or the moon is seized by the bailiff there is a struggle, the sun or the moon is for a while partly or wholly concealed from view and they call it a solar eclipse or the lunar eclipse.

From the earliest upto the modern times the poets and the writers like Kalidas, Shakespears and others have depicted the moon as an ideal of physical beauty and glorified silvery cool radiance. To compare a moon with the beloved in loveliness and brightness is a common feature of the poets and the romantic writers. Some are so much attracted by the features of the moon that they are inclined to express the moon's majesty and loveliness, its changeability and inconsistency, and its influence on the human minds. Huxley has given his expression—"There is a soft moonlight that can give us peace that posses understanding. There is a moonlight that inspires a kind of awe. There is a cold and austere moonlight that tells the soul of its loneliness and desperate isolation, its insignificance or its uncleanliness. There is an amorous moonlight prompting to love—to love not only for an individual but sometimes even for the whole universe". Emerson was moved by the sight of the moon piercing through the clouds and wrote—"The man who has seen the rising moon break out of the clouds at midnight has been present like an archangel at the creation of the light and of the world". The changing phases of the moon have aroused various emotions in the minds of the poets. "Fair coquette of Heaven, to whom alone it has been given to change and be adored for ever", is a compliment given by Shelley. But to Juliet of Shakespeare the moon is not an object of adoration. Thus moon lore combines mystery and romance. The thieves and robbers, of course, do not like the moon for its shining light as this hampers their activity.

Thus the moon is endowed with a beauty and mystery by so many beliefs and legends. These will linger for countless years even after the man lands on it and makes for his habitation there. The moon still remains the *Chand Mama* or the maternal uncle Moon not only to the children of India but also elsewhere. When a child cries for the moon or sometimes refuses to drink milk or to take food the mother of the child consoles by uttering 'Oh moon, please come and put a mark

on the forehead of the child.'

About the moon the English doggerel runs—

"Hey diddle, diddle,
The cat and the fiddle,
The cow jumped over the moon,
The little dog laughed to see such sport,
And the dish ran away with spoon'

For many children who are in the dark about the astronomical ideas, the moon is really an enchanted realm, visited by all types of interesting people and also the scene of strange and magical events. The man in the moon looks out of the moon and says it is the time for all chidren on the earth to think about the moon. Some American doggerel about moon are :

I. "What's the news of the day,
Good neighbour, I pray ?
They say the balloon
Is gone up to the moon.

II. On Saturday night I lost my wife,
And where do you think I found her ?
Up in the moon, singing the tune,
And all the stars around her.

So for many, "touching the soul, directly, through the eyes and, indirectly along the dark channels of the blood", the moon will be a divinity.

Just a century ago Jules Verne in his book a trip to the moon, has explicitly explained his voyage to the moon without any astronomical calculations. His vision is today not a dream but a reality. Today such a fantastic voyage is not only technologically feasible; it is imminent. Living at a distance of 240,000 miles from the earth the moon is gradually becoming earth's neighbour. The old traditional and mysterious ideas about the moon which were and even now are ingrained in the blood capillaries of the children, adults, poets, writers and all are on the way to change. Change is an inevitable one and this requires time and space. That moment is approaching near and the whisperings of the universe that tell of wonderous and awe-some things. The day is near when a veil of mystery and romance of the moon will be open to all.

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***The author is glad to mention the names of his sons Malay Nath Basu and Basab Nath Basu for their assistances in relating some stories on Moon when whiling away their times in evening games.**

SANKAR SEN GUPTA

SOCIO-CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOMEN

The first part of this article appeared in the previous issue of this journal as "Bengalee women in oral tradition". It will be continued in two more issues

I

Anthropological Matrix

Indian anthropologists claim that man lived in India in the Paleolithic period. The first footfalls of man were heard in India probably from the foothills of the north-west Punjab towards the end of the First or in the Second Inter-glacial Age. Slowly through many millennia the descendants of early man evolved a culture which was spread here and there from the banks of the Soan in the north and Cauvery in the south. These were Palaeolithic men. These earliest inhabitants of our country had no acquaintance with metals and knew neither cultivation nor tening of cattle. As the centuries passed, man's knowledge advanced until, perhaps after thousands of years, the so-called Mesolithic Age was reached. This transitional stage in the development of primitive man is represented by microlithic relics which have been found in Narmada valley and the Deccan as well as in the Chotonagpur plateau and elsewhere in northern India. Then came the Neolithic or New Stone Age, the remains of which have been discovered in nearly all parts of India. Later in the New Stone Age, however, man seem to have built huts with the leaves and branches of trees. Gradually they acquired the art of spinning and weaving, but more often wore skins, barks and leaves. Indeed with the advent of the Copper Age we may date the beginning of civilization proper.[10]

Scholars assume that the first man was found in southern-central Asia. With the increase of population, men migrated to Europe, East Asia and Africa for food. This is assumed because it has been generally accepted that Europe is racially dependent on Asia and some racial elements are common to Africans and Asians. Many of them had been driven out from the Western side who ultimately took shelter in the southern regions. It is estimated by the specialists that

9. Bose, S. C. *Land and People of the Himalaya*, Indian Publications, Calcutta, 1968. It should be noted here that we have used 'Himalaya' instead of *Himalayas* following the suggestion of S. C. Bose.

10. Ghosal, H. R. An Outline History of the Indian People, New Delhi, Publication Division, 3rd print, 1966.

when the later immigrants came, India was already an inhabited place.[11]

The original inhabitants might have been completely absorbed by the newcomers or might have become extinct. The earliest racial elements were discovered from the skeltal remains at the chalcolithic sites of the Indus valley area.[12] Remains of Indus valley civilization prove that rice, wheat, barley and cotton were in cultivation in India then.

With the increase of population and problems of life and living gradually mankind becomes divided into what is popularly called as race. Some of the differences lie in the field of anatomy and some in physiology. But once the differences arise and become stabilized in time, they tend to persist. A close scrutiny of Indian people will disclose that India is not a land of homogeneous people but heterogeneity prevails here from the very early times.[13]

On the question of Indian races, we have till today, accepted the theory that from southern Asia men travelled to different regions of India and the world. Life in different climates, environment etc. compelled people to adopt different ways of living and taking different kinds of foods, wearing different kinds of dresses and so forth. This has also brought to a certain physical change which gave rise to different ethnic groups. It has already been said that from the prehistoric times Indian people are a product of intermixture of almost all the races of the modern world with some variation due to climatic and environmental conditions.[14] Of course, indiscriminate intermixing was not certainly the eternal rule.

It cannot be denied that sexual selection is instinctive in all animal world. Indiscriminate promiscuity might not have been absolutely unknown. These intermixed people were gradually conquered, absorbed or driven away to remote parts by subsequent immigrants and invaders. How far these forces resemble those races is an important aspect of study and this is being carried out by

11. Basu, M. N. "Land and People of India," lecture at the School of Humanistic and Cultural Studies in January, 1968 organised by the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture. Also published in the *Bulletin of RMIC*, Vol. XIX, No. 5, May, 1968.

12. Anthropological Survey of India, Memoir No. 8: *Peasant Life of India: A Study in Indian Unity and Diversity*, Calcutta, 1961.

13. Chandra, R. P. *Indo-Aryan Races: A Study of the Origin of the Indo-Aryan People and Institutions*, Varendra Research Institute, Rajsahi, (now in Pakistan). 1916.

14. Guha, B. S. *Racial Elements in the Population*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1944 and *Racial Affinities of the People of India*, 1931 census.

the Institute of Race Relations, London under the able guidance of Philip Mason,[15] its Director.

The Negroid elements, which according to some scholars came earliest in India, is nearly extinct. The earliest race which lived in India is indeterminable now. The proto-Australoids are found in distant parts in the hilly regions and jungles and the Mongoloid groups, not generally intermixed, live in the Himalayan ranges and in Assam and Burma frontiers. The Mediterraneans settled in the Indus valley. They and the Alpine groups are settled and intermixed in the northern Indian plains and in the Indus and Gangetic valleys.[16] The Nordic or proto-Nordic is scarely found in the Deccan excepting a very few in the central Indian region.[17]

Some racists maintain that the division of human society into different classes is the result of biological inequality and is due to natural selection. The theory of "higher" and "lower" race is ideological mask to conceal facts according to the anthropologists that belong to scientific materialist school.[18] The people belonging to a certain class possess certain racial features. The difference in height, however, has nothing to do with race. This difference is explained by the comsumption of better food. In a study of history of development of race and society one should not, therefore, encourage race struggle.

Needless to mention that in accordance with the general concept constant change is taking place in human body and society under the influence of social, economic, and natural factors and this has been substantiated with facts by the scholars like Schimdt and others. Apart from the question of changes in physical character, it is not yet properly known that the changes in the development of brain may be influenced by changes in climate and environments.[19]

There are scholars who regard racial pecularities as being those of a species even of genus, who allot those pecularities as exaggerated

15. Institute of Race Relations is an unoflicial non-political body founded in England in 1958 to encourage and facilitate the study of relations between races everywhere.

16. Guha, B. S. op. cit. Also see Hadon, A. C. *The Wanderings of Peoples*, Cambridge, 1911, Risely, H. *The People of India*, Calcutta, 1915, Majumder D. N. Caste and Community in Indian village, Bombay 1958, Sarkar, S. S. "A Racial Classification of India", Bul. of ASI, X, 2, 1961 and Chatterjee, S. K. "Race Movements in Pre-historic Culture", The Vedic Age, ed. R. C. Majumdar, 1951.

17. Majumdar R. C. (Ed.) *The History and Culture of Indian Peoples*, Vols I-IV Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1951-60.

18. Nesturkh, M. *The Races of Mankind*, Progressive Publishers, Moscow Second Print, 1965.

19. Debets, G. F. *Principles of the Classification of the Races*, Moscow, 1965, Charles Darwin, *The Desent of Man and Selection in Relation in Sex.* London, 1901.

taxonomic significance and try to show that there are profound differences between one race to the other. In the opinion of these scholars, the races descended from different ancestors; this is the polygenetic theory of the origin of man. By ignoring facts they strive to show that the races of man are groups of people that differ very greatly in their morphological, physiological and psychological features and that they are not in any way related to one another or inimical to each other. When the supporters of such ideas admit the common origin of man, they maintain that there are "rapidly developing higher" races and "backward lower" races.[20] The former are doomed to subordination, slavery and extinction according to the scholars of this school.

So far as India is concerned it can be assumed that here an approximate idea of succession of the migrants has been made but it is impossible to determine from which particular race Indian races have come out.[21] There is a set of human relationships in which a sense of difference and a lack of communication are the dominant factors, but that does not fundamentally alter the nature of relationship.

Classification of races :

After the formation of races attempts to classify races from physical and other points of view are found. In this lead specialists observed the following four racial elements in India :

1. the proto-Australoid ;
2. the Mediterranean ;
3. the Mongolian ; and
4. the Alpine.

A

All of them are found to be overlapping each other. There are no two opinions among the specialists that from the pre-historic time, as said before, population of India has been an intermixture of different races. Whether this intermixture was the effect of subsequent migration or invasions, or it had taken place before their entry to India or shortly after their entry, is very difficult to ascertain. It is also not possible to say whether there lived some particular race in any part of India at any particular period or time, because the anthropological researches in

20. Nesturkh, *The Origin of Man*, Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1959.

21. Vidyarthi, L. P. *Some Aspects of Applied Physical Anthropology* (Ed.) CSCR, Bihar, Ranchi, 1963.

India have not yet been completed and anthropologists too have not yet said their last word to that effect. So none should predict on what the future workers may add to our present day knowledge.

The people of different countries differ greatly from each other in colour of skin, hair, the type of hair, eyes, the shape of eyelids, nose, lips, face, head and in length of the body and its proportions. These features may vary among the people of one country, but a certain combination of them has a fairly stable hereditary character and that serves as a basis for classifying those who possess them as belonging to a particular race.[22]

Racial classification and description on philological basis was perhaps initiated by W. Jones through the Journal, Records and Monographs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Racial classification from anthropometric point of view in India was first attempted by H. Risely in 1901 in the Census of British India. Prior to Risley, anthropometric measurements on the Indian people applied by Baron Mezokovesky von Ujfalvy, a Hungerian anthropologist in the Kashmir regions between 1879 and 1884 but his efforts were not received so widely.[23] After him came Stein, Dainelli, Guha and others. They carried extensive surveys, one after another, under the initiation of the then Government of India. Besides, somatic traits of Indian people was also available before Risely in Dalton's "Ethnology of Bengal", 1872, Wadell in 1901 took somatometric measurements on a number of Assamese tribes and a similar survey was conducted by E. Thurston on some tribes of Madras in 1909.

B

Risley[24] distinguished seven different ethnic types of Indian people. They are :—

The Turko-Iranian type : The people of this type have broad head, fine to medium nose, fair complexion, dark or grey and plentiful facial hair. The Balochis, the Bharauis and the Afgans come to this type.

The Indo-Aryan type : The people of this type have long head fine to medium nose, fair complexion, dark eyes with plentiful facial hair. The Punjabis, the Rajputs, the Jats and the Khattris of Kashmir are the people who belong to this type.

The Scytho-Dravidian type : Fair complexion with scanty facial hair, medium to broad head with medium nose are the features of this

22. Cheboksarov, N. N. "Fundamentals of Anthropological Classification" in the Symposium *The Origin of Man and the Ancient Migration of the Population.*

23. Basu, M. N. op. cit.

24. Risley, H. op. cit. *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 2 Vols.

type. The Brahmins of Maharastra and Coorg of Western India are typical examples of this type.

The Aryo-Dravidian or *Hindusthani type*: The head varying from long to broad, nose broad to medium, light brown to dark complexion are the features of this type. They are found in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar.

The Mongolo-Dravidian or *Bengali type*: The complexion of the people of this type is dark with plentiful facial hair, head is broad with a tendency to medium, nose varies from fine to broad. This type is found in Bengal and Orissa.

The Mongoloid type: The head is broad, colour skin are dark with yellowish tinge, and the hair on the face is scanty. Stature is short or below medium, the face is characteristically flat, eye lids often oblique. The people of this type are found in Assam, Nepal, Himalayan range, Burma, NEFA and Nagaland.

The Dravidian type: The head of the people of this type is long, stature short or below medium, skin colour dark, hair is plentiful with an occasional tendency to curl, eyes are dark, nose is very broad but not so as to make the face a flat one. People of this type are found in Madras, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Kerala, and in the central parts of India and Chotonagpur plateau of Bihar. They are probably the original inhabitants of India now modified with the infiltration of the Aryan, Scythian and Mongoloid elements.[25]

C

After Risley many anthropologists have tried to classify Indian races but none could give a better and more scientific classification than B. S. Guha who revised the earlier accounts in 1931 Census. He made a classification which has been discussed and reclassified by the contemporary anthropologists,[26] but most of their classifications have not attained so much recognition in the scholarly world as that of Guha's. Thus, we have taken him and his study as the base point for the classification of Indian races here and it is expected that the justification of this classification is substantiated by what is said above.

The first type according to this classification is the Negrito.

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25. Risley, op. cit.

26. Though the racial classification has been one of the most obscure areas of Indian ethnography, anthropologists see India's population as forming basically one race with varying substocks or at best two races. See Keith, 1936, Hooton, 1946, Coon et al 1950. Boyd, 1954 Von Eickstedt, 1935, Guha, 1935-44, Sarkar, 1954 and others.

The Negrito: Different scholars have different views about the existence of the Negrito strain in population of India. The scholars who hold Negrito existence in India say that Negrito people are found in Andaman Islands, hilly regions of the Bay of Bengal and Malay peninsula. Kadirs of South India are said to belong to Negrito strain. Much attention to Negrito problem was given by a great many scholars. J. H. Hutton says that there is Negrito substratum in the population of Eastern Frontier. Comenting on a section of the Nagas, he says that the Sema Nagas are very much ugly[27] to look at. They live in NEFA, Nagaland, Manipur and Assam. Giuffrida-Ruggeri maintains the pre-existence of Negritos between India and Persian gulf. S. S. Sarkar has found a broad headed youngman with woolly hair among the tribals of the Rajmahal hills of Bihar and he claims the origin of this tribe as Negrito.[28] The recent researches provide fact that the Negrito element in Indian population is sporadic one which may be explained genetically.[29]

The proto-Australoid: Perhaps the second immigrants were proto-Australoid or the pre-Dravidians. It is not certain whether the people of this group were the original inhabitants in India. Some scholars are of the opinion that the Nishads which are mentioned as a "lower" caste people in India's traditional literature are the representatives of this group.[30] They are also known as the Santals, the Oraon, the Mundas, the Chenchus, the Kurumbas, the Bhils, etc. in the present day. The great affinities of these people in skin colour, head-form, hair-type with the Veddas of Ceylon and the Australian indicate the term given to the people of this type.

The Mongoloid: The people of this group perhaps reached India through north-eastern gate who are still found in north-eastern parts of country. They have flat face with prominent cheek bones. The long headed tribes of this group are again subdivided as the palaeo-Mongoloid. And the broad headed people among them found in

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27. About the women of Sema Nagas J. H. Hutton observes "Among women, however, ugliness is a rule: A pretty Sema girl is hardly to be found, though the exceeding plainness of majority of the sex makes the few who are less ill-favoured sometime seen almost pretty by comparison. The women generally are very short, squal and hoary handed.....In fact, breads among men are about as rare as beauty in women (The Sema Nagas, New Edn. 1968).

28. Sarkar, S. S. *The Mallers of Rajmahal Hills*, Calcutta, 1938.

29. Sarkar, R. M. *Fundamentals of Physical Anthropology*, Post-Graduate Book, Calcutta, 1965.

30. Bose, N. K., *Hindu Samajer Garan* (In Bengali, The Structure of Hindu Society), Visva-Bharati, Calcutta 1356 B. S.

Sikkim, Bhutan etc. are known as the Tibeto-Mongoloid. It is said to be main tribal population of India.

The Mediterranean : The people of this type have again divided into three distinct sub-types by Guha. Dark skin, long head with high vault, medium stature, etc. are distinguished character of the palaeo-Mediterranean who are found among the Telugu and Tamil Brahmins. The Mediterranean type is also representated by the people of Maharastra, Madhya Pradesh and especially the Brahmins of Allahabad, (Uttar Pradesh) Nambudri Brahmin of Kerala and a few among the Bengali Brahmins. The *Oriental* or the *Semetic type* resembles the Mediterranean except in rare formation. Banias of Rajasthan, Chhatri of Uttar Pradesh and Punjab belong to this type. Possibly the people of this type are responsible for Indus valley civilization according to some scholars.

Western Brachycephals or *Alpo-Dinaric* : The people of this type are the Kathi of Kathiawar, the Banias of Gujarat and the Kayasthas of Bengal. Perhaps this type moved from southern Baluchisthan, through Sindh, Kathiawar, Gujarat, Maharastra to Mysore, Tamilnad and Ceylon along the Ganges of Bengal. The latest researches on ethnology say that the major racial strain of Bengal and Maharastra belong to this group and they have seperately named this group as Homo-Alpinus or Lapouge. The Kinami sub-type is very marked in Bengal, Orissa and Coorg. The Karnataki Brahmins, and Bengali Brahmins also belong to this group. The Armenian type has tawny skin, short to medium stature, broad head etc. The Parsis are the true representatives of this sub-type. The existence of this sub-type is not rare among the Vaidyas and Kayasthas of Bengal according to some scholars.

The Nordic : The people of this type came to India from North. Later, the name "Aryan" was applied to certain people of this group who are tall, and with fair complexion. Tall, blue-eyed blonds of modern North Europe are "true" Nordic Aryans. Their racial dominance is not so great but they are scattered all over the country. The word 'Nordic', let us remember in this connection, is taken from German 'Nord' (North) and from this comes the terms Nordism, Nordist etc. The American anthropologists are very much eager to prove Yankees as the pure-blooded higher race or Nordic Aryans.[31]

The beginning of the scientific study of man and woman have started when individual scholars attempted to survey the rapidly

31. Nesturkh, M. op. cit.

increasing amount of ethnographic data gathered by travellers, missionaries and others. Leaving the library to go into the field was a step in this direction. It is only when individuals went into the field to study a people, scientific approach to anthropology, sociology, folklorology began to develop. The social structure in general and the study of kinship groups and terminology etc. in particular has challenged the imagination of social scientists times without number. The ways in which human groups are organised and the implications of such systems of organisation continue to remain the principal area of socio-biological inquiry and analysis.

II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Caste :

One part of the study of social organization concerns castes. Then come family and marriage. It is not easy to define caste in India which is dominated by the Hindus. The division of ancient Hindu society into four castes developed into a very complicated pattern of sub-castes and sub-groups within each sub-caste (*gotras*) etc. this giving rise to one of the most peculiar and elaborate hierachies in the world. The shameful feature of this whole system is the existence of 'untouchables' referred to as Scheduled Castes in the Constitution of India and termed as Harijans by Mahatma Gandhi.

An examination of the settlement pattern of the Indian population shows that most people live in communities in villages or towns. They are caste-ridden. Apparently, the caste system is as old as reincarnation in Indian life. The members of each caste perform social and essential services for the rest of the community. The Indian village is an organic whole in which caste specialists work together to shape a common life. But this is not the entire story. Members of any particular caste found to live near one another, join one another in ritual, observances and maintain their social status. A man marries within his caste and collaborates with other caste members in performing their particular service to village life. Together with members of his caste, he meets to discuss the problems and conditions of the caste work. Thus, our folk people are united by work and marriage, and seperated by sacred prescriptions from member of other castes

This caste system is an institution that has no parallel anywhere in the world to our knowledge. It has its origin in a system of

division of labour which came into being shortly after the invasion of the Aryans into India. Originally, there were four castes—Brahman, Kshitriya, Vaishya and Sudra. The Brahmins began to make their living as vegetarians. This led to the emergence of the second social class, viz., the Kshatriyas. Although these people did not possess the intellectual abilities of the Brahmins yet they possessed the physical abilities required of one present day military men. The Kshatriyas faught hard. They lived on flesh of animals for food, used the skin of the animals for clothing, and the branches of trees for shelter. The Vaishya community had a business outlook. It was the custom of those times to take Brahmins on cow-backs in processions in order to be respected and admired by the rest of the communities. Circumstances did not warrant the Vaishyas to resort themselves to non-vegetarian. The Sudras did not possess the necessary abilities for any of the activities of the Brahmins, the Kashtriyas or the Vaishyas. They performed menial jobs which gifted people won't have performed in normal circumstances. These divisions of castes have now been divided with a number of ethnic, kin and religious groups, such as, the Brahmans, Vaidyas, Kayasthas, Vaishnabs, and so on in Bengal.

How the folk people have accepted the caste groups and how they enter into conflicts may be gleaned from the following Bengali sayings :

I. *kalir bamun dhora saap, je na mare tar pap.* a man commits a sin if he does not beat a Brahmin in this Iron Age (Kaliyuga).

II. *bamun badal ban dakshina pelei jan.* The Brahmin, cloudy weather and the flood go wherever they get fee.

III. *baidya barendra bora tin naster gora* Vaidya, Barendra Brahmin and boa constrictor, these three are evil minded.

IV. *kayet, kalo saap, bedo nari tinjanke parihari.* The Kayastha, the black snake and the gypsy woman—these three are to be avoided

V. *jat khoyalei bostom.* As soon as you loose your caste you become a Vaishnav by religion.

VI. *nere nai isti tetul nai misti.*[32] The Muslims are never desirable, tamarind is never sweet.•

Unlike other systems of division of labour the caste system of India was one in which entry into profession was not determined by choice but decided by the fact of one's birth. Those belonging to a

32. Quoted from Dey, S. K.'s *Bangla prabad*, (Bengali Provevrbs, 1st. edn.. Ranjan Publishing House, Calcutta, 1352 B.S.

particular caste intermarried with the caste and thus these groups become highly exclusive, bound together by all kinds of social ties and fenced off from all others. In a recent study in the four Midnapur villages P. K. Bhowmick observes that "In respect of hierarchial status of the castes concerned, it may be said that Brahman remains at the top having an esteemed social rank. Next in order, is the Kayastha, scribes, claiming a status just after the Brahmans which is more or less correlated with the Kshatriya of traditional Hindu social structure. The Sadgops claim their position after Kayasthas i.e. in the same alignment. The Brahmans take water and cooked food in *ghee*, but not boiled rice both from the Kayasthas and Sadgops. Next in order is the Barbar or *Napit* and Blacksmith or *Kamar*, who belong to Nabasyak group with status of pure Sudra, Brahman can take water, fruits and uncooked food from their hands. Next come 'unclean' castes, who are neither despised nor esteemed, but claim some social status. The Jugis (Nath of Saiva Sect) belong to this group."[33] The ritual life of each caste is generally conducted by Brahmans, and varies a little in observance from each other. But some women of lower caste people who are generally known as *Jalachal* (the people from whom the Brahman can'ot take water) when the next group is known as *Jalchal* (the people from whom the Brahman take water) both may attend the houses of all the caste groups irrespective of *Jalchal*, *Jalachal* and higher castes like Brahmans, Vaidyas, Kayasthas etc. during delivery time and cut the umbilical cords of the new born for which they get due remunaration. These women are traditional obstericians and they work within their own circle—a definite number of house-holds which they get by inheritence. These women are popularly known as *daima*. Of course, the people who are economically sound do

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১। কলির বামুন ধোড়া সাপ, যে না মারে তার পাপ (১০২২)
২। বামুন, বাদল, বান, দক্ষিণা পেলেই যান (৪১৮৭)
৩। বৈদ্য বারেন্দ্র বোবা তিন নষ্টের গোড়া (৪৭৪৪)
৪। কায়েত কালো সাপ বেশোনারী তিন জনকে পরিহরি (১২২০)
৫। জাত খোয়ালেই বোষ্টম (২৪৮৭)
৬। নেড়ে নয় ইষ্টি তেঁতুল নয় মিষ্টি (৩৪৪৭)
৭। নাপিত বৈদ্য, ধোপা চোর, যুগী ফৈরেগীর নেইক ওর। (৩৩৩৭) and
৮। বামুন মুচ্ছুদ্দি ধোপা, গোমস্থা, এদের নেই কোন বুঝ-ব্যবস্থা (৪১৮৯)
৯। গরুর মধ্যে এড়ে জাতের মধ্যে নেড়ে
খাওয়ায় লে দাওয়ালেও মরে তেড়ে॥ (১৭০৯)
১০। আগে থাকে উল্লা টল্লা পরে হয় উদ্দিন।
তলের মহম্মদ উপরে যায় কপাল ফেরে যদ্দিন॥ (২১০)

33. Bhowmick, P. K. "Four Midnapore Villages" In the District Census Hand Book, Vol. II, 1961, Calcutta, 1968.

not miss to avail themselves of a hospital or a clinical facilities for such an occasion.

It is well-known that caste, as is said above, is something other than class or status group. It is characterised by the following predominant features :

(i) endogamy ;

(ii) traditional bound occupation ;

(iii) hierarchal grading based on certain notion or ritual purity.

It is a rule of the caste that every member should marry within the caste or sub-caste.[34] Each caste again have a hereditary fixed occupation. Many castes are known by their occupational pursuits.* Certain castes are more occupationally specialised, others more occupationally generalized. In addition, there is often a nebulous group of occupations which are open to nearly castes.

In an occupationally diversified society like ours, the greater the economic specialization, the greater will be the dependance of one group upon another. That caste system is an organised system to regulate society on actual differences and an ideal unity is born out of it. It is a system of interrelationship peculiar to the 'pan-Indian civilization'. Equally important was the division of an Aryan's life into four *ashramas* (stages)—*brahmacharya,* (students' stage) *garhasthya* (householder's stage) *Vanaprastha* (recluse's stage) and *sannyasa* (renunciation). It was, however, more an ideal than something obligatory. Later, it gradually grew into *Varna*[35] or

34. While accepting the position that caste exclusiveness has been substantially reduced, it should not be overlooked that food and social taboos have not been affected to the same degree among different castes or in the same castes in different areas. It should be noted here that the "word 'caste' can be used to denote two sociologically distinct entities. One is a group of interacting members ; the other is named a population, often widely dispersed, whose members are aware that they belong to it and thereby have specific kind of relationships with other people." A. C. Mayer "Caste and Local Politics in India and Ceylon" : Unity and Diversity, Oxford, 1967.

*For a better knowledge of caste-structure and occupation change please see Sankar Sen Gupta's "Some Thoughts on Anthropological Market Studies", *Human Events*, Vol. III. No. 3, March, 1969 and the book "Occupational Mobility and Caste Structure in Bengal" by P. K. Bhowmick, Calcutta, Indian Publications, 1969.

35. *Varna* or colour in the sense of pigment of skin or ethnic origin was undoubtedly a factor of primary importance in early Vedic polity. Aryan and the dark skinned aboriginals called *dasas* or *dasyus*. The high flown Aryans of the Rigveda representing probably the earliest epoch of Indo-Aryan history never forgets that his own colour is distinct from that of the *dasas*.

We have two broad group on the basis of ethnic and at the same time cultural differences, in the same *purusa*. The Brahmana was his mouth, the Rajayana was made his armour ; the Vaisya constituted his thigh ; the Sudra sprang

colour then into a complete *Jati-division.* In the former period the correlation between caste the occupation was not rigid but later stricter laws were enforced. There is evidence that in the past indiscrimination matting was not infrequent but later intracaste marriage was forbidden. In villages, due to the permanent type of settlement patterns, the villagers live in close proximity and in close contacts with day-to-day affairs. In this way, they develop a sort of social relationship among different kin-groups and caste-groups. Consequently, intervillage relationship becomes indispensible in which almost all castes and communities take active part and on which man-to-man relationship is based. This is a case for relaxation of traditional practices. In marriage, birth, funeral observences and other social gatherings this relationship is extended to the caste members of the different places.[36] In this context we will also touch on the

allegory. The Brahman acted as the vocal organ of the comunity as chanting ; the Rajayana employed his strong arms in defending his country and people ; the tillers and traders or Vaisyas were mainstay of society as the thighs are of the human body, the Sudras had to make large use of their feet in moving about for a due performance of their plebian duties.

Let us quote C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar who says that

"Renascent India has to reorient its ideas with reference to the original significance of *Varnashrama*, namely, that it was not originally rigid or inflexible or based on solely heredity. The Great Sri Krishna asserted :

Chathurvarnyam maya srishtam
guna karma vibhagashah

(For four *varnas* were created by Me according to disposition or tendency and also according to heredity apitudes). A Brahmana is not born a Brahmana, a Brahmana is Brahmana if he evolved within himself the "gun" of a true Brahmana, the 'karma' of a true Brahmana. That was the whole idea, underlying idea, of *varnas* and *ashramas*".

The caste division is justified because it has been created on the basis of their possession of three basic virtues, namely 'satya' 'raja' and 'tama'. These three are dominant and not exclusive characters, and there are all sorts of permutations and combinations.

Since we cannot determine in each individual case what the aptitudes of the individuals are, hereditary and training are used to fix the calling.

36. M. K. Gandhi urges that the ideas of caste is the right path to social harmony. He said, "I believe that caste has saved Hinduism from disintegration. But like every other institution it has suffered from excrescences. I consider the four divisions alone to be fundamental, natural and essential. The innumerable subcastes are sometimes a convenience, often a hindrance. The sooner there is fusion the better. The silent destruction and reconstruction of subcastes have ever gone on and are bound to continue. Social presure and public opinion can be trusted to deal with the problem. But I am certainly against any attempt at destroying the fundamental divisions. The caste system is not based on inequality, there is no question of inferiority, and so far as there is any such question arising, the tendency should undoubtedly be checked, there appears to be no valid reason for

paatern of Indian family. But here it should be remembered that the pattern of caste in the twentieth century differ from that of the nineteenth or its earlier centuries.

The cultural[37] aspect of man and society may lead one to understand aspect of caste and racial affinities. Anthropologists provide us with numerous facts that there are definite evidence against the concept that culture is created only by some "higher" races. Some racists, it should be remembered, make the level of cultural development upon the greater size of brain. They consider the "white" race to be the higher and the "coloured" race to be the lower. They say, higher races are active and play a leading role in history and civilization while the lower races play a subordinate roles.[38] One of the most convincing refutations of this concept of greater size of brain is the development of high level of culture among the ancient Egyptians. According to the data placed by the German anthropologist, E. Schimdt, the volume of Egyptian male cranium was 1.394 c.c. and that the female cranium 1.257 c.c. which are less than the average of their neighbouring peoples and this is well-known to the anthropological world. But these Egyptians were far greater in cultural level than that of their neighbours who had greater size of brain.[39] This is also the case with the higher caste and lower caste people. In relation to race and caste

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ending the system because of its abuse. It lands itself easily to reformation (Gandhi, Young India, 1921, in N. K. Bose's Selections from Gandhi, (ed.) Navajivan Trust, 1948).

37. One reason for studying culture is to make the unconscious conscious. Anthropologists agree that "without concrete, actual behavior, there would obviously be no patterns of behavior, but nevertheless the majority do persist in distinguishing "culture" from "behavior".. .....Those who argue that culture constitutes a level of reality unto itself, that is, those who advocate what is called a superorganic conception of culture, are convinced that man is a helpless victim of cultural forces.. Although the organic (e.g. man) is composed of inorganic elements (e.g. chemicals), the organic is more than the sum of its inorganic constituents In other words, if you put all the chemical constituents of man together, you don't get man. Man, the organic, depends upon the inorganic, but he is not completely reducible to inorganic principles. By analogy, superorganicists argue that culture (the superorganis) is more than simply a sum total of men (organic constituents). It depends upon men--it could not exist without them but it is allegedly not reducible to a purely organic basis. Culture as a level of reality operates in accordance with its own rules.. ... Cultural relativists insist that patterns of human behavior are relative to individual cultures. Yet within any one individual culture, the anthropologist has tended to emphasize similarties rather than differences. Perhaps this is why the discipline is called *cultural* anthropology." Alan Dundes in "Every Man His Way" Readings in Cultural Anthropology, Univ. of California, Berkely, Calif., 1968.

38. Nesturkh, M. op. cit.

39. Ibid.

Following is a measurements (in mm of Mohenjodaro Crania exacavated during

one should note that culture has nothing to do with racial features or caste position but it is determined mainly by social and economic factors.

So far as India is concerned the earlier inhabitants were in the long run affected by the new culture of immigrants inspite of great differences between them. The Rigveda describes the non-Aryans as a dark, dwarfish, snub-nosed and ill-favoured people, reveals them also as *Dasas* (slaves) or *Dasyus*. But in course of time racial antagonism between the two subsided and intermarriage took place between free Aryans and enslaved non-Aryans, though aristocrats still looked upon racial intermixture with disfavour.

Culture is the product of intellectual capacities and mental tendencies and they are present in both the higher and lower caste people. The people who are economically sound either in the higher or in the lower castes get incentives and encouragements for their development when the poor class, most of whom come from the lower caste people, do get no patronization or incentive for developing themselves inspite of their endevour after endeavour. But no doubt a fact that due to mass contact and better communication certain cultures are found to exist in some areas. We know that the early Vedic age ended round about 1100 B. C. The next five hundred years, which may be described as later Vedic period, show all-round development among the Aryans. During the period Aryan penetration of the east and south from the middle continued. Comparatively distant terri-

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1927-29. This is quoted from Dr. S. S. Sarkar :—

Measurements Skull no	M. 27	M. 28	M. 32	M. 40
Sex	Male	Male	Child	Female
Max. cranial length	187	196	166	180
Max cranial bredth	136	134	122	
Length-breadth inxed	72.73	68.37	73.49	
Auricular height	119	124	124	
Basion-bregma height	—	—	134	

and the following is the sexual variation in cranial index where shows that the females have a higher average cranial index than males.

	Tape Hissar	*Harappa*	*Chuhra*
Male	70.8	71.66	70.66
Female	72.8	72.98	72.34
Difference	2.0	1.32	1.68

Source : *Ancient Races of Baluchistan, Punjab and Sindh*, Bookland, Calcutta, 1964.

tories such as Vasali, and Videha were brought within the Aryan pale and gradually Magadha and Anga, the Andhra country in the Godavari valley and the Wardha region were partially colonized where there were non-Aryan people or mixed races. The extension of Aryan cultural sway was accompanied by the rise of mighty Kingdoms and the growth of royal power in general. Koshala, Kasi, Videha, Kuru and Panchal, among others reached a position of unquestioned pre-eminence. Complexities developed in later Vedic society. The division of society tended to become water-tight. Men of higher classes were permitted to marry women of lower orders, but social stigma seems to have attached to those who contracted marriage with Sudras.

The rise of a number of castes on occupational basis was a noteworthy development and was the result of spliting up of the Vaisya and Sudra communities into groups. The various localised castes are found packed together in close compartments, and sometimes these castes in a particular alignment, demand a somewhat higher or same status, and in between them, certain amount of flexibility is always allowed. In economic sphere, the function of caste is generally non-competitive. In course of various interactional phases and due to closer social contacts, many changes are taking place, from time to time, and place to place. Consequently a good deal of social mobility is noticed amongst many groups of people or castes in attempting to raise their social status.

While dealing with caste and race, language is a point. Practically, the language of the people of superior culture is gradually accepted by the opposite group in course of time and this we have seen in the case of Aryans and non-Aryans. The story of Aryan expansion indeed is not merely a narrative of heroic exploits; it is in the main a story of extention of their culture. Then there is religion. In this field, as indeed in several other spheres, the conquerors' civilization owes a great deal to the conquered. The religious practices vary in different caste groups even inspite of their following one religion. Then there is folk religion which is secular in nature. We shall discuss language and religion of India in the appropriate places. Prior to that we shall place an outline of the family, marriage, and society. In the following section we will place a note about the Indian family which is the paradise for Indian womanhood.

Family :

The family morphology consists of house, history, number and generations of people in it, the education and property of the family

members. The physiography of the family consists of social, political, religious and economic functioning.

Family was the basic unit in the early Aryan society. A group of families formed a *grama* (village). Great importance was attached to the increase of male population. Polygamy was not unknown but rare, while polyandry was non-existent.

The traditional family system in India is joint-family. It is patriarchal. Here the relation between the head of the family and others is marked by filial love and not by fear. He enjoys wide power and authority.[40] The old patriarchal family had transformed itself into a joint-family whose head managed the property in the interest of all the members of the family. There was growing tendency towards the disintegration of the joint-family into individual family and the old patriarchal tradition was utilized to fortify the joint-family. The corpus of the joint-family was further strengthned by other devices because tradition alone cannot keep up for long a distintegrating structure[41] and all these have been very efficiently treated by K. M. Kapadia in his study of marriage and family.

A traditional Indian family is composed of the father, mother, grand-father, grand-mother, sons, daughters, grand-sons and daughters etc. members of 3 to 4 generations where parents' aunts, uncles etc. may also reside together. Widowed, divorced or otherwise ill-fated sisters or relatives may also be the members of the joint-family. But owing to changes of outlook, values, economic condition and industrialisation as well as problematic factors of life, the traditional joint-family system is either getting a break or taking its new form.[42] Some say, it is due to the influence of western culture but facts are contrary. The traditional joint family is undergoing rapid changes as a metter of course, and it is being replaced by a simpler structure viz. non-joint-family.

In order to understand the changes in the concept of family it is necessary to examine the roles of different relatives in different spheres of social life which we will see later. Prior to that it is important to note that the history of the joint-family unfolds one significant fact. It is that even when the trends towards individualism were recognised attempts were made to harmonize them with the interest of the joint-family. Indian sentiments are even today in favour of a joint-family.[43]

40 Kapadia, K. M. *Marriage and Family in India*, Third Edition, 1966 Oxford University Press, Bombay.

41. Ibid.

42. Lakshminarayan, H. D. "Joint Family in India," *Folklore*, March, 1966.

43. Ibid.

As a matter of fact all Hindus, who form the majority of India's population, do not follow the Brahminic pattern of marriage and family and hence family patterns of the Hindus as a whole, not only differ in details, but, to a certain extent, even in principle. The joint-family has lost its characterestic elements to a large extent these days.[44] Now, a man may live seperately or he can establish his own seperate kitchen in the same house without affecting his interest in the corporancy of property. He may decline to join the family worship and many other details and yet he does not on that account lose his status as a member of the joint-family.[45]

The structure of joint-family depends upon the way in which conflicts on economic and the ideological plains with the modern family are resolved. Many of the economic obligations are resisted by members of the joint-family. All the members of a joint-family do not earn, and many of those who earn not only refuse to pool their earnings but do not accept even their responsibilities to contribute adequetely to family disbursements.[46] This brings conflicts and quarrels and consequently break old joint-family. These conflicts and quarrels are abundent in folklore which we will see later.

A joint-family is joint as long as members of 3 to 4 generations live together with their wives and children under one roof, eat food cooked in one hearth, hold property in common, and have common religious functions. This big joint-family is being split into small joint or non-joint families. It becomes joint-family in course of time after the marriage of the son and the joint-family becomes non-joint after the split to become joint again.[47] Thus, a family may undergo changes without any break or it may break into different types by which the steam of family vanishes. For instance, a big joint-family may change into collateral joint-family of brothers after the death of parents, or it may break into smaller joint or non-joint families. In the former, a family changes into a different one after the death of parents without any split, in the later, a family breaks into different types by split. We, therefore, cannot say that the joint-family is vanishing by the death of parents. The original family does not vanish but changes by the parents' death. The son's non-joint family becomes joint after son's marriage. In this way, the type of family goes on changing over years in a 'rhythmic' manner.[48]

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44. Kapadia, K. M. op. cit.

45. Ibid. 46. Ibid.

47. Lakshminarayan, H. D. "Inner Dynamics of the Joint Family," *Folklore*, Vol. VIII, no. 11, November, 1967.

48. Ibid.

It is possible to classify the joint-family in the following three types. First, the lineal joint-family. This is constituted by a man, his married son, unmarried children, married son's children etc. The second type is lineal and lateral joint-family, composed of a man, his wife, his brothers and their wives and married children with all their children. We may call the third type as collateral joint-family where two or more brothers live together with or without the widowed mother. To these three types of family a fourth one may be added. That is non-joint family, which consists of a man, his wife or children with or without.[49]

None of the above types remains the same during the life time of an individual. A joint-family changes into a non-joint family with the death of the parents, or to a lineal and lateral joint-family with the marriage of two or more sons. This lineal and lateral joint-family may change either into collateral joint-family by the death of parents or may split into many lineal joint and or non-joint families by partition. The non-joint family may again become lineal and lateral joint-family. H. D. Lakshminarayan has ably discussed the dynamics of the Hindu joint-family in different essays in "Folklore" and in other journals.

The family forms may also be classified according to relative status of the male and that of the female. These forms are of three classes—(1) Matrilineal (2) Patrilineal and (3) Companionship.[50]

Then the families can be sub-divided into different class groups. The dominant classes of families in a capitalist society will have more upper-income groups than the lower-income group people. These classes do not exist in socialist society. Their relative strength and sub-grouping vary from one society to another. The total strength of each class of the family and its sub-grouping determine the organisation and functioning of a society, and the relative strength of different classes of the family determines the character of the society.

Let us be optimistic and assume that the involved problem on marriage and family will be solved by synthesis. That would open a way to obtain energy from classless society, but there is a limit to how much the aggregate capacity of classless society can grow under the present socio-economic-politico condition of the country. To put the question in another way—why assume that man's progress has to depend on the continual expansion of productive forces? Perhaps qualitative changes will enter the picture. Not being a philosopher it can be said that any society whose productive forces do not improve in quantity as well as in quality is bound to be doomed. Let us estimate

49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.

whether Indian society can provide productive and united force taking her womenfolk as a model. Because now-a-days women have come out of closed doors to help men and take an equal share of burden of life. They have come to realize that they are self-reliant and are able to earn an honest livelihood by sweat of the brow. Man and woman live the same life, have the same feelings. Each is a complement of the other. One cannot live without the other's active helps. It is nothing but engenic fitness, because the begetting of offspring being the central purpose of marriage, "engenic fitness cannot be treated merely as a 'condition', it is the *sine qua non* of marriage' said Gandhiji. And according to Westermark 'marriage is rooted in family.'

Marriage :

In theory, communities restrict marriage to their own group ; in practice, marriage is limited to even smaller groups. Castes are governed by their own organization of authority. In many parts of India, particularly in north, political and economic changes have destroyed the ancient manner of managing internal and local affairs among the castes. But where ruin has not overtaken the system there appears to be a greater similarity between northern and peninsular forms of organization in the field of material traits.

Marriage is a very important event in the life of a woman. Matrimony, in course of time, followed by maternity, and its recurrence makes the woman periodically helpless and absolutely dependent on her husband for sometime. Marriage, therefore, determines the fate of a woman to a much greater extent than it does the destiny of a man.[51] The marriage has been classified as (i) Monogamous ; (ii) Polygamous and (iii) Polyandrous.[52] The monogamous family exists where the means of income are almost equally owned or equally open to males and females ; where main means of income belong to male only and where the means of income are scarce and solely belongs to male, the polyandrous family exists there. The second type or polygamous family comes into existence for some other reasons which we will see later.

It is necessary to remember here that there are eight traditional forms of Hindu marriage. They are : (1) the Brahman form (2) the Prajapatya form (3) the Ashram form ; (4) the Daiva form ; (5) the

51. Altekar, A. S. *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 3rd edn. 1962.

52. Prasad, Ayodhya, *The Basis of Society*, Popular Prakasan, Bombay, 1967.

Gandharva form (6) the Asura form; (7) the Rakshasa form ; and (8) the Paisacha form.[53]

In the first form, the father of the maiden himself invites and receives with honour the bridegroom and gives his daughter, decking her with ornaments. It has been considered as the best as well as holiest of all forms of traditional Hindu marriage. The second or the next form is that by which the father of the maiden while giving his daughter in marriage addresses the bridegroom with the words, "Perform your religious duties together with her." In the third form the father of the girl receives a dress and a bull with a cow from the bridegroom in the marriage of his daughter. This cattle pair is not bride-price, it is only a matter of form.[54] In the fourth form, while performing a sacrifice a father gives away his daughter to the officiating priest owing to the absence of the selected person. The fifth one is that form of marriage where the maiden and a man who desires each other, meet their union. In the sixth form of marriage, a father of a bride takes money from the bridegroom as her price. Next form is considered where a man forcebly abducts a maiden and bounds to marry her. The last or the eighth form is sexual intercourse with a maiden during her sleep or while she is unconscious. It is the worst form of marriage according the Hindu idea.[55]

The aims of Hindu marriage are said to be *dharma* (religion) *praja* (progeny) and *rati* (pleasure). Though sex is one of the functions of marriage it is given the third place in Hindu marriage system.[56] Hindu marriage is a sacrament. It is considered sacred because it is said to be complete only on the performance of the sacred rites accompained by the sacred formulae. Hindu marriage demands of personal gratification and pleasures are subordinated there. The individual is called upon to make marriage a succeess by means of compromise and adjustment. The concept of marriage is a lofty one because it means that the husband and wife after marriage have to adjust their tastes and temper, their ideals and interests, instead of breaking with each other when they find that these differ.[57] It thus, involves sacrifices on the part of the both the husband and the wife as each called upon to overcome to incompatibility of the other.

53. Indradeva, Shrirama *Social Philosophy of Later Smritis*, Unpublished thesis submitted for Ph.D. at the University of Rajasthan in 1967 (Manuscript).

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Kapadia, K. M. op. cit.

57. यदेतद्धृदयं तव तदस्तु हृदयं मम ।
यदेतद्धृदयं मम तदस्तु हृदयं तव ॥ साममन्त्र ब्राह्मण १. ३. ९.

Woman has been considered weak, impure and probably a lower creature because of menstruation. She feels weakness during her period of mensturation. It is affirmed that anybody who touches her, will suffer similarly. Any contact with a woman during her menstruation period is considered to polluting. Parasara says that on the first day of her menstruation a woman is *chandali* (outcaste), on the second day, she is *brahmahatyakarini* (murderer of Brahmana), on the third day she is *rajakini* (a washer woman) and on the fourth day she is *sudhbacharini* (i.e. becomes pure)[58]

The Hindu law-giver suggested that the girls would be given in marriage before their mensturation begins. The idea behind this law is probably to give a girl who is pure and holy, and by the menstruation girls get impure, this impurity may cause some obstruction in obtaining desired success. It is interesting to note an ancient myth in this connection which is available in *Taittiriya Samhita* (2/5/1). Lord Indra once slew *Visvarupa,* the priest of the gods, because he had stealthily allowed the demons to take part in *yajna.* Women agreed to have taken on themselves one-third of the sin of *brahmahatya* (murder of Brahmana) in return of the blessing which enables them to become mothers after the mensturation period. Thus, it is clear from the allusion found in the verse that woman's menstruation period is related to some sin.[59] The polluting effect of a woman in this stage is therefore supported and justified.

No women can be pregnant without passing through the mesturation period. And it is mentioned in some ancient literature that if a girl is not given marriage even after passing three menstruation period, she is free to choose her own partner in life. As long as she manstruates she is not considered capable of doing domestic work or having relations with her husband. But the mensturation taboo is not followed by a large number of women of the sophisticated society in India. The tribal and the lower caste women of different parts break this taboo owing to economic reason ; so with the modern sophisticated girls, and working women, who engage themselves in various types of activities during that period.

Despite the fact that marriage was considered to be irrevocable, the two partners were not regarded as being equals in their obligations and privileges. There are obvious discrimination made in their responsibility towards each other and in responsibility for sustaining the marriage. The ideal of *pativrata* (being devoted to the husband) is the only duty of the wife according to Hindu idea and her main pur-

58. Indradeva, Shrirama, op. cit.
59. ibid.

pose in life is planned accordingly.[60] Naturally, then, on the death of the husband the wife had either to live chastely, renouncing all the joys of life or to follow her husband by immolating herself with his body in the pyre. This ideal of *pativrata,* propagated by the orthodox Hindus, is as old as Hindu religion. It gave rise to and glorified the practice of *sati* or immolation. With the passing of time the idea of *pativrata* became so deep rooted in the mind of the Hindu women that immolation became not only customery but a woman's highest aspiration and this can be substantiated quoting folklore. Then it got rigid and many inhuman elements crept into it which we shall discuss later.

The notoriety of the exponents of *sati* went so far as to distort a particular *Sukta* of *Rigveda* (10. 18. 7) and use it for their evil purpose. The distoration was made only of a word, but it killed thousands of young widows in India. In the original it runs as "Arohantu Janayo *Yonimagre*", but the propagators of *sati* changed it as "Arohantu Janayo *Yonimagne*". The authorship of this mischief mainly goes to the name of Raghunandan, the Hindu revivalist of the middle age Bengal. Max Muller in his "Chips from a German Workshop" Vol. IV, pp. 35 first pointed it out. Later on R. C. Dutt and others exposed it with inmmunerable proofs from different scriptures as pernicious.

It will not be out of place to remember here that from 16th century onwards efforts were made to prevent *sati* but force of tradition kept the practice alive in certain regions.[61] The Prevention of Sati Act of

60. छायेवानुगता स्वच्छा सधाव हितकर्मसु।
दासीवादिष्टकार्येषु भार्या भर्तुः सदा भवेत् ॥ व्याससंहिता १. २. ७.

61. In Bengal the custom of the sacrifice of the widow at the funeral of her husband was widely prevailing. It is Lord William Bentinck who prohibited the *sati* custom with the help of the people like Raja Rammohan Roy and others. The supporters of *sati* argued that the custom had a Vedic sanction. It was maintained in the funeral hymn of the Rigveda that the widows should ascend to the funeral pyre of their husbands. The following is a folksong that is written by a support Raja Rammohan Roy.

শোন শোন শোন সবে নরনারীগণ,
সহমরণ পেরথা নারী বধেরই কারণ।
নারী হত্যে মহাপাপ শাস্ত্রের বচন ;
নারী রক্ষে মহাকর্ম মহৎ কারণ।
ওগো সতী, স্বামী মরলে তোমাদের চিতেয়, যেতে হয়,
তোমরা মরলে পুরুষ ত' কেউ সঙ্গেতে না যায়।
সতী, গ্‌ভতে রেখে সন্তান যদি স্বামী চলে যায়,
বলো কোন দোষে নর শিশু যাবে যমালয়।
খুন করিলে খুনী ফাঁসিতে লটকায়—
জ্যান্ত মানুষ পুরিয়ে মারলে জেনো নরকগামী হয়।

1829 could not erase at a single stroke the sprit that moved Hindu women for *sati*.[62] This Act posed a new problem for the young widow : apart from depriving her of the glory and joy of *sati*, it meant that a more degrading existence became inevitable. A corollary to the Act was necessary in the form of opportunities for a second marriage, promising the start of an unattained new life. Through the efforts of Vidyasagar the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act was passed in 1856.[63] Still it was difficult for any widow even to convince of another husband in violation of family ideal. The cultural tradition was so great, and

তাই কলির রামমোহনে দিয়েছেন ডাক—
নারীবধ রোধ তরে বাজাও সবাই ঢাক। (বয়াতীর গান, পূর্ব বঙ্গ)

Free translation :

Listen me you all men and women.
A burn to death on the funeral pyre of her husband
is nothing but to kill a woman.
To kill a human being is a sin
and to save one from death is a noble work
and a great work according to scripture.
O sati, you go to funeral pyre as soon as your husband is dead
But how many men sacrifice themselves when their wives die ?
If the husband is dead when his wife is pregnant,
tell me, what for the expected baby will suffer death ?
By commiting a murder the murderer is punished with a death sentence
And those who kill a woman burning to ashes must go to hell.
Therefore Rammohan has made a clarion call in the Kaliyuga
Do please come out of home and beat the drum
to stop the slaughtering of the womenfolk.

Bengali quoted from S. Chakravarti's *Lokayata Bangala*, Calcutta, 1969

62. Lord William Bentinck issued his famous regulation in December 1829, making *sati* illegal in British India. "Sati custom could not have been in much greater vogue in the Hindu and Muslim periods than it was in the first quarter of the 19th century. The fact was that the advocacy of the custom in later Smriti and Puranas failed to make a wide appeal to Hindu community.....Thus when the father-in-law of Narayanrao Peshwa died, his wife desired to follow him on the pyre, She was, however, dissuaded by her relations. Ahalyabai Holkar, who embodied the orthodox Hindu culture of the age, did not herself become a *sati*, and tried her best, though without success, to dissuade her daughter from becoming one." (Altekar, 140 : 1962).

63. From the effort of Raja Rammohan Roy for the plight of woman, her immolation, Prevention of Sati Act, 1829 to the agitation started by Iswar Ch. Vidyasagar for widow remarriage and the Widow Remarriage Act of 1857, and the foundation of Bethune School, Calcutta, in 1849, Karve's Mahila Vidyalaya in 1907 ; are the landmarks for the uprising of womenfolk of India. Besides, Rannade, Tilak, Gandhiji and others made efforts after efforts for raising the standard of womenfolk of India. Organisations like National Council for Women, Indian Women's Association and others are also active in establishing equal rights and opportunities for all the citizens of India regardless of sex.

the desire to conform so strong, that even the lower castes which permited a second marriage of the widow endeavoured to restrict it in an attempt to reach the cultural level of the higher castes.[64]

It is interesting to find that even now, more than a hundred years after the permissive legalisation of the marriage of the widows, it is not regarded as normal for a widow to marry again in India. On the other hand polygyny which was so popular among the *kulins,* has got its natural death without any legislation. Thus, it can be suggested that it is not always possible to rule a society by imposing law.

The Special Marriage Act of 1872 allowed a man to contract legal marriage with a person not belonging to his own endogmous group. In addition to the exacting demands made by the Act, caste sentiments were responsible for the fact that they availed themselves of the provisions of the Act. This is borne out by the fact that as late as 1918 V. J. Patel failed to carry through the Central Legislative Council his Hindu Marriages Validity Bill to legalize intercaste marriage among the Hindus, although it was a permissive piece of legislation.[65] It explains why the Special Marriage Act was not enthusiastically responded to, even after being diverted of its exacting demands—the Special Marriage Act as amended in 1923.

III

CULTURE IN CONTACTS

The outstanding fact of India's socio-cultural history is that even in the remote past India was never isolated from other countries.[66] Some kind of contact was always maintained over thousands of years. But India's cultural development took a new turn after her contact with the western world. This contact has brought about a progressively accentuated reorganization of the productive arrangements. It has changed the outlook, behaviour and cultural patterns of the Indian men and women.

In accordance with general conception and constant influence of social, economic, and natural factors, social historians are trying again

64. Kapadia, K. M. op. cit.

65. ibid. It may be pointed out here that during the intercaste marriage between Parshi and Hindu communities -Firoz Gandhi and Indira Nehru (our Prime Minister)—strong controversies arose. It was Mahatma Gandhi who mediated and settled things right and said "It would have been cruelty to refuse consent to this engagement. As times advances such unions are bound to multiply with benefit to society" and it has become a reality now. (*Harijan*, 8. 3. 1942).

66. Majumdar, R. C. op. cit.

and again to find out facts for socio-cultural history of the country identifying and reidentifying their data from diverse view-points and researches in order to trace out an unbiased history. But historians are in no sense a free man. Of the past they could know only so much as the past is willing to yield off to them. Thus, all-round attempts, are being made by India's historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, sociologists and folklorologists to gather as much facts and data as possible from their respective fields and disciplines to build up a true history of India's past and present.

It is well-known that the history of India is the history of congruity and cohesion from Vedic period to Buddhist period. The history of contemporary India is more complicated than what was in the earlier periods.

Keeping in view all what have been said so long we will endeavour to study Indian women. It has been rightly said by a great many scholars of the world that the best way to judge the position of a nation is to find out the status of women of the respective country. The purpose of the present study is to know the position and status of the womenfolk, the power and the prestige they enjoy in their life-cycle, socio-economic-cultural-religious and political activities. It also touches such things as to how they face the problems and conflicts that are associated with them from birth to death. The problems involved are numerous and complicated, which can be studied from various disciplines. The present volume is an attempt to study them as an individual as well as members of the different families in terms of groups, subgroups and groupings.

Groups and groupings work within the frame work of culture.[67] In sociological study of culture starting point is Rice and River valley civilization. The present study, that is nearer to socio-historical group of discipline, has been processed in such a way that a correct picture of Indian womenhood may be had on the above line. Thus we have taken folklore as a tool to determine the position of women in different cultural settings. Before we proceed to in our detailed study of womanhood in general, few points regarding the social evolution of the position of woman vis-a-vis 'family' must be enumerated in addition to what have already been said earlier.

The original meaning of the word "family" (*familia*) is not that compound of sentimentality and domestic strife which forms the ideal of the present-day philistine ; among the Romans it did not at first even refer to the married pair and their children, but only to the slaves.

67. Majumdar, H. T. *The Grammar of Sociology*, Asia Pub. House, Bombay.

Famulus means domestic slave, and *familia* is the total number of slaves belonging to one man. As late as the time of *Gaius*, the *familia, id est patrimonium* (The family, i.e. the patrimony, the inheritence) was bequeathed by will. The term was invented by the Romans to denote a new social organism, whose head ruled over wife and children and a number of slaves, and was invested under Roman paternal power with rights of life and death over them all.

So Karl Marx said, "The modern family contains in germ not only slavery (*servitus*), but also serfdom, since from the beginning it is related to agricultural services. It contains *in miniature* all the contradictions which later extend throughout society and its state."

The pairing family itself too weak and unstable to make an independent household necessary or even desirable, in no wise destroys the communistic household inherited from earlier times. Communistic housekeeping, however, means the supremacy of women in the house; just as the exclusive recognition of the female parent, owing to the impossibility of recognising the male parents with certainty, means that the women, i.e. the mothers are held in high respect. One of the most absured notions taken over from eighteenth-century enlightment in Europe is that in the beginning of society woman was the slave of man. Among all savages and all barbarians of the lower and middle stages, and to a certain extent of the upper stage also, the position of women is not only free, but honourable.*

"The overthow of mother-right was the *world historical defeat of the female sex.* The man took command in the home also; the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude, she became the slave of his lust and a more instrument for the production of children. This degraded position of the women, especially conspicuous among the Greeks of the heroic and still more of the classical age, has gradually been palliated and glozed oven and sometimes clothed in a milder from, in no sense has it been abolished. The establishment of the exclusive supremacy of the man shows its effects first in the patriarchal family, which now emerges as an intermediate form."**

As regards the legal equality of husband and wife in marriage, the position is no better. The legal inequality of the two partners, bequeathed to us from earlier social conditions, is not the cause but the effect of the economic oppression of the women. In the old communis-

*For details vide Lewis H. Morgan, Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilisation, London, Macmillan & Co. 1877—Evidences of Ashur Wright, many years missionary among the Iroquois Senecas.

**F. Engels—Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, Bombay, 1944.

tic household which comprised many couples and their children, the task entrusted to the women of managing the household was as much a public and socially necessary industry as the procuring of food by the men. With the patriarchal family, and still more with the single monogamous family, a change came. Household management lost its public character. It no longer concerned society. It became a *private service*; the wife became the head servant, excluded from all participation in social production. Not until the coming of modern large-scale industry was the road to social production opened to her again and then only to the proletarian wife. But it was opened in such a manner that, if she carries out her duties in the private service of her family, she remains excluded from public production and unable to earn; and if she wants to take part in public production and earn independently, she cannot carry out family duties. And the wife's position in the factory is the position of wives in all branches of business right up to medicine and the law. The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife, and modern society is a mass composed of these individual families as molecules. In the great majority of cases today, at least in the possessing classes, the husband is obliged to earn a living and support his family, and that in itself gives him a position of supremacy without any need for special legal titles and privileges. So F. Engels' commented, "Within the family he is the bourgeois and the wife represents the proletariate."

The division of labour within the family had regulated the division of property between the man and the woman; that division of labour had remained the same; and yet it now turned the previous domestic relation upside down, simply because the division of labour outside the family had changed. The same cause which had ensured to the woman her previous supremacy in the house—that her activity was confined to domestic labour—this same cause now ensured the man's supremacy in the house; the domestic labour of the woman no longer counted beside the acquisition of the necessities of life by the man; the latter was everything, the former an unimportant extra. We can already see from this that to emancipate woman and make her the equal of the man is and remaining an impossibility so long as the woman is shut out from social productive labour and restricted to private domestic labour. The emancipation of woman will only be possible when woman can take part in production on a large, social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amout of her time. And only now has that become possible through modern large scale industry, which does not merely permit of the employment of female labour over a wide range, but positively demands it, while it also tends towards

ending private domestic labour by changing it more and more into a public industry. But it is said by Mahatma Gandhi that it is degrading both for man and woman that woman should be called upon or induced to forsake the hearth and shoulder the rifle for the protection of the hearth ; it is a reversion to barbarity and the beginning of the end. Women workers should enrol women as voters, impart in them practical education, teach them to thin independently to release them from chain of castes which will compel man to realize woman's strength and capacity.

In a broad sense, it may be affirmed that the revolutionary changes in our industrial methods of production and in our transportation and communication systems have tended to affect the patterns of population concentration as well the patterns of social relationships owing to increase of the population and changes in social structure.[68] For instance, the presence of Muslims in large numbers and in a dominent position (as rulers) in northern India for a number of years has had the effect of weakening certain Hindu social customs and rituals. Then, there came religious movements as that of the Vaishnavism. It has a great effect on the life and living of the people.[69] Again, there has been another change in society after the partition of Bengal. With the partition of Bengal the whole structure of Bengalee society was rocked to its very foundation. The inter-mixture of different cultural traits of the Hindus of the eastern and western parts of Bengal as well as with different peoples of India have created a new social problem.[70]

(*Continued*)

68. Singer, Milton. (Guest editor) *Traditional India ; Structure and Change*, Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 71, No. 281. July-Sept., 1958 (special volume).

69. There are more than a dozen Vaishnava Upanishadas. It was in the period from 10th century up to the 17th century that many Vaishnava works were produced. The Vaishnavas regard the Pancharatra literature as almost equal to the Vedas. One of the most influential Vaishnava cults was founded by Vallabhacharya in the 15th century. Later, there arose the Chaitanya movement. Chaitanya, the great Vaishnava tacher of the 15th century, transformed the Vaishnava faith and extended his influence in most parts of Northern India.

70. Basu M. N. in a paper on the "Present Trend of Human Life in Modern World" says—a society is made up of two factors—an aggregate of individuals and a permanent organisation of their action and interaction. Thus every society creates its own type of personality by its way of bringing up children in the family by its system of education, by its effective values. Since economic organisation is based on continuous and ever increasing consumption, contemporary man is encouraged to be comsumption-crazy. Economic change indicate profound effects on social change. The effect of new economic order upon the social life is evident in modern social life. A change must take place in all sphere simultaneously—in the economic, political social and the spiritual. Man is a product of circumstances but circumstances are also his product. (Lecture delivered at the Anthropological Society, Calcutta).

NOTES AND NEWS

It a pleasure to announce that the next All-India Folklore Conference under the auspices of the Indian Folklore Society will be held at Calcutta in the last week of December, 1969. The Conference will be followed by an exhibition of books and journals of folklore and its allied subjects together with folk arts and crafts objects. It will also be enriched with folk cultural shows. Besides the Open and Concluding Sessions, the Conference will have the following sections :—

(i) Folk Literature and Tribal Study. In this section such papers and discussions will get priority that would concern country's unity than diversity ;

(ii) Folk Arts and Crafts. In this section papers and discussion on the applied side of folk art and craft will be appreciated ;

(iii) Folksong and Dance. In this section papers and discussions will be directed to different aspects of protest songs—social and political protest.

All these sections will be presided over by the competent scholars where delegates will read selected papers. The last date of receiving papers (with abstracts within 200/250 words) is Nov. 30, 1969. The approach and methods of folklore study, problems of documentation of folklore will also be examined by the specialists. The possibility of developing and improving the research conditions too will be considered and recommendations will be made for better and effective studies.

Receiption Committee Membership fee :	..	Rs. 25/
Delegate fee (local)	..	Rs. 12/
Delagate fee (outside)	..	Rs. 25/

(including fooding & lodging for 3-days)

Papers may be presented or sent to the Committee. All participants including those who intend to attend personally, are requested to forward their manuscripts to the office with the above mentioned period. The participants who intend to attend to the conference or in the sectional meetings are requested to let the committee know of that by October 15, 1969 so that necessary accommodations may be made in due time. For further details please write to

The General Secretary,
Indian Folklore Society,
3, British Indian St., Calcutta-1 (India).

* * * * *

The 28th International Congress of Orientalists will be held at the Australian National University, Canberra, A. C. T., from 6th to 12th January 1971. All scholars of the language, history literature and culture of Asia are welcome.

Enquiries should be addressed to :

The Secretary-General,
28 International Congress of Orientalists,
Australian National University Post Office
via Canberra City A. C. T. 2601, Australia.

* * * * *

We mourn the death of Dr. Muhammad Sahidullha, the President of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca on July 13 at the age 84. He was also a member of the Advisory Board of this journal for a long time.

Dr. Sahidullaha (1885-1969) was regarded as one of India's foremost authorities of Indian languistics and folklore and indological studies. He was also a great patron of Bengali language and literature. He had obtained his M.A. in 1912 from the University of Calcutta in Comparative Philology with honoures in Sanskrit and D. Lit. from University de Paries for his thesis "*Les chants mystiques ques de Kanha et Saraha*'.

Dr. Sahidullha joined in the Dacca University in 1921 and worked there upto 1944 where he devoted full time to research and teaching. He was connected with a number of learned associations of his country and abroad. In a future issue of this journal we will publish a fullength life-sketch of his

* * * * *

Midnapur Sanskriti Parishad has just published a Bengali book which is entitled as "Samasamayik Narayangarh" by Kedarnath Pahari. The cost of the book 4.00 only. The foreword of the book is written by Dr. P. K. Bhowmick which is divided into 5 chapters, viz. geographical and political condition of the place ; ancient legends and tradition, social and political movement ; fairs, festivals, worships and education ; and contemporary affairs etc.

* * * * *

Dr. P. K. Bhowmick's "Occupational mobility and Caste Structure in Bengal—Study in rural market" Rs. 15.00 ; Nandagopal Sengupta's "A Book of Bengali Verse—from 10th to 20th century", Rs. 15.00 and Prof. Sunil Chakravarty's "Lokayata Bangla" (In Bengali, Folklore Study it Bengal) Rs. 8.00 have just published. Available at Indian Publications, 3, British Indian St., Calcutta-1.

BOOK-REVIEW

PASCHIMBANGER PUJA-PARBAN-O-MELA (In Bengali, The Fairs and Festivals of West Bengal), 2nd part, Editor : Asok Mitra, Information and compilation : Arun K. Ray Supervision : Sukumar Sinha, Census of India 1961, Vol. 16, part 7-B, Publication Divisions, Delhi (1968), pp 732+16 maps,+60 photos.

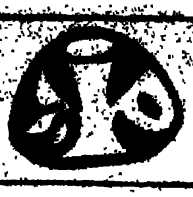
This is the second of a series of four volumes that contains many valuable informations and data. It lists details of the fairs and festivals of the districts of Murshidabad, in pp 1-221, Nadia, in pp 223-402, Howrah, in pp 403-512 & Hooghly in pp 513-685 together with appendices etc. It represents a corpus arranged according to localities of the above districts and prefectures which is somewhat an introductory and descriptive character being collection of materials for a future study.

However interesting the future study may undoubtedly be, it is necessary to point out that the volume under review presents a great wealth of facts and insights and we have at our disposal a very well documented collection which may be used for more than one purpose.

First, it contains description of the villages, then description of the festivals along with the description of fairs etc. which may reflect more or less developed state of socio-folklorological excavations but there cannot be any doubt either that the editor and compiler presented us with one of the keys to the understanding of the socio-cultural history of the State.

Secondly, there is an unnecessary cleff between scholars interested in socio-cultural history or traditional thought in general and those studying the local legends etc. It is a rich source for any study of common ideas and if some of the ideas have already been studied, the details were widely scattered in various places without inspiring naturally both the group of scholars and enthusiasts.

The practical value of the book is still much enhanced by its very lucid language, by clear presentation, and last but not least, by painstaking accuracy. Eventhough, the reviewer believes that some repetitions could have been avoided and the editing could have been intelligible. But inspite of this causal remark, I do not feel the usaul necessity to stress, the book under review is an excellent one, since its value is obvious and undoubted. It is a welcome handbook and let us hope that we shall not wait too long for other volumes of this series.



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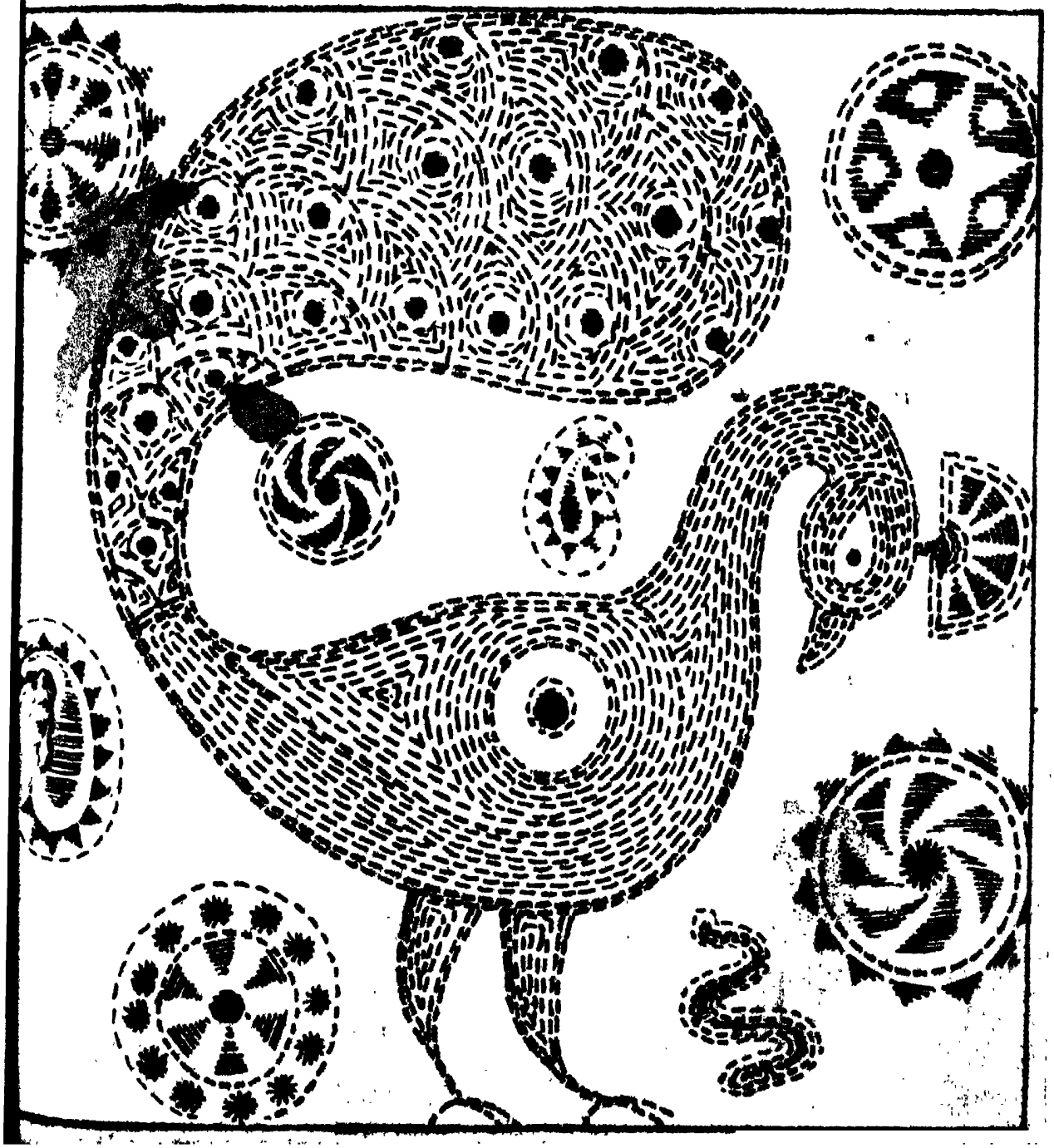
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S. L. SRIVASTAVA

JIUTIA FESTIVAL: A RECONSIDERATION OF THE CONCEPT OF "GENERALIZATION"

In this apaper attempt has been made to examine the validity of the concept of "Generalization" on the basis *Jiutia* festival observed in village Bairgaon of Gorakhpur District (eastern U. P.) and the fact presented in Sanskritic literature and given by various scholars

Morris E. Opler has tried to coin two terms 'Generalization' and 'Particularization' on the basis of calendaric festivals. Regarding 'generalization' he writes that in it the progression is from the specific to the more comprehensive. In it we start with the immediate, the personal, the present and move toward the timeless, the inclusive, the abstract.[1] In order to support his statement he has given the example of *Jiutia* festival. He writes, "Jiutia obviously has its impetus in the individual mother's concern for the well-being of her son, and this personal interest is never entirely erased in the course of the rite....Nevertheless, in attempting to attain her goal, she moves far toward the merging of her need and her protective devices with those of others. She joins with the other women to go to worship at a sacred spot where one Brahman serves all who are there.....The ceremony has as its prime objective the placing of all the sons of all the women involved under the protection of Jiut Baba....Jiutia may have its psychological roots in the personal anxiety felt by the individual mother for her son, but through a process of generalization it has become a standard ritual means by which the whole community acts to safeguard its sons and to place them under the divine protection of a God who is the abstract essence of life itself"[2]

II

The festival of Jiutia falls on the 8th day of the dark-half of Kuar. Regarding this festival Morris E. Opler writes, "The name of the festival

and necklace is connected with the word for life (Jiu) and on this occasion Jiut Baba, a personification of life itself, is honoured and specially blesses male particularly sons of the family"[3]. Only the women with a son (sons) fast on this day and participate in the rites of this festival. They do not take even water during their fast of 24 hours. In the evening of this day they walk in a group to a tank at the outskirt of the village. Each carries a metal plate containing wet grams, *satanja* (grains of seven varieties), vermilion and *Jiutia* (necklace made of threads). After taking bath in the tank they place the gram, vermilion and the *Jiutia* under a wild plant known as *Bariar* representing god Jiutbandhan. Then they worship Jiutbandhan Maharaj while requesting him to protect their sons, and embrace the plant while uttering, "O Ariar O Bariar! My son may come beating others but not being beaten himself. O Ariar O Bariar !Tell Sita my regards". Afterwards all sit there to hear stories related to this festival. At the end of each story every woman says, "O Jiutbandhan Maharaj as you have helped her so help others". After the completion of the story-telling they fasten the Jiutia round their neck and return home to take rest during the night. Next day early in the morning *Bakhir* and *Puri* with pulse inside are prepared and offered first to the female ancestors of the house and then to other members of the family. Unlike the case observed by Opler in a north Indian village, in Barigaon no Brahman ever officiates throughout the whole rites of this festival.

III

This festival is also known as Jivit Putrikastami or Jivit Putrika Vrata. According to P. V. Kane this festival is celebrated to worship Jimutvahan, son of King Salivahana, by women for securing sons and *Saubhagya* (blessed wife-hood).[4] Regarding Salivahan Miss Karunakana Gupta writes, "As Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri has pointed out, the Dvatrims-atputtalika represents Salivahan, the mythological representative of the Satvahana dynasty, as of mixed Brahmana and Naga origin (PHAI, p. 280)".[5] According to Kathasaritasagar[6] and Nagananda play,[7] Jimut-vahan, son of Jimutketu was a king of Vidyadharas,[8] who offered his life in place of a young serpent Shankhchuda, who was by virtue of an agree-ment to be offered to Garuda as his daily meal. When Garuda came to know this fact he was very much induced by the generous and touching behaviour of Jimutvahan and decided to give up his practice of devouring serpents[9]. Then Garuda bringing nector from Vaikuntha sprinkled over Jimutvahan and he restored to life with no mark of injury. When asked by Garuda for boon, Jimutvahan requested him to return life to all the snakes whom he had eaten before and whose bones only remained. Thereupon Garuda said, "so it be". Then all the snakes who had been

eaten by Garuda and whose bones alone remained rose up unwounded and restored to life by the nector of Garuda's boon[10].

While discussing Jiutia festival Opler has mentioned about Jiut Baba, who according to him, is identified by many villagers and Lord Siva. But while collecting data for this study no respondent has tried to identify Jiutbandhan Maharaj with Lord Siva. Instead, the fast observing women say that he is not a synonym of any god, but he himself is an individual god. Again the description of Jimutvahan given in Sanskritic scriptures, the views of the people regarding Jiutbandhan Maharaj and the practical aspects of *Jiutia* festival observed in Barigaon enable us to say that Jimutvahan and Jiutbandhan are synoymn and both represents the name of one single god. Phonetically also the word Jimutvahan may take the form of Jiutbandhan.

N. M. Penzer writes that on the basis of a paper on the Nagas, C. F. Oldham points out that in most of the temples dedicated to Vasuki (king of the snakes, often mentioned in the ocean), or Basdeo, in the Chenab valley there is, besides the figure of the Naga Raja, representation of his Vezier, who is called Jimutvahan. Legend says that Basdeo was engaged in war with Garuda, and that, on one occasion, the Naga chief was surrounded by the enemy and had a narrow escape. In fact, he was saved only by the devotion of his minister, who gave his own life to save that of his master. This probably means that Jimutvahan was killed in covering the retreat of the Raja. Basdeo escaped to the Kailas Kund, a mountain lake some 13,000″ level above the sea, between the Chenab and Ravi Valley. Meantime, an army was raised by which Garuda was defeated. The Naga Raja, in his gratitude, ordered that in future Jimutvahan should be worshipped in the same temple with himself.[11]

Worship of Jimutvahan along with the Nag Raj is substantiated by other sources also. P. Acharya has written that the canopy of the Anantesvara temple consists of seven snake-hoods and there are two Vidyadharis on back slab beyond the hood.... At both ends middle of the trifoliate arch a Rahumukha is carved and on each side of the Rahumukha there is one female figure riding on the flying Vidyadhara, a male figure. At the two Makara (corcodile) bases of the arch there are two images of Garuda.[12] This statement shows that in the temple of Anantesvara Vidyadharas are also represented. Jimutuvahan was the king of Vidyadharas. Thus the likelihood is that the Vidyadharas in the temple of Anantesvara are the representation of Jimutvahana.

IV

The facts given above show that Jimutvahan has sacrificed his life to protect Sankhchuda and the Nag Raj. He is worshiped along with Nag Raj and represented in the temple of Anantesvara. The descrip-

tion of the *Jiutia* festival observed in Barigaon show that women with son (sons) worship Jiutbandhan Maharaj (Jimutvahan) with the request to protect their sons and to bless them to be brave so that they may come home beating others but not being beaten themselves. The rites of *Jiutia* festival in Barigaon correspond to the mythological story of Jimutvahan and Sankhchuda. The congregation of mothers at the outskirt of the village near a tank to worship Jiutbandhan represent the congregation of all those snake mothers, who had heard that their sons have been revived because of Jimutvahan, at that place where Garuda used to get his food of snakes, to worship Jimutvahan and to bring back their revived sons. At the end of the worship of Jiutbandhan the fastening of *Jiutia* by the fasting women round their neck and coming back to home represent the snake-mothers' clinging their revived sons to their neck and coming back to home. These facts do not present any possibility to assume that the festival of *Jiutia* has its root in the personal anxiety felt by the individual mother for her son which through a process of generalization has become a standard ritual means by which the whole community acts to safeguard its sons and to place them under the divine protection of a God who is the essence of life itself. Instead they present the possibility to assume that this festival has its root in the collective consciousness of the women who reverently felt to worship Jimutvahan with this view that he might protect their sons as he has protected Sankhachuda, the only son of his parents, and the species of Nagas. Thus the theory of Opler behind the concept of 'Generalization' does not seem to be valid.

This theory may be refuted on other ground also. According to him *Jiutia* obviously has its impetus in the individual mother's concern for the wellbeing of her son or sons. But this festival is spread only in a particular area, i.e., in eastern U. P. The anxiety of all the mothers for the wellbeing of their son or sons is universal, then why it is not observed in other parts of India? This point has been ignored by Opler while discussing the concept of 'Generalization'. His theory points out that the festival of *Jiutia* is originated on the basis of some rational views. The anxiety of a particular mother for the well being of her son or sons directed her thought to collect other mothers and accompanying with them to worship a God who is the abstract essence of life in itself, which through a process of generalization has become a standard ritual means by which the whole community acts to safeguard its sons. In reality this theory is based only on one aspect i.e., psychological, while ignoring other aspects such as mythological and historical.

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S. K. AHUJA

ANTIQUITY OF NUPTIALS

The institution of marriage is as old as the history of mankind.• The stabilizing effect that the wedlock has had in shaping man's social destiny can at no time be over-emphasised. It, in fact, may aptly be described as a very important social milestone in man's gregarious life. Today man gives little, if any, thought to the processes through which this institution, or better, custom, has passed and crystallized in its present form. It is, for instance, shocking for many of us to know that capture by force was the cardinal means of acquiring a companion that the primitive man adopted. Even the civilized world of as recent times as the beginning of the sixteenth century was shadowed by this odious custom. It indeed is an intellectually rewarding exercise to delve into the history of marriage.

Capture of women, along with looting and arson, appears to have been an appendage of the warring instinct of primitive man who perhaps was obliged to wage wars in the interest of survival. And, perhaps, the theory of the survival of the fittest, in its physical ramifications, proved itself in the world of the hoary man. From the belief that the captured women were the spoils of war and prizes of men's valour—often subjecting them to a life of slavery and promiscuity—slow evolutionary process of recognising the captured woman as a companion and wife took shape. Traditions really die hard and even to this day certain tribes in the inaccessible recesses of African jungles observe the essentials of this system, and even some of the more refined African societies stage mock captures which are inseparable from the ceremonies of marraige among them.

Rich heiresses in England in the early 16th century often risked themselves being captured and thus forced to marry against their will. Armed escorts trailed the rich beauties of France, Italy and Ireland to foil attempts of adbuction. The custom waned imperceptably in Europe and instances of its sporadic occurrances are to be found right up to the yester-century. No country of our globe, it is authoritatively claimed, has been exception to the operation of this custom. The Bible which portrays the life and custom of the ancient people, cites numerous instances of the practice of forcible seizures of women and virgins by invading warriors who later on granted them the status of wifehood.

Variations of the theme of marriage by force were in evidence of the social structure of almost all the countries of the world. From the abode of the primitive man in Africa and Australia to the sophisticated and

cultured man in England, the custom has held sway. Ample evidence is available to show that the custom was practised once upon a time by the Muria Gonds and a certain section of population in Tibet. The custom would appear to have ancient moorings in India. The Code of Manu explicitly permits forcible marriage to the warrior race, Kshtriyas. This system was also characterised as 'Rakshasa' mode of marriage.

Some historically acceptable traces of the custom in relation to India are to be found in the episode of Prithviraj's capture of Sanjukta. The event suggests that not only was the custom prevalent in India, it also had the royal sanction, having been followed by the ruling class. What is patronised by the royalty may obviously be taken as an accepted procedure by the commonalty.

The forms that the custom took are as numerous as they are fascinating. Bushmen of Australia pounced on unwary girls as on a beast of prey, dragging them to jungle clearing and conferring on her the status of wifehood in the presence of the village folk. Likewise, certain tribals of Cille followed an identical pattern, taking, away the bride forcefully while groom's people negotiated terms with girl's family.

While in the beginning, the groom's party may have been facing stiff, practical resistence from the bride's people, often resulting in serious physical injury, the practice gained implied recognition and ultimately only mock resistence was offered. Shouting, brow-beating, imitative fight actions, steadily replaced the original scene.

Marriage by Elopement

Marriage by elopment was, as at present, a convenient device of young lovers to frustrate the designs of parental obstruction. After the wrath of the parents had cooled down, the couple often return to obtain their blessings. In an African community, the couple who go to live in a forest after elopment, return to their settlement only when a child is born of their union. Many a youngman of various ethnic group of different castes in India settle up with their paramours in far away villages and return to their native place after years. A rather trying ordeal has to be gone through by the eloping couples of Chittagong (East Pakistan) areas as they must successfully run away four times before they are socially recognised as husband and wife.

The bought wife

The concept of marriage by purchase has had as deeply entrenched roots as marriage by capture. The cult of slavery was perhaps the factor most responsible for its thriving. The beauty of the bought female

slave may have so turned the head of the purchaser that he may have assigned her a special position. And from them on, it was a matter of evolution. Apart from this, scarcity of female population and greed on the part of parents of the beautiful maidens appear to be plausible considerations in this regard. The price pair for acquiring a wife has varied from foodstuffs to a hundred cattle heads among the primitive aborigines of Afriet. At one time, in Mecca, a virgin cost anything from fifty to three hundred and fifty dollars worth. Among Muslims the custom of paying a consideration to the father of the bride is still prevalent.

Perhaps the wife became the bought slave of the husband as evidence shows that in England the wife fell at husband's feet, kissing them, in the same fashion as any Hindu wife required to do not so long ago. Some form of this Hindu custom was followed in Russia and France too. In the latter country, an ingenuous alternative was devised which obliged the wife to bow down before the husband for retrieving the wedding ring that was deliberately thrown at or near his feet.

The system of hire purchase may seem to us as the offshoot of contemporary economic activity ; yet it was extensively made use of by the ancient peoples in the context of marriage by purchase. Youngmen were encouraged to make payment to the girl's parents by instalments. As soon as more than half of the total payment had been made, the boy was permitted to associate with the girl and even allowed to consummate marriage. In certain cases the boy was allowed to work as a labourer for a stipulated period on the farm property of his future in-laws so that he could pay his way out to marrying the damsel of his fancy. This custom had been in common vogue in certain parts of Assam, having been assoduously followed by some tribal clans. The would-be groom made a gift of choice liquor to the parents of the girl and mooted the suggestion of marrying the daughter. If the proposition was acceptable, the boy was engaged as a farm hand for three seasons, but was free to claim the girl after one season ; nonetheless he was obliged to work out for the full contracted period.

The institution of marriage has been no exception to the process of evolution towards refinement and excellence. The courtship, the marriage in a Registry Office, the simple form of Church marriage, the elaborate rituals of Hindu and Oriental marriages, are all the products of genius of man's quest for the best. Many a person would perhaps be willing to accept the mode of marriage by capture, were it to guarantee peace and conjugal harmony. One can, at best sing reminiscently with Alexander Pope (with apology) that—

> "For forms of marriage let fools contest,
> Whatever is adjusted best is best."

SANKAR SEN GUPTA

SOCIO-CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOMEN

(Continued from previous issue)

Society

Before we discuss the structure of Indian women we will also say a few words about human society. It is Hegel who analysed progress into three stages which he called Thesis, Antithesis, and Synthesis. Applying this idea to educational theory, A. N. Whitehead adopted the terms, Stage of Romance, Stage of Precision, and Stage of Generalization. Jules Henry has stressed the need of reviewing the traditional concepts. Outstanding among the concepts, is the concept of "culture", which he defines as "the individual's or group's acquired response 'systems'. The definition of culture in terms of acquired characteristics, leads us back to Boas's original conception of changes in mental function under the influence of domestication. It is the domestication of *Homo sapiens* that brings it about, that man has an enormous number of response system that are not genetically determined".[71] How and why man and the anthropoid are branched off, and when, are among the mysteries of nature. It is man who has been engaged in describing himself and his activities, ever since he achieved cognition and the ability to communicate. Broadly speaking, man has passed from the food gathering to the food-producing stage. When he was dependent solely upon direct appropriation of the gifts of nature his numbers must have been very small indeed. Roughly, man has passed through the food-gathering, hunting, fishing, and nomadic existence—moving with the seasons to pasture his cattle and sheep—to the agricultural form of economy.[72]

The invention of agriculture by the womenfolk was the most momentous event in the life of early man. With oxen to plough the land, with pottery for storing harvested grain, with the

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71. **Kurulkar, G. M. op. cit.**
72. **Majumdar, H. T. op. cit.**

wheel to accelerate transportation and to make less arduous, collective man had to settle down in a given place if he was to reap the full rewards of his agricultural pursuits. From this time onward the conception of life of the ancient man changed to agriculture from hunting and cattle grazing. Thus, arose the first continuous settled community, the agricultural village, lower and higher. Then owing to industrial development and scientific progress cities and towns began to appear one after another. Wealtheir and employment seekers came and settled to the towns and cities who have formed their own society—sophisticated society. The people who live in the agricultural villages of India are unsophisticated people and majority in number. These people have their own way of living. They are rich with oral traditional literature and culture and may be viewed from the following three terms: (i) structurally (ii) functionally and (iii) dynamically, i.e. in in terms of process.[73]

Structurally, society is the cultural framework of the total social heritage of folkways, mores and institutions, of habitism, sentiments and ideals. In short, all the non-material elements of culture are potent in this structure. *Functionally,* society is a complex of group. It has a receiprocal relationship that interacts upon one another within the cultural context and enables human organism to carry on their life-activities helping each person to fulfill his special wishes and accomplishes his special interests in association with his fellow-being. *Dynamically,* society is the process of stimulus-response relationships culminating in interaction, communication and consensus.[74]

Political upheavals caused by frequent aggression on the country hampered scientific progress in India. Impacts with Muslims, Dutch, Portuguse, French and English, became urgent, and helped to demolish many ancient ideas and thoughts even in the daily necessary things like medicine. Alan Greggy makes the following statement: "The totality, that is a human being, has been divided for study into parts and systems. One cannot deny the method but one is obliged to remain satisfied with its results alone. What brings and keeps our several organs and numerous functions in harmony and federation? And what has medicine to say of the fecile seperation of "mind" from "body"? What makes an individual, what the word implies—not divided? The need for more knowledge here is an excruciating

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73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.

obviousness. But more than mere need there is fore-shadowing of changes to come."[75]

We owe to all that is wonderful in the culture. Culture is created by man. Through this we attain unity. Unity of mankind are to be earned by our own efforts for which we want to know the past and the present and by these we can suppose future. In order to know the past there is no better tool to depend upon than folklore or oral traditional materials. Because we know that before there was any written literature there already existed, among many ancient nations, a vast and complex form or oral traditional literature.[76] This traditional literature in an ancient land like India has complexity and diversity. It is also a living force. Its origin, we can only surmise, goes back to the beginning of India's unrecorded history when the need arose to communicate instruction to the young and to preserve it for subsequent generations.

Since we have no records for how pre-historic man lived and behaved, and no prospects of obtaining any, we cannot hope to verify hypothesis which depend on unsound evidences. We can occasionally show that explanations founded on assumptions about prehistory and prehistoric men are improbable. More than this, 'man is the culture making animal' (Ruth Benedict). His centuries old civilization is at the mercy of any accident of time or space. Man always evolves elaborate traditional ways of doing things. No people have any truly empirical ethics; they uphold what they find themselves practicing. "No human being or group of human beings can ever freshly see the world in which they move. Every human is born into a world defined by already existing cultural patterns. Just as individual who has lost his memory is no longer 'normal' so the idea that any point in its history a society can become completely emancipated from its past culture is inconceivable" (ibid).

We know that man shared in common with other animals in the capacity to vocalize, to emit sounds. In course of time, the redimentary grunts and groans—a form of erotive language—gave away to referential language. For many many centuries, this referential language was spoken, not written; even so it gave man a tool possessed neither by birds nor by beasts. Now he could pass on the accumulated wisdom of the ages by word of mouth. Later when pictographs,

75. Kurulkar, G. M. op. cit.

76. Long, James (Rev. Father) 500 Question on the subjects requiring investigation of the people of India, Indian Publications, 1966.

ideographs, and alphabetic writings were invented, man began to pass from the haze of prehistory into the clear light of his superorganic power, began to increase by leaps and bounds by means of diffusion as well as by means of new invention.

PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH

Language :

Language cannot grow overnight. It has its own laws of growth. It forms one of the main elements in people's cultural life. Aryan language began to spread all over the country as a matter of course. References to languages other than Aryan dialects are exactly rare in Sanskrit and other Aryan literature. The languages are usually determined in terms of the placements in classification of language families, branches or groups and are decided on the basis of grammatical characterestics of specific language. It is true that a number of Indian languages and its Persian usages show some resemblences to European languages which gave rise to the name "Indo-Eupopean" for the whole group of language.[77] It is believed that in the distant past India and Iran were invaded by tribes from some other parts of the world. The tribes that spoke Indo-European languages conquered those countries. The conquerors declared themselves "higher" race than whom they had enslaved ; they gave themselves the name "Arya". People who speak in their mother tongue are proud of their own languages and resent any other language being forced on them. Language, on the development of society it emerges, lives and dies as peoples develop, it has no casual relation with the races.[78]

The language of India developed along with the people of India. There is no single or one language in India which can represent the country as a whole as the only Indian language. It is a multi-lingual country which is representated by different language families and dialect speakers. Sir Grierson, who form 1880's upto 1941, when he died, carried on investigations into Indian languages.[79] He drew scientific study of the linguistic map of the country and maintains that India has 179 languages and 544 dialects.[80] But this number has to be taken with a good deal of reservation. Of these languages, 116 are

77. Nigam, R. C. "Languages of India" Lecture given at the School of Humanistic and Cultural Studies, Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture on 12. 1. 1968. Also published in *Bul. of RMIC*, Vol. XIX, no. 3, March, 1968.

78. Chatterjee, S. K. and Katre, S. M. "Languages" in the Gazetter of India : Vol. 1. Country and People, Publication Dvn. Delhi, 1965.

79. ibid.

80. ibid.

small tribal speeches of the Tibeto-Chinese family and they are found only on the northern and north-eastern fringes of India. These languages are current among less than one per cent of entire population of the country.[81] Nearly two dozen more are, likewise, insignificant speeches of other language groups; or they are languages not truly belonging to India.[82]

The women of India of all language families and dialects have their own women's dialects, own chit-chat, own abuse and love-words and these represent them faithfully. This can be illustrated taking the help of Sukumar Sen[83] from the standard colloquial of West Bengal. He says that "As expected women's dialect in Bengali is archaic both in pronunciation and vocabulary. There are a great many words spoken generally by women, which occur in mediaeval Bengali works —especially in the Vaishnava lyrics—but not in modern Bengali as spoken by men.

Pejoration and vulgarity are also dominant characteristics of the language of the Bengali women." Perhaps it is also true for the womenfolk of other language groups and dialects. The following are examples of women's dialect in Bengali :

They call such act as *thona*[84] that means a blow on the cheek with finger. *Eyo*[85] means women with her husband living; *poyati*[86] means a woman big with child, *chhenal, dhemni*[87] etc. means a coquette, a characterless woman; *dhumni, dhumri*[88] means a grown up girl, a fat woman; *dajjal*[89] means a vixen; *paraberani*[90] means a constant visitor of neighbours; *paradhalani*[91] means one who plays the coquette among her neighbours: *paramajani*[92] means one who charms her neighbour, *gatarkhaki*[93] means

81. Nigam, R. C. op. cit.

82. Chatterjee, S. K. and Katre, op. cit.

83. Sen, Sukumar "Women's Dialect in Bengali" (Reprint from the Journal of Department of Letters), Calcutta University, 1928.

84. ঠেনা।

85. এয়ো।

86. পোয়াতী।

87. ছেনাল, ঢেমনী।

88. ধুমনী, ধুমড়ী।

89. দজ্জাল।

90. পাড়াবেড়ানী।

91. পাড়াচলানী।

92. পাড়ামজানী।

93. গতরখাকী।

one who has runined her body ; *bhatarkhaki*[94] means one who has lost her husband ; *pet felani*[95] means procuress of abortion ; *gharjalani*[96] means she who harms her own people ; *jhantapeta*[97] means beaten with a broom ; *kancha poyati*[98] is one who has recently given birth to a child ; *dhaladhali*[99] suggests close and intimate companionship (prejorative) ; *biyarphul*[100] means to have time of marriage arrived ; *Pacca chule sindur para* means may you paint vermilion on your forehead even when your hairs are grey, *dhaneputre laxmi love hok,* may you prosper in wealth and children and *hater noya akshay hok*[101] means may your iron bracelets were not out from your wrist. All these are the dialects that are used by folkwomen of Bengal in different times. These suggest their position vividly. We will see later how we can draw the character, status and position of womenfolk with the aid of such folk words and other genre of folklore. A great many sayings, songs, proverbs etc. used by women in those days are still current among the womenfolk in India today. Therefore by studying them we can also glean the position of ancient India. It is said that "It is quite possible that some of these popular maxims may be traced as far back as the early or the middle Indo-Aryan period."[102] With these few words about the Bengalee women's dialect, we will treat the language of India with more details in the following pages.

It is Robert Caldwell who established the seperate existence of a Dravidian speech-family in 1856 as opposed to the Aryan family in the north.[103] Some scholars, about that time, separated the Munda Language family. In this way, the hundreds of languages and dialects (which were to be found in India and Burma) were brought under one or the other of the following Four Great Speech-families :

(i) the Aryan, or Indo-European ;

(ii) the Dravidian ;

94. ভাতারখাকী।

95. পেট ফেলানী।

96. ঘর জ্বালানী।

97. ঝাঁটা পেটা।

98, কাঁচা পোয়াতী।

99 ঢলাঢলি।

100. বিয়ার ফুল ;

101. (১) পাঁকা চুলে সিন্দুর পরো, (২) হ তেব নোয়া অক্ষয় হোক and (৩) ধনে পুত্রে লক্ষীলাভ হোক (These three expressions imply may your husband live till you get old and die—Quoted from Sukumar Sen's above book).

102. Sen, Sukumar op. cit.

103 Caldwell, R. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages :* Revised and edited by Rev. G. L. Wyatt. & T. Ramakrishna Pillai, Madras, 1961.

(iii) the Munda or Kol as a member of the Austro-Asiatic branch of the Austric family of language and

(iv) the Sino-Tibetan.

These are composed of diverse racial elements and these language families are represented by four broad language and culture groups. They have had the history of living together for atleast 3000 years,[104] if not more. The plurality of language appear to have played no distrubing role during the course of early and medieval periods of Indian history through which the pan-Indian character of Indian civilization sustained itself.[105]

It is to be noted in this connection that among the four language groups, the Aryan speech-family was last to come—it was preceded by the Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan and Austric. In the evolution of the Indian people and of Indian culture, there has been, as said before, intermixture of races, languages and the various cultural *milieus*. Although the Austric and Sino-Tibetan languages are now confined to small populations, they have had their share in developing or modifying the other languages.

It is not known how and when these language families moved to India. Before their advent, there was the language of Negroid peoples, who pioneered into India from Africa along the Asian coastline, probably before the 6th millennium B.C.[106] But on the mainland of India nothing has remained of their language, the original Negroid peoples having been killed or absorved by subsequent immigrants. Thus, in the languages of the three main families spoken today—Aryan, Dravidan, and Austric,—there has been much mutual borrowing. These contacts have introduced the normal process of interinfluencing of linguistic traits.

Of the four, the Austric language speakers occupy a vast area spreading from Central India through Assam, Burma, Malay and Indonesian Islands right up to the eastern and southern extremities of the pacific including Hawaii Islands and New Zealand. This family further subdivided into Austronesian and Austro-Asiatic. In India, Austro-Asiatic subfamily is represented by the speakers belonging to Munda branch, Mon-Khemer branch including Khasis and Nicobarese. They Speak in Santals, Mundari, Ho, Bhumij, Korku, Kharia, Savara, etc. and is representated by a population of little more than a million according to 1961 census.

Next, Tibeto-Chinese family of language. It's area stretches

104. Nigam, R. C. op. cit.

105. Chatterjee, S. K. and Kartre, op. cit.

106. Sen, Sukumar *History and Pre-history of Sanskrit*, Mysore, 1957.

right from Baltistan in the west to the north-eastern frontiers of the country and further reaching up to the southernmost portions of Assam. The total population in this language family is about 3.2 million where there are as many as 226 names of mother tongues which have been enumerated in 1961.

On scrutiny, it has tentatively been considered that about 98 languages are in existence in India and they are mostly oral which has no script or are available in written form.[107] The most famous speakers are Meithei-Manipuri, Boro, Garo, Tripuri, Lushai, Miri, Abor etc. This has again two subfamalies (i) Siamese-Chinese and (ii) Tibeto-Bhutan. Tibeto-Bhutan subfamily is further divided into (a) Tibeto-Himalayan and (b) Assam-Burmese branch. The speakers of the Tibeto-Chinese family as a whole, are : Bhotia Lahuli, Bhutani, Balti, Boro, Mech, Garo, Koch, Rabha, Mikir, Naga, Manipuri, Miri, Abor, Dafla, Aka, Mishmi, Nokte etc. Many of these languages and dialects have influenced surrounding Indo-Aryan languages like Assamese, Bengali, Nepali, Hindi, or Punjabi.[108]

The Dravidian language family has a total speakers of more than 107 million. This family embraces four major regional language areas of the South India i.e. Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam. They together account for 95.58 per cent of the total number of Dravidian speakers in the country and of the four great Dravidian languages, Tamil appears to have preserved its Dravidian character best.[109]

The Indo-European language family embraces by far the largest number of human beings on the earth. In India, this great family is represented by its sub-families. According to 1961 census approximately 322 million speakers are accounted in this language family which is about 73.3 per cent of the entire population of India. Out of the 14 major languages approved by the Constitution of the Republic of India, 10 including Sanskrit come within the orbit of the Indo-Aryan subfamily. This subfamily is again divided into 3 branches, (i) Iranian (ii) Dardin and (iii) Aryan. The first is representated by Persian, Pashto, Balochi and are considered of foreign origin ; the next is represented by Kafir, Dard, and Khowar which has the strength of about 2 million speakers, and the third is represented by the largest number of languages, such as (i) North-western group including Lahnda or Western Punjabi dialects and Sindhi, (ii) Southern-group including Marathi and Konkani ; (iii) Eastern-group including, Assamese,

107. Linguistic Survey Report by the office of the Registrar General of India, New Delhi.

108. ibid.

109. Nigam R. C. op. cit.

TABLE IV-A

Genetic relationship of Indo-Aryan Languages

Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic, Early Sanskrit)*

(A) Spoken dialects of OIA						(B) Literary forms of OIA & MIA
Western and North Western	South Western	Midland	Eastern		Northern	Southern	Classical Sanskrit Buddhist Sanskrit Pali The Literary Prakrits & Apabhramshas
[Kekaya, Vracada 'Gandhari'] Hindki ; Sindhi ; Eastern Punjabi (Strongly influenced by Midland)	[Avanti, Saurastri etc.] Gujarati, Rajasthani, Malavi (strongly influenced by Midland)	[Sauraseni] Western Hindi (Khari-Boli Hindusthani or Hindi-Urdu) Braj-bhasa Kanauji Bundeli	[Ardha-Magadhi] Kosali (or Eastearn Hindi Awadhi, Bagheli, Chattisgarlic) Halbi	[Magdhi] Bhojpuri Maithili Magahi Oriya Bengali Assamese	[Khasa] Pahari or Himalayan speeches (strongly influenced by Midland)	[Maharastri] Marathi Konkani	

*Source : The Gazeeteer of India, 1965.

The next table will speak of the State-wise major speakers of language in contemporary India :

TABLE

State-wise major speakers

State	Assamese	Bengali	Gujarati	Hindi	Kannada	Kashmiri
Andhra Pradesh	122	3,346	20,467	136,069	381,860	104
Assam	6,784,271	2,061,533	712	511,818	206	41
Bihar	224	1,164,041	20,068	20,567,755	674	186
Gujarat	37	3,393	18,671,562	192,279	5,192	122
J. & K. State	5	400	79	22,323	14	1,896,149
Kerala	14	670	6,927	7,327	62,068	17
M. P.	595	52,813	127,613	21,686,140	4,454	552
Madras	70	2,498	17,929	38,974	853,211	89
Maharastra	272	29,114	1,067,509	1,088,927	629,583	658
Mysore	121	2,583	27,944	81,500	15,361,051	23
Orissa	—	125,687	9,436	174,011	584	2
Panjab	1,196	4,811	1,852	11,297,838	604	8,124
Rajasthan	71	8,807	41,833	650,554	371	317
U. P.	303	104,528	12,831	62,442,721	1,527	1,316
W. B.	8,279	29,408,246	25,707	1,894,039	683	99

Source : The Gazetteer of India 1965, Appendix VI.

There are recognisable geographical bands where there are more than 1000 ratio, a curious pattern, except for eastern Madhya Pradesh and Bihar largely on It will be seen sex ratio is appreciably lower in north of latitude 22° than south of it.

IV-B

of languages of India, 1961

Malayalam	Marathi	Oriya	Punjabi	Sanskrit	Tamil	Telugu	Urdu
23,348	276,968	189,497	10,125	25	434,713	30,932,257	2,553,753
2,204	5,452	145,488	8,938	—	4,501	19,786	11,263
7,559	5,074	302,951	70,988	129	16,177	37,214	4,149,245
7,709	191,200	379	14,627	99	13,264	10,542	594,538
156	226	26	109,174	3	349	172	12,445
16,065,468	18,570	59	1,147	7	527,613	44,838	9,160
19,816	860,318	304,297	103,291	384	26,173	55,824	740,098
399,206	51,431	399	3,473	117	28,011,099	3,363,579	615,503
90,459	30,233,034	3,383	101,317	82	159,396	623,803	2,725,689
290,586	1,056,498	252	5,336	125	854,227	2,044,249	2,034,481
4,832	1,084	14,434,887	6,966	—	6,918	393,453	212,891
6,387	4,851	532	8,336,787	124	6,789	2,410	255,660
2,213	9,183	1,408	401,115	31	3,443	1,181	509,654
7,715	14,466	1,355	345,181	1,330	12,399	4,530	7,891,710
8,320	13,239	212,890	12,398	14	32,663	80,930	832,847

females per 1,000 males. If districts and States are arranged according to sex account of their tribal populations, will seem to emerge on either side of latitude 22° This is reflected also in the sex ratio of urban areas in the north and south.

Bengali, Oriya, and Bihari language speeches of Maithili, Magahi, and Bhojpuri, and (iv) Central group including the broad Hindi language areas of Awadhi and Chhatisgarhi, Hindi area of Delhi and Western Uttar Pradesh including Urdu, Khari Boli, Hindusthani, Bangru, Brah, Bhakha, Kanuji, Bundeli, Punjabi, Dogri, Gujarati and Rajasthani speeches like Marwari, Nepali, Garhwali, Kumaun, Chameli, Mandeali, Kului, Mahasu and Sirmaui and so on are also grouped with this language family.

The Old Indo-Aryan language family may be summarised in the form of a table showing the genetic relationship of Indo-Aryan languages. (See Table IV-A and IV-B).

The Dravidian languages form a family by themselves and belong to the class of speeches known as "Agglutinative" i.e. the word is made up of a root which comes at the head or beginning, and the root is followed by one or more terminations. Structurally, Dravidian languages agree with other language groups outside India—the Ural-Altaic (Turkish, Mongal, Manchu, Finn, Eath, Lapp, Hungarian) and the North-East Asian languages (like Japanese, Korean, Ainu, Khamchadal and Yukaghir"[110] Recent investigations in culture-areas reveal that the area occupied by distinct languages are not coterminus with the culture areas. And the cultural relationship may be based not merely on linguistic affinities but other things, such as religion etc., are equally important. Thus we are placing under a note on religion. Religion in India is inseperable with the life of Indian men and women. It is especially important for the womenfolk of the country. The life of Indian women is inconceivable without religion. Used with full understanding it can become one of her life's biggest supports.

Religion :

Religion plays an important part in the life of the Indians. That India is a land of tolerance is not only proved by the co-existence of various religious sects or groups but also from the fact that even after the partition of the country in 1947 on the basis of religion—Hinduism and Islam—there are over 50 million Muslims in India.

Needless to remember that men and women of different groups are linked by communications and contacts and undergoing changes. From this process modern men and women have become a mixture of numerous ancient and contemporary types. This explains, to a considerable extent, why men and women of different races are found in one biological whole. Thus men and women of all the races are

110. Chatterjee S. K. and Katre, S. M. op. cit.

dependent to each other. No section can be survived by ignoring the other.

It is well known that in the formation of the man and woman and their bodies, there are certain glands, the serum of which are circulated through vain. This process has great role in the shaping to human body, their minds and nature. In this way, a woman gets sweet voice, becomes affectionate to human being, nature and other things. Along with her body structure, she develops finer tastes, efficacious character and certain womanish interests, which are exclusively her own. She, by virtue of nature's gift, is intended to be soft, tender-hearted, sympathetic to mother and children. These things influence her to a great extent unconsciously. So she becomes emotional. She is the embodiment of sacrifice and suffering. As a mother, she is most delightful. Taking blessings and inspiration from her, whatever works a man undertakes, succeeds. Thus, a man is delighted being able to get her touch, her good wishes. From her he acquires ability to work and becomes active with her power is the conception of India.

Women are superior to men in beauty and loveliness. Physically men are stronger and powerful than women.[111] Women are best in tending to bring prosperity, they are the combination of Lakshmi and Saraswati, Goddesses of Wealth and Learning when men are superior in intelligence, they symbolize Brahma, Lord of the Lords. Every woman has great feelings. She is kind hearted so she has acquired the position of a wife, which according to the Hindu idea means *sahadharmini* or *ardhangini* or half of the body. It is like the negative and positive wire, the conjunction of the two brings the current of the light. The man and woman both together create human society through their conjugal relations. When one is mild, the other is hard ; one manages the other in the family and society life. Thus man and woman together lead a happy family which is the source for the prosperity of a nation. So Indian philosophers preferred to call man and woman as *purusa* and *prakriti* respectively.

Nevertheless there is bifurcation. Whilst both are fundamentally one, it is also equally true that in the body form there are a vital differences between the two. Hence the vocation of the two must also be different. The duty of motherhood, which women will always undertake, requires such qualities that man need not posses. She is passive, he is active. Such is the mistress of the house and without her care the race must become extinct. We have many abuses in our midst, moral,

111. Tagore, Rabindranath, *Rabindra Rachanabali*, part 13. Published by the Govt. of West Bengal, Calcutta 1368-1373 B.S.

social, economic and political.[112] They require patient study, projected research and sober judgment.

In our present-day society, we find a constructively developing materialist concept, that is why, there is endeavour after endeavour to know each other from minute details. When we examine the position and stutus of women of India from the point of view of living religions survived, we find that each and every religion has its fundamental approach to their women. And by their nature and teachings we can study the character of the womenfolk. Some have greater aptitude than other for expressing themselves in religious matters when others seem to be materialistic. They all have created problems peculiar to their own characters and set-ups. So far as Hinduism is concerned which is the chief religion of India, it is full with receptivity and all comprehensiveness.

The following table contains speakers of major religions in India according to 1961 census. It shows that India has no difficulty in bringinging diverse faiths within its widening fold.

TABLE V

State-wise Population of major religions, 1961

States/Country	Buddhists	Christians	Hindus	Jains	Muslims	Sikhs
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
India	3,256,036	10,728,086	366,526,866	2,027,281	46,940,799	7,845,915
A. P.	6,753	1,428,729	31,813,944	9,012	2,715,201	8,563
Assam	36,513	764,553	7,884,921	9,468	2,765,509	9,686
Bihar	2,885	502,195	39,345,517	17,598	5,785,631	44,413
Gujarat	3,185	91,028	18,356,065	409,754	1,745,103	9,646
J & K.	48,360	2,848	1,013,193	1,427	2,432,067	63,069
Kerala	228	3,587,365	10,282,568	2,967	3,027,639	822
M. P.	113,365	188,314	30,425,798	247,927	1,317,617	65,715
Madras	777	1,762,954	30,927,115	28,350	1,560,414	2,567
Maharastra	2,789,501	560,594	32,530,901	485,672	30,34,332	57,617
Mysore	9,770	487,587	20,582,853	174,366	2,328,376	3,287
Orissa	454	201,017	17,123,194	2,294	265,319	5,030
Punjab	14,857	149,834	12,930,045	48,754	393,314	6,769,129
Rajasthan	759	22,864	18,132,690	409,417	1,314,613	274,198
U. P.	12,893	101,641	62,437,316	122,108	10,788,089	283,737
W. B.	112,253	204,530	27,523,358	26,940	6,985,287	34,184

Source : Gazetter of India, 1965.

It is the idea of some philosophers that men, women and religions

112. Gandhi, M. K. *Women and Social injustice*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1942.

have mutual need for each other. Their range and varieties are remarkable in India and they have manifested themselves in great many forms. They contain not only much that is crude, unintelligible, and rational, but also much that is noble, idealistic, inspiring, and enduring. The apparant chaos or confusion of rites, rituals, beliefs, practices, superstitions, etc. do not represent the country or the nation as a whole or even the majority of religion. It is both personal and impersonal, conservation and destruction, belief and disbelief, as well as it has the universal element of faith. Faith creats facts. Facts enrich religion. In India, religion is meant no formal dogma embodied in an institution but the realization and appropriation of God. This is to be achieved through *sadhana,* devotion and practice.

Religion can be explained as a revelation ; it is an experience, and demands nothing less than the ultimate unification of life on which order it has its own supreme contact. It treats death as a chapter of life in itself. That is why, *dharma,* as a concept, in India, is the essence of religion. Whatever upholds life or its value is religion.[113] The word *dharma*[114] has perhaps a more clear concept than the term religion. It is, according to Indian thought, that which accomplished the wellbeing of mankind here as well as hereafter. It leads to the

113. Religion and 'dharma' are almost interchangeable expressions. Dharma is nothing but the basic principles of right conduct. The word 'dharma' is derived from the root 'dhr', to hold, means that which sustains a thing and maintains it in being. Every form of lives every group of men has its 'dharma' which is the law of its being. Indian masters, therefore, have divided syllabi of studies into four major divisions (1) *Dharma*—Law and Equality ; (2) *Artha*—Politico-Economic Sciences ; (3) *Karma*—Enjoyment of life ; and (4) *Moksha*—Renouncing desire to find emancipation. These elements were shared under different nomenclatures by the orthodox as well as the heterodox teachers of India.

114. The term 'dharma' as described by Monier Williams is "that which is firmly established, steadfast, decrees....ordinance, laws, virtue, morality, and religion" (Sanskrit English Dictionary, Oxford). Radhakrishnan says "Dharma gives coherence and direction to different activities of life. It is the complete rule of life, the harmony of the whole man who finds a right and just law of his living. Each man and group, each activity and sour, mind, life, and body has its *dharma*" (Eastern Religion and Western Thought, London). Three different pathways are open to us for attaining this aim, namely, *'jnana'* or wisdom, *'bhakti'* or devotion and *'karma'* or service. The theory of 'karma' is closely linked with the theory of 'punar janma' or re-birth. These are not exclusive but emphasize the dominent aspect only. Since dharma is trans individual, no social contact is necessary, harmony is attained when everyone follows his own *dharma.* According to Aristotle man "may not be good citizen by nature", but according to Hindu tradition, man's essence being a part of the universal spirit, he can dissolve the conflict by remembering his own *dharma* and achieve the identity of a good man and a good citizen. The equilibrium established by *dharma* rests on the interdependence of all individuals who have to realise their rights and responsibilities.

way of life which is loving towards all living beings. It covers all morality, art, science and philosophy but transcends them all. It is action which includes contemplation and meditation that generate action. The bond that links the religious mind throughout the length and breadth of the land is *sakti,* which finds its spontaneous expression in *bhajan* or *kirtan* or religious love lyrics.

Among all the great religions of the world there is none more catholic, more assimilative than the mass of beliefs which go to make up what is popularly known as Hinduism. In its earlier stages Hinduism was known as Brahmanism, which in course of many centuries, has gone through changes and reformations. To what was probably its original form nature worship in a large degree introduced by the Aryan missionaries has been added an enormous amount of demonolatry, fetishism and kindred forms of primitive religion, much of which has been adopted from different races. The Aryan people were nature worshipper. But all the elements of nature worship which exist in India today are not the contribution of these people alone. The different races which inhabited the land before the advent of the Aryans also adorned the different phenomena of the nature in some way or other.[115] The subsequent Hindu religion did not follow the entirety of the Vedic tradition which was carried by the Aryans, was transformed to Neo-Hinduism. Therefore, the character of the nature worship in India possesses diverse elements which are at time irreconcilable. Sometime the Vedic nature cult has merged into the alien cultures though instances of independent borrowing are there.[116]

Nature-worship in one form or another is the first entirely clear emergence of a religion which adores. In nature-worship men began with what they saw first and knew best. Heaven, Earth, Rain, Thunder, Water, Sea, Fire, Sun and Moon furnishes humanity's first pantheon.[117] The Rain-god has always been sure of worshippers. Because rain fertilises the land. Cloud-god, Thunder-god, Wind-god come up together, fill the zenith with their tumult and disappear. But the Sun dies not, disappears not, and it has all that contains firmament.[118] These forces of the upper air thus tend to become the

115. Atkins, Gaius Glenn and Charls Samuel Braden *Procession of the Gods*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 3rd rev. edn. 1948.

116. Ayer, C. P. Ramswami *Fundamenatls of Hindu Faith and Culture*, Madras, 1959.

117. Atkins, Gaius Glenn et al, op. cit.

118. The sun-god changed its name from place to place but never essentially changed its nature. The comrades of the sun in the sky becomes the comrades of sun-god in temples and shrines. The belief is universal that ruling families have descended from the sun.

ministers of a vaster, more inclusive divinity; the Sky-god absorbs them all.

Earth-worship is as old as sky. While Father Sky was a longway off, Mother Earth was left friendly and near. Earth-worship shades of into border regions which tax the learning and interpretative ingenuity of specialists.[119] Then there is tree-worship, it is a kind of primitve worship. There has been a marvelous growth of mythology,[120] folklore and poetry on tree-worship. Tree worship has been intimately associated with serpent-worship. All these we have seen in our earlier works like that of the "Rain in Indian Life and Lore," 1963, and the "Tree Symbol Worship in India", 1966 and in other's works and dissertations. It should not be out of place to mention that the popular elements are not arbitrary or isolated facts but are based on deep-rooted historic basis. They hint forgotten age when life was so different from ours.

We quote Asutosh Bhattacharya in this connection who while discussing the basis of Bengali folk culture said "The different races of humanity which entered India in pre-historic times by the North-East of this sub-continent must have had passed through Bengal at one time. It can however be easily imagined that they not only passed through this country, but also lived in it until they were driven out of their settlements subsequently by more powerful invading races because Bengal has got her natural attraction. In medieval India there was a saying which meant that there was a way in, but no way out of Bengal. This was also true in pre-historic times....It only naturally follows that each race left its own mark not only physical but also cultural which collectively formed the basis of the future higher culture. This is the reason why so many variants, sometimes antagonistic to one another, occur in the elements of subsequent cultural life of Bengal. It will be seen that sun-god is worshipped here in not only half a dozen names and characters, but also in the same number of different methods,.... ..Therefore it will be seen that the culture of the people at large of a country which is recognised as civilised verges on primitivism. The average man is a primitive man notwithstanding

119. Atkins, Gaius Glenn and Charles Samuel Braden op. cit.

120. Myth is not symbolic, it is a direct expression of the subject matter, a narrative resurrection of a primeaval reality told in satisfaction of deep religious wants, moral carvings, social submissions, assertions, even practical requirements said by Malinowsky in his book entitled "Myth in Primitive Psychology", London, 1926. Myth is then a form of thought rather than intution, it is somewhat akin to meaningful dream experience. A mythical phenomena means materialization of some event or metamorphosis of some concrete material form as it is called in the Vedic mythology.

his vanity of civilization. . . . It will be seen from the study of folk-culture how the higher Hindu gods representing abstract qualities of different aspects of spiritual life have been converted to answer the day-to-day practical needs of Bengalee rural folk. The supreme god in primitive religion is no abstract idea, but a physical being who renders the greatest practical service to humanity. This is illustrated by Siva, the Supreme God of the Bengalee peasants. Though the nomenclature of the God has been borrowed from higher Hinduism, it has little or no bearing upon the ideals of any higher religious doctrine.

Notwithstanding the wide prevalence of caste system, imported through higher Hindusm, the folk religion of Bengal has contributed a great deal in maintaining her social integrity. People irrespective of caste and creed assemble in the same congregation to offer worship to the deities representing serpent, tiger, small pox, cholera etc."[121]

The growth and development of Hinduism is found in the sacred books. The Vedas, which consist of over a thousand hymns, addressed to many nature Gods. The next stage in the development of Hinduism is representated by the Brahmanas, which are commentaries on the Vedas and in them nature worship is gradually transformed into a complex and theistic vision of the universe.[122] The third stage revealed in the Upanishads, which were written down in books but were still reserved for an inner circles of the upper castes. Though Hinduism has developed through many changes since the creation of the Rigveda, some of its basic ideas and beliefs have remained constant throughout the centuries in all the religious sects and groups. As for example, the Vaishnavas of the south and north, and Saktas, Saivas etc. sects of the great Hindu religion believe in one Supreme God of love and grace. They also believe in the individuality of every soul, believe in the salvation through *bhakti* and reverence to the Guru. All these, it is no wonder, have great influence in the formation of characters of Hindu men and women.

One finds an appropriate formula for everything. Every kind of disease, bad dreams, evil eye, to win one's love, to strengthen any failing power for children and the power to beget them as well as for compelling and stopping of rain, the lucky face of the dire, good work or sin, there are code of conduct. Here there are some wholly immoral association of every possible need and deed with some supernatural power. They are outstanding characteristic of Hindu religion. It invests every aspect of Hindu life and living. There are

121. Bhattacharya, Asutosh, "The Basis of Bengali Folk Culture", *Folklore* Calcutta, January-February, 1960.

122. Atkins, Gaius Glenn and Charles Samuel Braden op. cit.

Hindu beliefs that there are gods in everything. The influence of outstanding teachers and leaders has often redirected the currents of leaders. Therefore, we see the appearance of Jainism.

Ahimsa, 'no-injury' or 'reverence of life' is the key word of Jainism. The fundamental assumptions are *nirvan* and Right Conviction, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct. Naturally the men and women of this faith are more religious minded who are wealthy too as well. They come mainly from the business community and have been treated here.

Everybody knows that history of India is a history of congruity and cohesion from Vedic age to Buddhist period. Buddhist period is now known as an ancient period of India. India's history has gradually been much complicated than what it was in the earlier periods. The real history of India can be had from the social and religious study.

Buddhist period is the golden age of Indian history. It is placed in between the Vedic period and Brahmanic period. In the ancient period there were frequent clashes with the people and each group was jealous to the other. In the pre-historic period proto-Australoid people spread their culture far and wide through Indian and Pacific Oceans. In those days war happened in close succession for everything. They also were engaged in interstate disputes. The Bhil women, who belong to the aboriginal group of people and claims themselves as one of the early settlers of India, were found helping their husbands in facing enemies. They also participated in wars armed with slings which we know from T. B. Mukherjee's book "Interstate Relations in Ancient India", 1967. It is during the Buddhist period that the kind wars, battles and conflicts were channelised to one direction owing to the approach of oneness of Buddhism. The evils of war like bloodshed, treachery, arson, loot and other inhuman activities got a check from the natural reaction against war and a yearning for peace. In the Brahmanic period enemies created dissensions amongst allies. Taking some aspect of Rigvedic civilisation and Buddhist ideas the pan-Hindu civilization come into existence.[123] There

123. Mohenjodaro and Harappa were highly developed civilization in 3rd millionium B.C. During the period of Vedic civilization people lived on agriculture and cattle breading, supplemented with hunting. Later on Aryans infiltrated into the fertile soil of India and formed tribunal states. There were disputes then on such issues as cattle, water-right, women etc. Nevertheless, idea in regard to peace and amity was also found there in Rigveda. In the Brahmanic age enemies created dissensions amongst allies. In order to disunite them some Aryan joined non-Aryan against Aryans. In the Ramayana period there was bid for universal sovereignty. In the Mahabharata times the concept of sovereignty was clear. In Dharmashastra's time dynamics of expansion took place. In the age of Purana hostilites came into existence. At the time of Buddha India was divided into a

are gulf of difference between the Vedic period and Brahmanic period in rities, rituals, behaviours and practices. The idea of universal soveriegnty was felt from the craving of peace, progress and prosperity which lead some individual or group to live amicably and peacefully. But the idea of expansion and preservation of one's territory along with expansion of one's self was there.

The period between Pusymitra of the Sunga Dynasty and Harsavardhana of Kanauj—185 B.C. to A.D. 648—may be aptly called the period of Vedic renaissance. On the cultural plane Patanjali heralds Brahmanic period and Sankracharya terminated it. The Buddhist culture that had entered a defensive phase with Kaniska on the political plane and Nagarjuna and Asvaghosa on the cultural plane began to show signs of decadence with the rise of the Guptas.[124]

The Gupta period marked by religious toleration of all faiths, creeds and cults. The pro-Brahmanic kings not only encouraged Buddhism along with Sakta and Durga cults but also others with the same amount of regard they had for their own. This catholicity, noble in itself, resulted in the growth of sectarianism within Hinduism repercussions of which later proved fatal to Hindu culture. Some of the sects and cults that emerged in this period sanctioned indulgences—wine, meat and women as sacred. It had at its helm libertine bhikhus and by the transformation of Mahayana into Mantrayana and later into Vajrayana which, in the line with Tantricism, extolled sex indulgence.[125]

Buddhism is a religion of introspection, rennuciation and compassion. In no other religion of the world so much strain is laid of the duty to find peace in one's own mind which is also effective for the women belonging to Buddhism and this we will see later.

About 1000 A.D. the followers of Mohammad, using the Pass which the Aryans trod atleast 2000 years before them, invaded India and spread throughout the Peninsula. These people canvassed and caused

number of petty principalities and there was no strong government. Thus Buddha's clarion call for being united in one principal was partial successful. The Indus valley civilization discloses types of thoughts and culture which might have been the foreunner of later developments which came to be known as Hinduism at a much later age. The link between Vedism and the great epics and Puranas may be said to be slender, not only in the spheres of mythology and religion, but also in several other domains. It may be that Vedism, which was mostly priest-ridden culture was grafts later on the prevailing types of religious thought. The bond between mythico-religious consciousness and linguistic thought is that the verbal structures appears as entities endowed with mythical power.

124. Altekar, A. S. op. cit.

125. Ibid.

to cover larger surface for Mohammadism in India and there are considerable number of the believers of their religion. It is the Arabs who first introduced Islam in India. The Islamic conquest, began with the conquest of Sindh by Mohammad bin Kasim in A.D. 712. The impact of Islam became serious with the installation of Muslim power by Shahabuddin Ghori in A.D. 1193. It assumed a threatening and everpowering force to Hindu culture under Allaudin Khilji in the early 14th century, when Islam began to unfold and expand in India. Its universal quality is expressed in the belief that it is an eternal religion. This religion announces that there is no God, but *Allah* and its development was within the historical period.[126] Their attitude towards the womenfolk was materialistic. It is they who popularised *purdah* system in India. More details on it will be had later.

The Hindu catholicity had divided the Hindus into various sectarian groups, none of which had the strength to unite. The growing rigidity of the caste-groups tended to accentuate exclusiveness under the spell of which the Hindus failed to evaluate the danger of Islam. In a word, Hindu reactions to the Islamic conquest were retreat, despair and defeatism. The despairing spirit of the Hindus on the one hand sought consolation in the philosophy which taught the nothingness of life, and, on the other, revealed in the erotic devotional songs on the lives of Radha and Krishna or Krishna and the Gopis. This defeatist attitude, helped to bear the cruelty of social system in hide-bound restrictions. On the other hand the Brahmanic attitude towards the lower-castes forced the latter to embrace Islam. These new converts to Islam proved to be more ferocious and more tyrannous to Hindu culture than were the Muslims themselves. Still then they have adopted certain local customs, superstitions etc. which have seperated them from their brethern of the land of origin of religion. So we have included an article on Muslim women and not on the native Christians.

After the Muslim conquest a few intrepid Zorostrain sought refuge in India who are known as Parsis. Polygamy is allowed among them as it is also permitted with the Muslims. Purity in thoughts, words, and deeds, implies the wills to do good, and to made men botter fiitted to contribute happiness of human society are their motto.

In the later part of the fifteenth century Guru Nanak organised a movement which has since come to be known as Sikh movement. Like Islam, it is monotheistic and non-idolartous in its worship and somewhat akin to it in the militancy which made it for a time strong contender for the rule of all India. Sikhism has also developed out of

126. Gaer, Joseph *The Wisdom of the Living Religions*, Skeffington, London, 1958.

Hinduism with a distinct belief in Guru. It does not renounce worldly activities. A Sikh believes implicity in teachings of the Guru. Their service comprises the ringing of bells, blare instruments, chantings of hymns and waving of lights before Adi Granth. An article on Sikh women is added here which will speak of their womenfolk.

From the nineteenth century onward there appeared all over India a number of Hindu saints who tried to preach equality of all, irrespective of caste or creed. These saints, who were devout worshippers of personal God, Rama or Gauranga, had immense appeal for the masses. As these saints came from different castes, including Sudras, and at times even untouchables, distinctions of castes seemed to recede into the background for the timebeing. Again, they not only accepted the social order which recognised social injustice in terms of caste and sex, but being devout Hindus submitted themselves to persecution in the name of that social order. They were also absorbed with the goal of attaining oneness with life on earth. They did not bother about the rightness or wrongness of the social order in which they were brought up and which they were taught to accept as sacrosant. A critical reader will find more facts on Hindu women here.

The modern age of exploration and expansion took Christianity in its Roman Catholic form into India. The beginning of the nineteenth century saw a much more vigorous penetration by Protestant Christianity. This meeting of Christianity and Hinduism produced a number of new movements which while considered still to be within Hinduism, nevertheless, bear many characteristics of the imported Christain faith. Most notable of these were *Brahma Samaj* of Bengal which was founded by Raja Rammohun Roy in 1833.

All these different religious faiths and movements including the teachings of the prevailing folk religion among the vast majority of Indian masses have made the status and position of India's women complicated and varied. By the word Indian women, we mean the women of different castes, communities, sects and linguistic groups who practice different forms of religious faiths and perform such rites and rituals that are sanctioned either by their respective religious faiths or by folk religion. Then by the term'Indian women' one should not accept the women of upper class only, it also include the women of the lower classes, who helped their men in crafts like spining, weaving, making of baskets and could do out door work side by side with male members of the family in the field, factory or elsewhere.

(To be continued)

Notice

The page no. of the first forma of this issue will be 275 to 282 instead of what have been printed there.

S. S. BHATTACHARYA

THE MIZO WAREARE

It is a contribution for better understanding to the Mizo Warfare in recent times. The contributor has made field investigation and the fruits of that research is seen in the present paper. Until now the Mizo problem have been but scarcely appreciated. The contributor has given hints to some points which should be considered before taking decisions and it would also be necessary to make further observations to decide how far the point raised by the contributor stands right.

'Hit and run' is the secret of the warfare of the tribes of the Mizo Hills district, especially the Lushais—now known as the Mizos. The Mizos, some of whom have recently gone hostile by repeating their old tactics of atrocity, have consequently been successful to draw the attention of the security forces of India, possess the qualities of a war-like people as they are physically well-built, sturdy and hardworking people. The warfare of the Mizos may be termed as guerilla or skirmish in the hills and jungles where the Mizos take advantage from the local conditions and physical features for the tactics of their stategy. The land of the Mizos is characterized by rough mountain slopes and dissected by countless torrents and rivulets. The Valleys made by these streams are covered by a thick growth of monsoon jungle in which ferocious wild animals and insects are found in abundance. All these factors exert immense influence on the character of the Mizos. Incumbent by the natural surroundings, the Mizos build their houses on the top of the mountain ridges which are sometimes fortified by stockades of heavy bamboo-logs and other fancing material. Furthermore, the state of continuous insecurity and constant struggle against the odds has made the Mizos stubborn and aggressive and these have added peculiar wit to their technique and tactics of warefare.

For numerous causes, the Mizos launch war against their enemy. It is not always the dislike of any tribe or its actions that lead the Mizos to indulge in violent activities but sometimes an internal quarrel with a tribe or for the fulfilment of a selfish desire is sufficient for their assault and outrages. According to O'Malley "A private quarrel with a neighbouring clan, a scarcity of women and domestic servants,

and the consequent necessity of procuring a requisite number of captives to supply the wants of the tribes, the simple desire of plunder or of obtaining heads to grace the obsequises of some departed chieftain, were the principal causes which led to the commission of these raids."

After planning the place and time of a war, the leader of the tribes, sends his spear or a wand or a fighting *dao* (a long, broad and uncovered sword) with different indications on it from village to village to collect his men. The signs on these objects are so meanigful that they serve as indicators to the tribesmen as to what kind of war they are going to wage, what weapons they should carry with them and what punishment would be falling on them if they defy the order or make themselves absent. Lewin, T. H., a vetern on the Mizo's warfare, elaborating a detail description on the different methods adopted by the chief to collect his men mentions that "to collect his people, or impact to authenticate any order, the chief's spear, which is usually covered and ornamented is sent by a messenger from village to village. *dao*, to which a piece of red cloth is attached. Another method is by the *'phurori'*, which is a species of wand made out of strips of peeled bamboo, about two inches long in this shap. If the tips of the cross pieces be broken, a demand for black-mail is indicated; a rupee to be levied for each break. If the end of one of the cross-pieces is charred it implies urgency, and that the people are to come even by torch-light. If a capsicum be fixed on to the 'phurori', it signifies that disobedience to the order will meet with punishment as severe as the capsicum is hot. If the cross-piece is of cane, it means that disobedience will entail corporal punishment."

The tribes as soon as see the messenger of their chief with the indicators begin to assemble at the latter's court. If the message be a hostile one, i.e., the chief wants a raid to be carried on to the enemy. the people come with their arms, such as flint-licks, tower-muskets, spears, daos, bows, arrows, panjis (bamboo spikes) and the guns. The Mizos used to have the guns through their raids on the British officials and subjects.

Before starting for a raid each man is provided with his food consisting of cooked rice, to continue for several days, the people ran down their food very tightly into pices of bamboo, so that it may not be wasted on the way of their march. They carry their water in a section of bamboo. They cut the bamboo just above one joint and just below the joint a hole is made and cut the bamboo at the next joint. They plug the bamboo with a roll of leaves so that the water may not come out through the hole.

In this way, after full preparations, the Mizos set out for their

warfare or raids. The raiding party consists of a chief, his sons and the men-folk of the tribes. No women and children are included in the party. The party, very cautiously, walk during the darkness of the night and passing through the deep jungles and difficult and different terrains reach their destination before the dawn. The Mizos never advance openly. They send forward their scouts to make sure the unawareness of their enemy. If the enemy is found alert, the Mizo quickly retreat without attack. Otherwise, the Mizos surround the place of their attack and advance on the enemy. The chief always remain behind and shouts 'forward', 'forward'. The men quickly fall on their enemy and ransaking the village, killing the men, women and children, then hurriedly retreat with as much loot as possible along with the captives mostly the damsels and boys. The raid is carried out so rapidly that sometimes the chief does not get a chance to kill any of his enemies by his own hands.

After the raid, the raiding party in fear of any organised attack by the enemy walk on as fast as possible and never stops until the destination is reached. They also stop after the completion of 48 hours' journey. If any one of the captives cannot keep pace with them, he or she is killed on the way and his or her head is being carried away to the village for ornamentation.

The chief of the raiding party after reaching his village orders for a grand festival to celebrate the success of the raid. The festival starts with the killing of a captive by the chief's son to prove his bravery. In this celebration, generally, the women captives are not killed, but most of the men captives are slaughtered, and the rest are kept alive as slaves.

Another characteristic of the warfare of the Mizos' is ambush. The Mizos make the ambush, generally by the side of the road or path through which they expect their enemy. The ambush is so serious that the Mizos get their enemy, sometimes, quite unprepared, and then making a great slaughter on them and loot disappear quickly down the hills through the deep jungle ignoring all sorts of danger. Lt. Col. Shakespear giving his experience of the ambush observes that "these ambushes were always arranged below the road, where the ground fell away very sharply, and, having fired, the brave fellows hurled themselves down the hill ignoring all cuts and scratches in their anxiety to escape."

Sometimes, the Mizos put spikes on the way of their enemy. They make the spikes from the bamboo and closely fix them on the ground so that the pointed tips of the spikes remain two inches to a few feet above the ground. The Mizos drive their enemy towards these spikes

and kill every one of them as the latter cannot move forward through the pointed and poisonous spikes.

The only thing the Mizos fear mostly is an artillery atack on them. During the British rule in India, the Mizos carried out their countless attacks on the British officials and subjects, but they could not oppose strongly any of the British military expeditions that entered into their hills and punished them heavily as they always feared the heavy-hands.

With the introduction of the guns and Missionaries in the Mizo Hills district the whole strategy of the Mizos' warfare has gone under tremendous changes. This transformation from savage to modern has occurred during the past few years. The guns have added fresh strength to their power, and the Missionaries have provided them new hope and illusions to maintain it.

From the observations made above it becomes crystal clear that the Mizos, with their tacties and strategy, are not expected at all to fight out the security forces in the Mizo Hills district. Then how is that the Mizos still hold command over a large part of the Mizo Hills district against the wishes of the security forces? In searching out the matter it becomes evident that it is neither the guns nor Missionaries but Pakistanis, Communists and Chinese indulgence and sympathies to the cause of the rebel Mizos that are mainly responsible for the continued conflict. It is an open secret that the Mizos are getting intensive military training centres such as Kasalong, Barkal, Bandarban and Rumaguard with the headquarters at Rangamati, all in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, which the Pakistan Government wants, to bargain with the rebel Mizos for its present support to the later. In these training centres, the Mizos get adequate training for the artillery and guerilla warfare with the modern and autometic weapons. After completing the training the Mizos smuggle the weapons into their own centres by giving slips to the security forces. Until this secret flow of arms to the Mizo is not stopped; the entire boundary of the Mizo Hills district is not sealed off; identify cards are not issued to all the people of the Mizo Hills district and other scientific methods and deviced (see my paper 'Strategy of the Mizo Hills District) are not taken to stop the illegal boundary crossing; the security forces will never have the upperhands to deal strongly with the warfare in the Mizo Hills district.

READ

HUMAN EVENTS

every month

3, British Indian Street, Calcutta-1.

SOME MOHAMMADAN CUSTOMS

SOME Mohammadan customs are described here. These are ancient customs but a great many of these are still available among the Musalmans at Muzaffarpur and its neighbourhood in Bihar. No doubt, owing to rapid change some of these customs have and are getting changed and modified. The customs traeated here are as old as the Musalman race. Similar customs have also been recorded in 'North Indian Notes and Querries' as early as 1895.

Recitation of Amin

In a Mahammadan family where there are members who can read and write, it is the fashion, when a child is born, for the teacher of the child's father or of the family to be sent for to say *Amin.* Accordingly, the said teacher brings all the boys from his school to the house where the child has been born, and there they recite aloud some verses, some of which are given below. At the end of each verse all the children in corus shout out with one voice, the word *Amin.* Then the parents or relations give to the teacher such reward as they can afford in money or kind. This practice is not one enjoyed by the law ; it is in the nature of a congratulation and felicitation. There is no fixed month or day for it ; but it is carried out not long after the birth. The verses are these

1. **Hamad ast Khuda re**
   O salwat mustaffa re
   Har mir, har gada re
   Subhan mi rani

   Eng : Praise is for God
   Prayers to the Pure one,
   Let prince and pauper
   Shout "Praise the Lord".

2. **Allah be-nazire**
   Ghaffar, dastgiri
   Sultan be waziri
   Subhan mi rani

   Eng : God He is peerless,
   Forgiving, helpful
   A king without counselor
   Shout "Praise the Lord."

3. **Bubarkar, yar-i-ghar ast,**
   Kan-yar, gham-kusar ast,
   O har ahdae yar ast
   Subhan mi rani

   Eng : Burbarkar, a bosom friend
   He is the sorrow-dispeller,
   Shout "Prealse the Lord".

4. Utmre kin bud adil,
U adal gir o hasil,
U rast nur-nazil,
Subhan mi rani

Eng : Umr, who was just a man
And a claimer of Justice,
Just, given of light
Shout "Praise the Lord"

5. Usman ibni Affan
U jama kard Kuran
Mi-khwand az dil o jan
Subhan mi rani

Eng : Usman son of Aflan
Gathered together the Kuran
Read it with heart and soul
Shout "Praise the Lord."

6. Haidar kin bud safdar
Bar kunad babi khabar
Salar Shah Haidar
Subhan mi rani

Eng : Haidar, who was a hero,
Uproots the gate of knowledge
Salar Shah, the lion-hearted
Shout "Praise the Lord."

7. Rasmi i tarab mihadi
Dast i karm kushadi
Bada hameshah shadi
Bolo, "Hazar amin".

Eng : Start the joyful sounds,
Put forth the hand of mercy,
Be for ever happy
Call aloud "So be it.

8. Ustad ghar par ae
Larkon ko sath lae
Dast-i-du ia uthae
Bolo, "Hazar amin"

Eng : Teacher has come to the door,
With him has brought his boys
Raised his hand to blis
Call aloud "So be it".

9. Khilat mangao bhari
Khatir ho khush hamari
De khne ke khalk sari
Bolo, "Hazar amin"

Eng : Send for *arich* robe
May my heart be gladdened,
Let all the beholders
Called aloud "so be it".

10. Larkah ko dada aen
Tashrif yahan pah laen
Nazaren mere mangaen
Bolo, "Hazar amin"

Eng : The grandfather comes
He honours this spot
He sends for my presents,
Call aloud "so be it".

11. Hathi do, ya kih ghora
Jo kunkh kih do bhi thora
La ashrfi ka tora
Bolo, "Hazar amin."

Eng : Give he an elephant or horse
Whether it be, it is too little
Bringout the bags of gold
Call aloud "so be it".

12. Allah hamen parahate,
Hathi upar charhate
Dushman mera ghatate
Bolo, "Hazar amin."

Eng : It is the Lord that teaches us
Lifts us up to ride on elephants
Brings low my enemy,
Call aloud "so be it".

The Custom of Bismillah

On the day when a child is four years, four months and four days old, the people of the brotherhood, with other relations and friends, are called together through the *Mirasi* (professional singer) or the *Hajam*

(barbar). The message sent is : "At so-and-so's house there is today a *Bism-illah*. Accordingly, at the appointed time, all those invited assemble. The child, having been bathed and clothed in handsome new clothes, is brought into the midst of the gathering. Then some old man of wisdom and learning, makes the child repeat the words "bism-illah, arrahman, ur-rahim" (in the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful). When the child has said the whole of these words, all the company turn to the father, the brother, or other head of the household, and congratulate him. The words of the above *ayat* are engraved on a small tablet of silver, of the weight of one or two rupees. After the child has repeated the words, he hands this tablet, by way of reward, to the old man after whom he has said the words. It is not found that the performence of this ceremoney at the age of four years four months and our days is prescribed the religious laws. But it is possible that the practice arose for the purpose of fixing a day for commencing the child's education. Otherwise, there seems no reason for adhearing to four years, four months and four days exactly. On the day of this ceremony, small presents are also given to the servants and dependents of the house.

Circumcision

Circumcision (*Khatnah*) is incumbent on every male Mohammadan by the law of his religion. It is carried out by all classes. When the boy is seven or eight years of age, a date is fixed and all relations and friends far and near are informed. It is treated as an important ceremony and much trouble and expenses are naturally associated on it Singers and dancers are hired, food is prepared, both for the guests and for distribution is charity. A poor boy is allowed to go about as usual without the wound to heal. It heals in a week or ten days. Rich people and those of the middle classes make elaborate preparations. In the afternoon of the appointed day, all the relations and brethern assemble at the house. A chair is placed on a fixed place and on this the boy is seated. In towns and cities a man who is expert in the operation removes the membrance in the twinkling of an eye. Some boys of soft nature cry, others of their own accord seat themselves, smiling, upon a chair. As the cut is made the operator shouts "Din, Din, Muhammad". The assembly then offer their congratulations. If the operator is the barbar belonging to the house, he places a small *brass saucer*, such as, barbars use, in the centre of the room. All guests between whom and the master of the house there is inter-family adds to it according to his means. The family barbar takes the change of gifts on such occasions place in the saucer. The head of the

money. If the operator is not a family barbar, a seperate gift is made to him, say an *ashrfi* (a gold coin) or according to means of the performer. Sweetmeats, in the form of *batasha* or *zilapi,* are next distributed. Some families for the relations, sometime organise a public entertainment of singing and dancing. The women are entertained inside by *Domni* and other singers and dancers. The guests are fed choice food. A rich man usually will prolong the feast to four or five days but ordinary people keep it confine one for two days only. But men of sense, strict in their religion, fix a day, invite no one, have the boy circumcised, pay the operator, and refrain from other luxirious expenditure on singing, dancing and other things prohibited by the Mohammadan religion. No doubt, the general body of wealthy Mohammadans who have no sufficient learning or sense, nor feel bound by their law. but are plunged in the sea of ostentation, spend readily huge money on such occasions, and in the end find their hands become empty. They send letters on red paper in all directions. On the day fixed, there is a stampede (*dhawah*) to the house each invited guest arriving followed by all his return. Over an archway a place for the band has been prepared (a *nauhat-khana*) and for four or five days the kitchen fires are incessantly alight.

Mensturation

Before conclusion it may not be out of place to say a few words about observances connected with the mensturation. Among the Mohammadans there menstural impurity lasts for three days. During this period the woman does her household work, but engages in no religious ceremonies. While in this state she is prohibited from fasting (Roza or the kind observance). The impurity is ended by putting on clean clothes. There appear to be no special observances among orthodox Mohammadans in connection with first mensturation of a girl. Low class Mohammadans who are mainly of Hindu extraction follow the usual rules enforced among Hindus of the same rank in life. On this Dr. Haughes wrote in the 'Dictionary of Islam' that "during the period of mensturation woman are not permitted to say their prayers or to touch or read the Quaran or enter a mosque, and are forbidden to their husbands. But it is related in the traditions that Mohammad abrogated the law of Moses which let a mensturous woman apart for seven days", and Amar says, that when Jews heard this said "This man opposes our customs in everything".

This is a short note on certain Mohammadan custom which are still in force but due to complicated and industrial life some of these customs have been simplified and shortend in keeping with the tone of the day.

BOOK-REVIEW

FOLKLORE OF WOMEN, As Illustrated by Legendary and Traditionary Tates, Folk-Rhymes, Proberbial Sayings, Superstitions, Etc. by Thiselton-Dyer, T. F. London Elliot Stock, 1966, 253 pages. Cited in Sonnenschein *The Best Books* 3rd Edition Reissued by Singing Tree Press, a division of the Gale Research Company, Detroil Michigan, 1968. L. C. 68-24475. $9.50.

This important book is now available as part of Singing Tree Press's series on Folklore and Mythology.

Brahmins were forbiden to marry red-headed women and Chinese folklore has it that beautiful women are unlucky. Is either prejudice justified ? Thiselton-Dyer avoided making judgments in favour of simply recording thousands of legends, customs, and superstitions about such matters as woman's love, her ficklessness, curiosity, will-power, talkativeness sdress, and tears. From where the author has compiled such items are not referred in the book item by item but in the preface he has given the names of some books that he had consulted.

Daughterhood, widowhood, and motherhood, he shows, have all been the subjects of innumerable stories and beliefs, from the West African story about a father who required his daughter's suitors to empty a brook with a nutshell, to a cynical German saying that "a rich widow weeps with one eye and laughs with the other."

Given the subject, it is no matter for wonder that even folklore is confusing. The author refuses to spare us contradictions. Whom do we believe—the English who say that "the man who would thrive must trust his wife" or the Africans who maintain that "a man who confides secrets to his wife will be led to the path of Satan"? The book containes many more details about the character, power, position, status etc. of the womenfolk in general in twentysix chapters. It is an important book where one will find proverbial wisdom of human race in its teachings of woman's character. It is a wonderful book and we will be glad to see it in every respectable library.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY, *Essays in Commemoration of Verrier Elwin,* Edited by M. C. Pradhan, R. D. Singh, P. K. Misra and D. B. Sastry,, Oxford University Press, Bombay, Demy, 328 p. 1969 Rs. 30.00.

The book is a collection of fifteen essays of which two (Verrier Elwin as Anthropologist, Some Aspects of the Jat Religion and Ethics) are

written by Dr. M. C. Pradhan, one of the editors when the other three editors have no contribution. The remaining contributions are—Frank Fernandez (A Critique of Verrier Elwin's Anthropology: Hill Bondo Social Organization and Kinship Analysis), H. R. H. Prince Peter (Patterns of Polyandry in Tibet and India), P. G. Ganguly (Separatism in the Indian Polity: a case study), Beatrice Diamond Miller (Revitalization Movements: Theory and Practice, as evidenced among the Buddhists of Maharashtra), Kathleen Gough (Political Party Conflict in a Kerala Village), Harold A. Gould (A Theory of Social Stratification and the Case of Indian Society), Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf (Morality and Prestige among the Nagas), John V. Ferreira (Finitude, Complementarity and Dependence in Primitive Societies), Francis L. K. Hsu (Christianity and the Anthropologist), Stephen Fuchs (Applied Anthropology in India), Norman Zide and R. D. Munda (Descriptive Dialogue Songs in Mundari), in Social Anthropology section. In the Prehistoric Archaeology Section there are the following articles D. Sen's Pebble Chopper Chopping tools and flakes in India and Pakistan etc. and V. N. Misara's Early village communities etc. It also contains twelve illustrations along with the frontispiece of Verrier Elwin.

The first part of the book begins with an assessment of Elwin's work. A fairly exhaustive Bibliography of Elwin's publication has also been added. Here one will find some added materials on Elwin's life which Elwin himself did not include in his "Tribal World". This anthology presents the creed of the anthropo-archaeological studies in India. Oxford University Press has rendered commandable service not only by publishing Elwin's books but also by the anthology under review which is valuable and curious. The book will be useful for future researchers. The most valuable part of the anthology is the bibliography for which M. C. Pradhan will receives the thanks of all who are interested in the study of Indian anthropology, archaeology and tribal study.

GAMBHIRA: LOKSANGEET-O-UTSAB: EKAL O SEKAL (In Bengali—Gambhira: Folksong and festival, by P. Ghosh, Chakra & Co., Calcutta-26 Demy 92 pagt with protos and notations etc. 1968. Rs. 5.00.

A well-produced book written by a college teacher in the Dept. of Bengali, Mr. Pradyot Ghosh. It has different sub-titles, such as, meaning of festival, place of festival, chronology of festival, social consciousness, social education, so on and so forth. The book also contains some notations in Indian style. The author has tried to introduce, Gambhira, a regional folk song and festival of Gaur Banga (Maldah district of West Bengal) in his book. We shall be glad if this book gets its place in the library.

FOLKLORE English Monthly, August 1969 Regd. No. C-420 R. N. 5539/60

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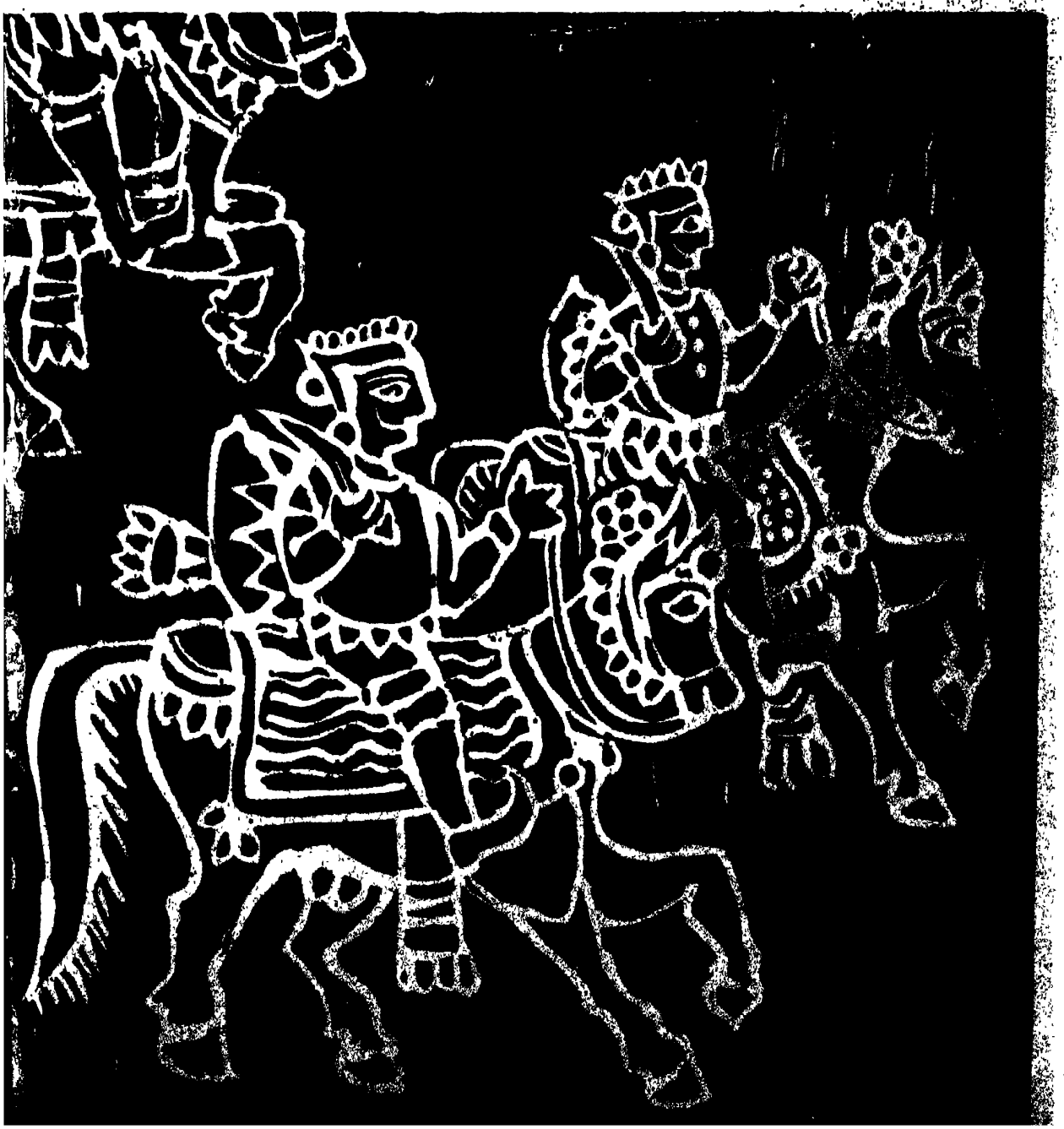
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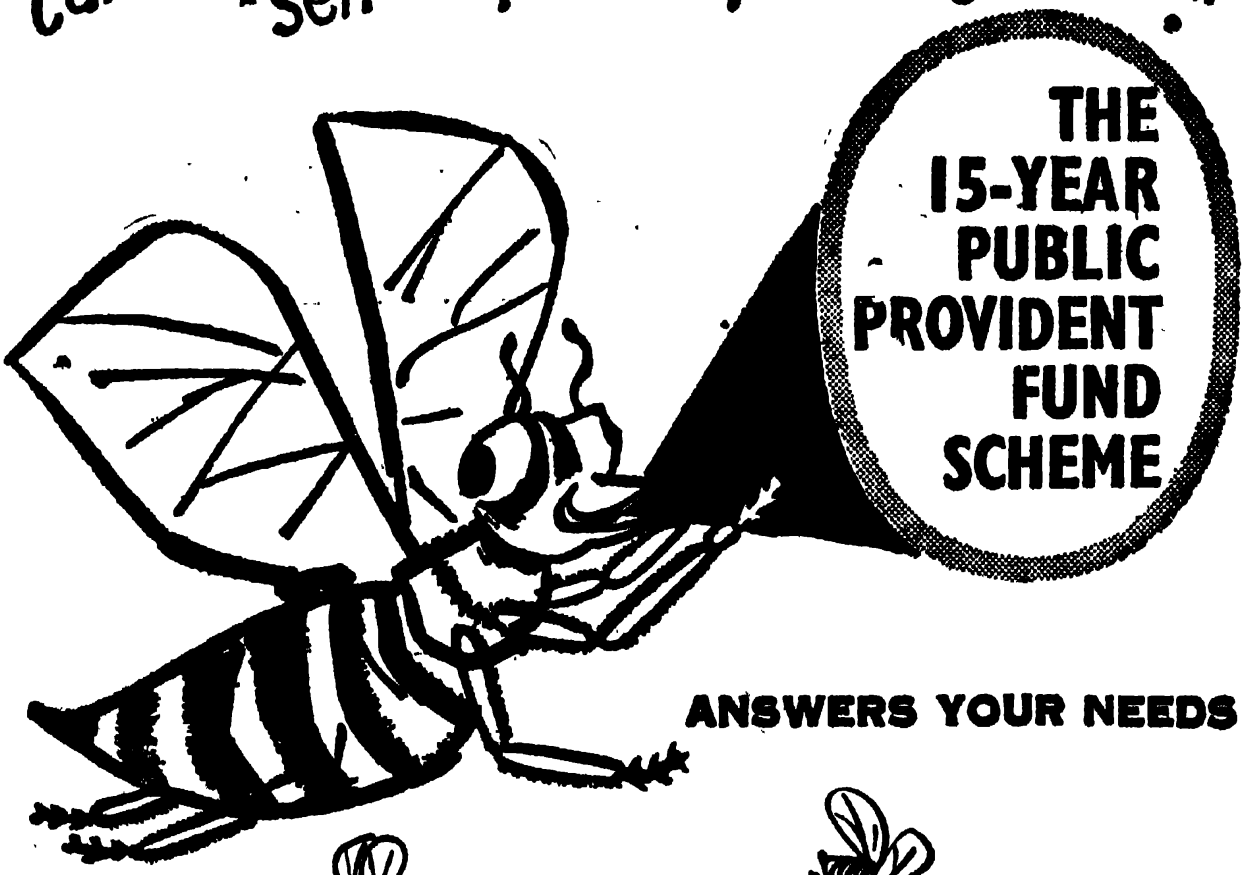
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VOLUME XI NUMBER 4

A Maori Tale

KENNETH DE COURCY LOW

TAWHIKI'S AMAZING CLIMB

The Maori and the white man today live in peace and the long white bitumen roads supplant the bare-foot tracks of long ago. Cities have risen where once the forest reigned in its beautiful richness and profusion. But to the Maori, it is his present, ever linked to the past, to the legend of the forest and the mountain solitude that brings alive in his imagination, the magic of other days. The Maori, although he now treads the well worn paths of civilisation, still hears, in the depth of his soul, whispering voices that speak of wonderful events that took place in the early days of his history.

One such story tells the tale of Tawhaki's amazing climb. Tawhiki was not just an ordinary type of good looking young man. He was of such splendid physique, and his features were so God-like, and his hair so thick and shiny, that even the Sky-faiaies in their glittering land heard about his beauty. Tawhiki was indeed physically magnificent, but he also possessed a keen and alert mind.

One evening as Tawhiki was leaning against a sturdy tree that spread its branches over a gently gliding river, he gazed wonderingly at the brilliant stars that twinkled above his head. He was surprised to see emerging from the dusk that surrounded him, the lovely white-robed figure of a fairy. He knew straight away that the girl was no ordinary human being, because her face was radiant with a light that shone from within her being. She wore a star-spangled coronet on her head. When his astonishment had abated a little, the young man spoke to the girl:

"This is indeed an honour. I have never seen anyone as lovely as you are. Why have you come to visit me, a mere prince of the earth?"

The Sky-fairy smiled, and all the rosiness of sun-rises and sun-sets seemed to glow through the lightning of that angelic smile. She replied:

"I will tell you the truth Tawhiki. My name is Night Candle, and I have heard about your handsome figure, your long hair, and your bright and strong mind. My sisters in our home above the stars have also heard about you. This evening I said to my sisters :

I wonder if this Earth-prince is as brave and handsome as they say he is ? I will go down to the earth and find out for myself. So here I am, added the fairy.

"I suppose you are disappointed," said Tawhiki. He was by no means a conceited young man.

"Not at all, 'laughed merry Night Candle,' you are even more handsome than I imagined you would be."

Tawhiki was delighted to hear this because, naturally enough, he wanted the lovely creature to form a good impression of him. It was not long before Tawhiki was telling the fairy how beautiful she was, so you will not be surprised to learn that they both fell in love with each other very deeply.

Every evening after that first strange meeting, the pretty Night Candle would come down to see the prince, and at last they became so fond of each other that they were married. The Sky-fairy left her home above the stars and lived on earth as Tawhiki's wife. Of course the young man was delighted, because no Earth-princess was even half so beautiful as his radiant wife. The king and queen, Tawhiki's father and mother, were also pleased. But in the home of the Sky-fairies, things were not so good. Such a thing had never happened before.. The other Sky-fairies were furious when they heard the news about Night Candle's marriage to Tawhiki One of them said indignantly :

"She belongs to us. She must come back to her true home."

All the fairies agreed that Night Candle should be brought back, but when they visited her and told her of their decision, the girl said :

"I love Tawhiki. I will not leave him. I will live with him on earth."

Now fairies are difficult people to deal with and do not like to be frustrated in any way and because of this Tawhiki and Night Candle soon found out the truth of the old saying : "the course of true love never did run smooth."

The other fairies were not content to leave the happy couple to follow their own desires and one stormy evening they swooped down upon Tawhiki's home and carried the prince's young wife away, before his very eyes. Of course Night Candle struggled for all she was worth, and Tawhiki tried to hold her back, but the fairies were too powerful. They pushed Tawhiki aside and carried his wife away with them. As they speed up into the sky they cried out :

"Sky-fairies must not live on earth."

Poor Night Candle ceased her struggles as she was carried higher and higher, but she called out to her husband below :

"Come to me then, Tawhiki, come to me in the sky !"

Her voice grew fainter and fainter as she was borne out of his hearing, and soon Tawhiki was once again leaning against his favourite tree, the tears not far away from his eyes. Once more he was alone with the night, and no one was near him. The branches of the trees, however, murmured sympathetic words, but that didn't help Tawhiki very much.

Tawhiki stretched his hands up to the star-lit sky. What could he do ? He had no means of following her, and yet life was not worth living without the beautiful Night Candle.

For many sad and weary days and nights the young man wandered about, unable to find a way of reaching his stolen wife. It is not hard for us to understand how helpless he must have felt. It is no easy matter to pursue a Sky-fairy to her home and even though some people say "where there's a will there's a way," the possibility of finding a way to reach his wife, seemed to Tawhiki, very remote indeed.

Tawhiki asked the eagles to help him, but they replied, courteously enough, that they could never reach the height of the Sky-fairies home. The young man climbed mountain after mountain and mountains were very high in those days, much higher than Mount Everest is now. 'Men were braver and stronger in those days, so we are told, and they could climb mountains more easily than we can because they had better and deeper lungs and could hold air in them for long periods of time. But climbing mountains was of no use. The mountains didn't lead to the Sky-fairies home.

One morning, when Tawhiki, tired and worn out by his exertions, was walking moodily over rough boulders, thinking aloud and pondering on a means of ending all his despair by taking his own life, he was astonished to hear a deep voice say :

"Never give up hope. It is wiser and better always to hope than once to despair. Fling off the load of doubts, and break the dark load of care. Never give up, or the burden may sink you. There is a way out of every difficulty if you keep cool and never given up hope."

"Who said that !" shouted Tawhiki.

"I did," said a voice behind him.

Tawhiki turned round quickly, and there sitting on a large rock, he saw a wrinkled-faced but kindly looking old woman sitting alone. Between her gnarled fingers she held a fine white spider-thread.

"Who are you ?" asked the astonished prince.

"I am called the Oid Grandmother, 'came the reply. 'I have lived here for a long time, and I have seen many strange things. I have seen many things and many people too, come and go, but I keep on sitting

here. Sometimes I am able to help people when they are in trouble, but not all people can hear my voice. You heard me, so there must be something in you of a magical nature, because only people with magic in them can hear my voice."

"What are you doing in this lonely place?" asked Tawhiki.

"Holding this thread. It's very thin isn't it?"

Tawhiki's eyes followed the thread far up into the clouds.

"Where's the other end of your thread?" he asked.

"In the sky. Away up in the sky. Far, far away, away above the clouds and high above the stars."

"What is the thread for?" querried Tawhiki.

The old woman gave him a strange smile and eyeing him steadily, answered:

"If a man on earth wished to go to Sky-land, or even higher, he might climb this thread. It would carry him, but he would have to be very brave, for if he once looked down, or lost heart, he would fall and be dashed to pieces. I do not think any Earth-man is brave enough to attempt such a deed."

Tawhiki's heart began to beat faster. A new light shown in his eyes. He gulped and then said hurridly:

"Try me. I will go. This thread has been sent down by the magic power of my wife. She is showing me a way to reach her. I will go. Nothing will stop me."

The old woman seemed pleased at his courage.

"It's a very slender thread', she explained, 'one slip, one moment's loss of courage would hurl you on those mountain tops and break every bone in your body. It's a very dangerous climb."

"Give me the thread', cried Tawhiki, 'at last I have found a way to reach my wife."

Taking the thread in his fingers, the young man said:

"I shall not be afraid. My heart is too full of love to have room for fear."

The old woman smiled, and as she did so, her face seemed to shed its tears. She looked quite young for a moment as she said:

"The most precious possession that ever come to a man in this world, is a woman's heart. You are wise, young man, to risk even death, for such a prize. May good fortune attend you on your way."

"Thank you," said the prince.

"Listen', said his strange companion, 'I will teach you a charm. Sing it if ever your strength seems to be leaving you. The charm she added, 'will also give you the power to change your form when you so desire."

She sang the charm and Tawhiki repeated it again and again until

he had learned it by heart.

"Now you may go', said the old woman. 'Keep a brave heart, never lose hope, and remember never to look back. If your strength fails, sing the charm."

Grasping the Spinder-thread, Tawhiki gave a strong and determined spring from the earth and began his dangerous climb to Sky-land. The thread was so thin that he could hardly see it as it swayed with his weight, but he had faith in its magic power to hold him. Higher and higher he climbed until he was level with the tops of the hills. On and on he went, up and up, higher and higher, until he was level with the peaks of the highest of the cloud-capped mountains. Up and up into dizzy space and through the moist clouds he went. All around him he could see the dim ghostly shapes, and still he went on and on, up and up. It was a thrilling sensation for the young adventurer. For a moment he wondered if the old woman had been playing a trick on him. Did the thread really lead up to Sky-land? A host of upsetting thoughts swept into his mind. For a moment his body quivered with a sudden fear, but then, just in time he remembered the words the old woman had uttered about faith. With a supreme effort of will power, he tossed all doubts out of his mind, and continued with his climb. Then, suddenly, a vision of his lovely wife came to the eyes of his mind. This increased his hope. It seemed that she was smiling at him and calling to him from above. So up and up he climbed, clinging to the slender silver thread that stretched so many miles down to the far away earth below.

After he had been climbing for some hours and his hair was wet with the moisture from the clouds, his strength began to ebb. Then he remembered the charm and sang it with all his might. In those empty spaces it sounded strange to his ears, but the song sent all weariness away and he felt strong again.

He dared not look back, but in his mind's eye, he saw the earth below, and it appeared to be the size of an apple, spinning in space with all its rivers and mountains and houses and cities, all spinning for ever spinning. The thought made him dizzy so he concentrated on his climb.

He reached the first of the ten Sky-lands and became the first man from earth ever to push himself through the flooring. As he did so, it cracked in all directions sending out everywhere, splinters of some sparkling kind of magic material. Then, with a great rushing roaring sound, a huge deluge of water swept through the hole and cascaded to the earth far down below. The water was overflowing from a lake in which some beautiful Sky-fairies were bathing.

Tawhiki knew that Night Candle's home was in the fourth Sky-land, so once again, he took a firm hold of the fragile thread and continued to climb higher and higher. When he reached the second Sky-land, he met

a snake-shaped fish. Behind this peculiar looking fish he saw many others of a similar nature.

"Who are you ?" shouted the bold Tawhiki.

"I am the Eel-king,' replied the fish.' I am looking for water. Up here we are parched and dry. How are things below on earth ? It is plain to me that you are a visitor from the land far below."

"It's very wet down there, I'm afraid, 'answered Tawhiki. I have just cracked the floor of the lowest Sky-land and the water from the lake there is pouring down on the earth."

"If that is the case', said the Eel-king, 'the earth will be my new home. We need a change anyway. Fresh fields and pastures new for us. Come, my children, 'he said, turning to his sleek looking companions,' we're off to a new home on earth. Follow me."

Led by their king, the whole tribe the Eels slid down through the hole and dived to the Earth-world. They landed in that mysterious area of ocean between Africa and America called the Sargasso Sea, and they live there to this very day, but they make many journeys from their strange homeland in the Sargasso, to other parts of the Earth-world. Before young Tawhiki broke into the first Sky-land, there were no Eels on earth at all.

Continuing his dizzy climb, Tawhiki at last reached the third Sky-land. It was a very bright and gay place with a clear atmosphere and many vividly coloured flowers and brids. In this region the prince met a bird called the Pukaki. When it caught sight of an Earth-man, the creature stretched out its long neck in astonishment at the unusual sight.

"Where do you think you are going ?" asked the Pukaki.

"I intend to visit the fourth Sky-land," answered Tawhiki.

"By the way, 'queried the bird,' how are things on the earth at present ?"

"The earth is very wet', answered the young man', in fact I wouldn't be at all surprised if it's flooded."

"Is that a fact cried the bird. Yeh, that's just the kind of world I want. We have no swamps here, and I would like to live near a swamp. I will go down to earth. By the way, young man, do the fairies know that you are on your way to their land ?"

"No, and I don't want them to know either."

"Is that so', laugher the Pukaki, as it strutted about conceitedly, then I will tell them. I know everything that goes on around these parts and everyone thinks I am a very wise creature. Yes, I will warn the fairies about your plan."

The bird raised its head and was about to give a shrill cry that would reach the fourth Sky-land, when, just in time, Tawhiki caught him by the nose and pinched it so hard that the Pukaki could make no sound. The

bird struggled fiercely in an attempt to break loose from the prince's grip, but Tawhiki held on grimly. It was indeed a strange sight to see the young man with his flowing hair, dancing around in the third Sky-land, holding a furious bird by the nose. For a long time the struggle went on, and then Tawhiki said :

"If I let you go, my fine feathered friend, will you promise to keep quiet ?"

By this time the Pukaki bird had come to the end of its tether. It was beginning to feel the strain of being pulled about by the nose, so with a subdued droop of its tail it answered ; "Yes."

Tawhiki released his grip on the bird's nose, and the Pukaki was so frightened by the young man, that it flew swiftly down through a hole to earth, and landed on the rocky islands of New Zealand, where it has lived ever since. Even to this day the Pukaki's nose is bright red. All the descendants of the bird whose nose was so severely pinched by Tawhiki have been hatched with crimson noses.

After this adventure with the unfortunate Pukaki, Tawhiki climbed higher and higher ; his confidence increased and he enjoyed the sensation of climbing up into realms never before visited by mortal man.

Suddenly, the young man entered into a wonderful region of brilliant light. At first the light was so strong that he couldn't see anything at all, and then, as he became more accustomed to the brightness, he was astonished to see a gloriously beautiful land lying all around him. He had reached the fourth Sky-land. Here the thread ended and Tawhiki looked about him in amazement. On green hill-sides were palaces whose magnificence was beyond description. Above, they glittered as if made of pure gold, and below, as if made of precious stones. This Sky-land was clothed in rich green forests, and made colourful by bright flowers so vividly tinted that they shown like torches. In some places the leaves of the trees were like silver, and the fruits like gold. Through these trees, the young man saw the mirror-like surface of a crystal-clear lake. He heard the sound of merry laughter and much splashing. Quietly he crept nearer to the spot from whence the voice were coming. Through a small opening in the branches of a tree, he saw the fairies who had carried off his wife Night Candle. Some were bathing happily, and others were on the shore of the lake making a canoe. Tawhiki thought to himself :

"If I follow these fairies, I will find my wife, but they must not recognise me or they will send me down to earth again. I know what I will do . . . I will change my form. I will sing the charm song, and this will give me the power to completely alter my appearance."

So Tawhiki stole back into the shadow of the forest and sang his song softly. Immediately he began to feel a change in himself. His

figure and general appearance was transformed, this long hair vanished, and his limbs lost their appearance of strength and grace. By the time the song was finished, Tawhiki had changed into a poor, miserable looking old man. No one could have possibly recognised him as the one-time handsome Tawhiki. Breaking a stick from one of the nearby trees, he took it in his hand and walked unsteadily out of the forest towards the shore of the lake. The fairies saw him, and one of them cried out:

"Just look at that old man. Where has he come from? What does he think he is doing here?"

"Make him work for us', said another fairy,, 'he shall carry our axes home."

So they loaded Tawhiki with axes and he followed them slowly towards their home. This was just what he wanted, because their home was also the abode of Night Candle. As he struggled along with the burden of axes, the transformed Tawhiki said to himself:

"What would my people say if they could see their Prince carrying tools like a slave? But it is for my wife's sake, and for her I will do anything."

Then an idea flashed into his mind and in a croaking kind of voice he called out to the fairies:

"Don't wait for me. I am old and cannot walk fast, but I am glad to be your servant. I will follow on slowly behind you."

The fairies danced on lightly through the forest laughing and singing, and as soon as they were out of sight, Tawhiki changed himself back into his real form. As he sang the magical song, his full strength of limb returned, and he ran back to the canoe, his long black hair streaming down behind his broad and massive shoulders. He began to work hard on one of the canoes:

"My work is much better than theirs', he haid 'they may be glad to learn from me."

A little later he ran back again through the forest until he had almost reached the fairies, and then, hiding behind a tall tree, he sang the song of change, and once again took on the appearance of a bent and worn old man. With his load of axes, weighing him down, he joined the fairies. Imagine his delight when, at the fairies' palace he saw his lovely young wife. She was sitting gloomly by herself at the side of a rose bush, taking no interest in anything. She glanced at the old man who was following the fairies, but of course, didn't recognise through his disguise, her brave and handsome husband. The prince dared not make himself known, but his heart was lighter now that he was close to his beloved young wife.

'I must finish the canoe," he thought.

Early next day, in the clear light of a brilliant dawn, the fairies again

set off for the forest, and Tawhiki accompanied them, carrying the axes. When they reached the canoe at the lake edge, the fairies stood in amazement and one of them shouted :

"Who has been working on our canoe ? It is almost finished, and the carving is beautiful. Who can it be that possesses such strength and artistic skill to achieve such a result ?"

Of course nobody suspected the feeble old man who sat chuckling to himself on a tree stump near the edge of the forest. The fairies talked a great deal about the wonderful work that had been done on their canoe, but they could find no clue to the mystery, so they started working on it again themselves, chopping and adzing all through the day.

When the cool loveliness of evening in the Fourth Sky-land, folded itself like a soft veil over the sparkling scenes of lake, forest, and green hills, Tawhiki did exactly as he had done the night before. He changed himself back into his real form and returning to the edge of the lake worked on the canoe once again. Then he changed himself back into the form of the old man and rejoined the fairies.

Next morning, as a rosy dawn crept over the hill-sides, the fairies danced down to the lake, and when they saw the canoe lying beside the fresh water, with one of its sides finished, they were highly delighted.

"It's a marvellous piece of work," said one of them, and taking her nearest companion by the hand she led a dance of the fairies round and round the canoe.

Tawhiki, in his disguise as an old man, chuckled to himself again, and as the gay creatures danced past him in their flimsy white costumes, he heard one of them say :

"To-night we will watch. We will find out who this artist is ; this gifted person who has made us such a splendid canoe."

Now this was playing right into Tawhiki's hands. It was just what he wanted. In this mysterious dusk of evening he changed himself back into his normal, strong and handsome self, knowing that the fairies were waiting in the forest to surprise him. He walked vigorously to the beach, and bending over the canoe, commenced to work on the carving. He was waiting for the fairies to swoop down on him, and he didn't have to wait long. Suddenly, they came dancing out of the forest, and rushing to the beach, surrounded Tawhiki.

"We have found you at last, good and kind worker, "they cried out.

Slowly, very slowly, Tawhiki raised himself to his full height, and lifted up his face. The fairies gazed in astonishment at his splendid form, his broad shoulders, his long flowing black hair, and his bright piercing eyes :

"It's the Earth-prince who married our sister and tried to take her away from us," shouted one of the pretty creatures.

Without saying a word, Tawhiki turned and set of at a fast run through the forest in the direction of his wife's home. His strong legs carried him swiftly into the forest and out of sight. The fairies, angry and puzzled, followed him and argued as they ran :

"He shall not stay," said one of them.

"Send him back to his proper home on earth," said another.

"Let him stay', said another. 'He can teach us how to build wonderful canoes. We can make him a Sky-fairy and our sister Night Candle will be happy again."

The fairies, who were also swift runners, arrived at the home of Night Candle, just as Tawhiki ran inside and stood before his wife. She rubbed her eyes in wonder. There he was, her beloved husband, just the same as he used to look when they were on earth together. Night Candle gave a cry of joy and sprang to meet her brave husband. His strong arms embraced her, and the happy pair showed their joy so plainly that the fairies, who are at heart, really kind people, couldn't bear to part them. In unison they said :

"He shall stay."

They gave him fairy power, so that he can never die and to-day he lives in great happiness with his fairy wife. He has become so powerful in magic that we, on the earth below, often hear his footsteps on the floor of Sky-land. We call these footsteps thunder ! When he raises his magnificent arms, lightning flashes from his armpits.

So it would seem that the old woman was right when she said :

"Never give up hope. There is a way out of every difficulty if you keep cool."

In New Zealand, even to this day, the Maoris say that, the old woman sometimes appears in a lonely part of the country. One evening, not so long ago, a drover was passing with his horse and cattle, near a large rock that rested by the road side. The moon was shining brightly, and he states emphatically that he saw the figure of an old woman sitting there, and when he dismounted and walked up to her, she smiled and began to climb a thin silver thread that rose high into the sky. The drover was a little upset by this strange incident, so he mounted his horse and rode home for dear life, leaving the cattle behind him. He went back to collect them the next day, but there was no sign of the old woman.

If this story is true, then the old woman must be of great age. Of course no ordinary person could live for so long, but if she understands magic, well, things could be different, couldn't they ?

New York, U. S. A.

RADHAMOHAN MAHANTA

RICKSHAW IN THE ORBIT OF FOLKLORE OF NORTH BENGAL

Folklore is the mirror of folk society. It opens out the inner mind and helps the people to learn the secret of cultural life the rustic people lead. The imagination, feeling, aspiration and philosophy of common men take shape in words of their own in an emotional surcharge of native tune and colour common to them. Owing to the lack of conveyance and communication facilities folklore in various forms and tunes, colours and characters have taken distinctive shapes basing on particular groups of dialects current in different parts of the country.

For the reason of communication difficulty, a distinctive and characteristic dialect had emanated from Prakrit in ancient Kotivarsha Vishaya (Vishaya—present district) under Poundravardhan Bhukti (bhukti—present division) i.e., in the Balurghat Subdivisional Region of undivided Dinajpur district of North Bengal, and is still living in spoken language almost in old form among rural population here in Balurghat.

Among various groups of dialects prevaling in different parts of Bengal—the dialect spoken in the Balurghat Region has purely a distinctive feature matchless in tone-colour and character. The difference in phonetic character of this dialect is instantaneously perceivable from other groups of dialects of Bengal. For this speciality in character and intonation we have named this dialect as 'Kotivarshian Dialect' as it is spoken by the people of Kotivarsha from ancient period to to-day.

As in other dialects of Bengal there are folklore in legions also in Kotivarshian language. But prior to my attempt nobody had made any effort to collect, circulate and discuss these lore composed in Kotivarshian dialect. And, for this reason of lone effort the Kotivarshian folklore could not have publicity they deserve. Moreover, due to inaccessibility to this region for want of easy communication this peculiar dialect which remains almost in its original form, streaming out from its Prakrit origin centuries ago, has so far failed to draw attention even of the linguists.

At present the Kotivarshian dialect is gradually going off the track from its original place and losing its flavour on account of rapid spread of modern education in remote villages. Moreover, in its place a peculiar and complex dialect is gradually taking its birth in this region through the impact of various dialects belonging to various cultural groups of people, who after partition of the country have taken shelter and set up new settlements here in the countryside. As a result of this impact the village poets are also being influenced by various linguistic groups and

by modern education and they are composing folklore either in mixed dialect—evolved through constant association with the people of various linguistic groups. For all these factors this Kotivarshian dialect is gradually losing its ground and going under a process of waning.

In this article I shall present a folklore to the readers written in Kotivarshian dialect on the "Glory of Rickshaw" :—

The background of this folklore is Balurghat—the Headquarter town of the West Dinajpur District. The composer, at the outset, is presenting to his village friends the facts in the form of a lore about the reactions of an unsophisticated peasant, who coming in a new environment, met a pleader for advice in response to a court case :—

Suno suno bhai-sav, kori libedon
Rachanak kando a'k suno diya mon.
Pachchimo Dinajpur Zila'ro saho'r
Balurghat ji nam tnar Baluro-Moho'r.

It is noticeable from above that 'Balurghat' is a real connotative name in truest sense of the terms, and the folk-poet did not miss to depict its charms as a 'Gunea of Sand' : Moreover, the mind of the poet-saturated with elixir of humour finds peculiar interest in rickshaw-ridden town of Balurghat and the tri-wheeled cycle-rickshaw appears in his mind as a tri-wheeled Chariot of ancient grandour !

In this connection, he further, depicts in a hilarious need that the streets of this town constitute a "Death Trap" of the Mahakal—the God of Death to every pedestrian, especially, to the rustic people, who do not know the rules of walking along the streets of the town and often fall victims to the paddlers, who run their rickshaws always at high speed. Of course, they raise continuous alarm by sounding horns, which, the poet thinks, is nothing but the horrible sound of Domboru—the Death-knell of the Mahakal, that at the first phase breaks the ear-drums and prepare the victim for final blow :—

Balurghatero a'k majaro byapar
Tya'chakar yath dekhe anu sethar'r
Ka'lka' gechnu sethi rukilero badi
Bhaggopo'me chodnu mui tya'chakar gadi.
Tya'chakar gadik sethi iska'-gadi kay :
Chha-enar bhada diye karon biswo-jay.
Pichhot si renta achhe chakchoka' genthi
Nyata-pa'de bose jao jethi richha sethi.
Ha'nte judi jan path mittu chapa ped
Po'nk-no'nkhanir cho'te disha' ja'bs ha'ro.
Kolikal mo'hakal kala thasa kan
Balurghatere nath maranero phan.

After the above illustrations it will be found that the poet as such has soared up in a philosophic height and discovered in the three-wheeled cycle-rickshawas the Brahma, the Vishnu and the Shiva—the symbols of Creation, Existence and Destruction respectively :—

Chisti-thiti-nay hay tya'chakar mukhe
Udder tishul choote sado'ka sado'ke
Jadik takao kha'li chho'te iska'-ga'di
Chokhe-mukhe nage dhandhan kha'li hadhadi.

After this philosophic endeavour the poet lands in the domain of reality and puts with airs of humour the indispensibility in town-life of rickshaw which is the vehicle of death to rural people ! However, in the following lines the poet further comes down to material plane and feels for the rickshaw-paddlers, who labour hard for sustenance but in vain, yet they run the vehicle at high speed like the Pakshiraj of Indian legend, and challenges his village-folks to imagine 'what it would have been, if they could get square meals a day' :—

Tya'chakar gadi ei saho'rero pan
Ganer noker mare jan dhore tan
Babu-ba'ba'nira hay so'yaron tanhat
Saro'thik mane hay pya'te nai bhat.
Nakhaye chelay ath jya no pakkhi-aj
Kha'le korito kiba kore nya'o anch.

It appears to be a great wonder to the poet, and he advises his friends not to think much about the matter when God Himself fails to understand the mystery of the towns life :—

Sahe'rer neela bujha Bidhatar day
Ganer rabujh chasa ki bujhibe tay ?

So he does not desire to unite the complex knet that controls the mysterious go of the townslife and extends his benediction to the Lotus-feet of the Tri-cycle-rickshaw, and concludes that it is not possible to express in language the variegated virtues of the vehicle which is glorifying life—not only of the townspeople but also of the Lords of the Three Worlds :

Tya 'chakar pa' o 't mui hanu dando' bot
Tanhar gunero katha na aso mukho 't
Tya' chak mahatto mui karinu kitton
Kalir tya 'chak neela halo samapo' n.
Hari hay a 'ki bhande Bomha-Vishnu-Shiv
Tya 'chakar gadi dhanno Tinatho-Tidib.
Kali-yuge Pushpo-ath hay iska 'ga' di
Bado 'n Bhariya save bo' lo Hari Hari.

Balurghat, West Bengal.

BIRESWAR BANERJEE

GEOGRAPHY OF MIGRATION

The study of the transmission or migration of folklore includes both intracultural and intercultural transmission. In studying the borrowing of folklore by one culture from another, one finds something that decreases the possibility of discovering laws of transmission universally applicable to all cultures. What the borrowing culture does with the new lore depends upon a great variety of factors, including such things as the similarity of the material to the already existing traditions and the over-all strength of the borrowing culture. Borrowed folklore can also be an index of acculturation. The stronger the borrowing culture, the more likely it is that the new material will be shaped to fit indigenous. Again there is the matter of culturally relative attitudes and tendencies toward change. By empirical inspection of the corpus of texts, the folklorist breaks folklore into principal traits, traits that demonstrate some variation. The variation of a trait's content is a potential means of distinguishing smaller groups of versions that share a particular subtrait. By comparing the trait sequences, one can much more readily note similarities and differences. No doubt some enterprising folklorists of India will consider all these, as the folklorists of the west are doing now, to help them separate groups of similar materials from an unwieldy corupus of texts. Through this historic-geographic method one can study folklore for its own sake, that the study of variation and stability is not meaningfully related to human factors. For the determination of such facts as migration of folklore, the historic-geographic studies may leave some questions unanswered and that are to be covered by the study of a sister dischpine. Geography of migration is a preliminary study by which a folklorist can draw an image of the migration of folklore. To arrive at a conclusion on the migration of folklore, a synthesis of approaches to folklore is needed. The study of historical origins and of paths of diffusion are a part, an important part, of the whole. The combination of these approaches can lead to a fuller understanding of the nature of folklore and that justify the publication of the present essays here. —EDITOR.

Introduction :

Man has always wandered over the various parts of the earth. This movement began since the dawn of human civilization. Ever since man became thinking man—*Homo sapiens*—he seeks more favourable environment to live and to earn his livelihood. He learns to weigh the advantages and drawbacks of his operational environment from his neigh-

bour. This gives him the initial motive to move. During those days of backward technology, man's role in changing the natural environment was limited. But when the population gradually exceeded the environmental opportunities, the more adventurous man began to move out to newer areas seeking favourable environments elsewhere. In a few cases, he was forced to move when dislodged by stronger peoples. Thus migrations are not isolated phenomena but are the ways of life. With the gradual growth of science and technology, economic opportunities are gradually widening and accordingly man changes his primate character in favour of a more sophisticated ways of life. Such change induces spatial mobility in him. In the course of his long associations with the earth man has now almost traversed the four corners of the earth over and over again. This has resulted in the mixing of biological features and the dispersal as well as the diffusion of human cultures.

Definition and Classification :

Migration generally relates to population movement, periodic or seasonal, temporary or permanent, short or long distance and so forth. But when discussed within the perview of population distribution, the term should be restricted to the movement of people from one place to another for the purpose of permanent settlement. But sometimes persons temporarily shifting from one place to another are forced to permanent change of their residence. Hence the demarcation line between the migration proper and other forms of mobility is very difficult to draw. The classification of population movements likewise becomes a very difficult task.

If a population map of India could be brought to life, it would probably portray a kaleidoscopic movement of population : short distance movement, long distant oscillations between the cities, rural to urban migration, transhumance between the highland glades and lowlying vales, commuters moving in and out of the metropolitan areas, exodus of urbanites to the hill stations and other recreational centres and even large scale migration resulting from political or racial outbursts. Spatial mobility also varies with the society, political entity and cultural traits of a region.

Migration indicates movements or flow of population and as such it has a source, destination, direction and has got certain composition, volume and duration. All these attributes have made the problem of systematic classification more problematic.

Thus the classification can be done in different ways mainly on the basis of the criteria adopted. Thus on the basis of their internal or

international character, migration may be classified into two broad patterns and several sub-types as follows :

(1) *International Migration :*	(i) expulsion or forced migration
	(ii) voluntary
	(iii) change in territorial area
	(iv) labour or social migration
(2) *Internal Migration :*	(i) transhumance
	(ii) shifting cultivation
	(iii) labour migration
	(iv) migration to marginal areas
	(v) rural-urban migration
	(vi) outflow from urban core to the fringe areas
	(vii) commuting
	(viii) recreational travels.

According to its prevalence in traditional or modern societies, migration may be of :

(1) *Traditional Migration :*	(i) Nomadism
	(ii) Transhumance
(2) *Modern Societial Migration :*	(i) Commuting
	(ii) Recreational travel.

On the basis of its duration, migration can be classified as :

(1) Permanent or seasonal
(2) Temporary or accidental
(3) Definitive

Determination of a suitable typology and incorporating the various migratory practices into scientific groupings thus pose a difficult problem and require the co-ordination of geographers, sociologists, anthropologists, folklorists, statisticians, economists and others interested in this extremely interesting behaviour of man.

Causes of Migration :

Though the desire to move from one place to another is the selective choice of an individual migrant, migration takes place only when there occurs an aggregate of individual decisions. Individual choice may be determined by various factors like natural or man-made catastrophies

(flood, drought, crop failure, war etc.), adverse economic conditions (population pressure, disparity of income between the rural and urban areas), unfavourable sociological set-up (restriction on the fundamental rights of a citizen, curb on religious freedom) and sometimes political oppressions (disparity of taxes, change in land-ownership laws etc.). But these determinants often mingle together thus making the task of determining each variable individually extremely complex.

A few quantitative studies have been made to analyse the nature and mode of internal migration. Theoretical models have been made which try to explain the pattern and behaviour of human mobility. One tries to explain that the number of migration decreases with distance. But in the field the reverse has also been found to be true. Others often try to explain and predict migrations in terms of population, distance and their relationships with each other. But such application requires plenty of manipulations of the empirical data as population hides much of its qualitative values and regional variations. The theoretical approaches, however, certainly help in the understanding of the problem of a specific area but has been found to be inadequate for universal application.

Characteristics of Various Types :

International Migrations : International migrations are gradually shrinking in the modern era of political consciousness and nationalism. Such migrations are rare in peace time. Only a few countries, however, encourage it with a view to improve the number and quality of their populations. Its various subtypes are noted below.

Expulsion or Forced Migration : Large scale population movement from one country to another may result from coercion by political parties or by the ruling Government. This results in emigration from one country to immigration in another. In the 20th Century, much of this type of migration took place in the form of cataclysmic deportations of an entire ethnic or religious group.

After World War II, mass movement of population took place in Europe. West Germany has to assimilate 16-20 million Germans from other European States. In the course of the last 50 years, Isreal has to take an extra load of about 2 million migrants from different parts of the world, people with various cultures but linked with a common religious tie. The Partition of India in 1947 set of mass movement perhaps unrivalled by any countries of the world. In the wake of riots and communal frenzy, some 10 million Hindus migrated into India and about 6 million Muslims left the country in the course of a single year.

Such mass scale, forced and sudden migration could not be even dreamed of in former times. But it has become a reality today, thanks

to the growth of the modern transport technology.

Mass-scale movement of population occasionally affects the economy of the country. Emigration of a particular sect from an area may mean loss of a singular type of economy. In a few cases, however, forced migration is advocated in order to solve the minority problem. This has been well illustrated several times in Europe in the course of the present century.

Voluntary Migration: Voluntary migration was a very common feature with the European colonial powers (viz., Britain, France, Spain, German, Dutch, Portugal etc.) during the era of colonization, e.g., early 17th century to the middle of the 20th century. Europeans during this period migrated in large numbers to Africa, India, America and the Far Eastern countries and began pioneering settlements there. The persons emigrated have been estimated to be of the order of 60-70 millions. During the days of pioneering settlement in the U. S. A. and Canada, quite a large number of immigrants came from Europe and Africa. Better opportunities naturally lured the Europeans to settle permanently in the U. S. A. With the economic development of Western Europe, the lure of the America has now faded to some extent. Partial restriction on immigration has also been imposed. This has resulted in an appreciable fall in immigration in the post war years.

Labour or Social Migration: Surplus of labour in one country and shortage in another may create conditions ideal for movement. During the 18th and 19th century some 15 million Africans were taken to the Americas mainly to fill in the labour gaps in the commercial agriculture initiated there. During the latter half of the 19th century, more than a million labourers migrated from India to Malaya, Ceylon and South Africa mainly to work in the rubber, coffee and tea plantations and mining establishments respectively. In post-war Europe, there is a labour-shortage in such countries like West Germany, Great Britain and France. Local labours in these countries have been found to be inadequate and costly. Hence large scale immigration of labour from other countries is being encouraged. Thus Great Britain meets her requirements from the Commonwealth countries, West Germany from Italy and France from Spain. Quite a large number of semi-skilled Indians have migrated to West Germany and England to supplement the recent labour shortage of these countries.

The developing countries because of their limited opportunities are not in a position to offer proper employment facilities to scientists and technicians, who however get such facilities in the developed countries. This results in another form of migration, viz., professional migration. Such movement results in the so-called 'brain-drain' to the developing countries.

Seasonal or annual migration is possible when the distance and the transport cost remain within a reasonable limit. But in case of long distance migrations, the labourers prefer to settle there, at least on a semi-permanent basis. This labour mobility, however, has its problem as well. The receiving countries may in future change their view on immigrant labourers when complications arise. As a result they lose their identities in their own country and become unwanted in the receiving country. International treaties must give adequate protections to these migrant labourers and their families. Otherwise such type of migration should be given temporary cognizance.

Internal Migration :

Internal mobility is more common nowadays than before. This has been made possible due to low cost transport, opening up of new regions for settlement, and disparity in the standard of living existing in different parts of the country. In over-populated States, such mobility has got little effect in solving economic problems .

Internal migration may be any one of the following categories :

Shifting Cultivation : In this type not only the farmers move over a limited area but along with them they introduce mobility to their farmlands. Though the importance of this type of occupation is gradually declining in the face of improved economy, yet some 200 million people practise it over 14 million sq. miles of area, i.e., over one-fourth of the land surface of the globe. In this type, the farmers move over a limited area and rotate with the land. In other words, this is a form of rotational migration.

Transhumance : This type refers to the seasonal movement of pastoral people along with their livestocks. Large flocks are usually kept by a few shepherds who move in and out of the high mountains during summer and winter. In summer the livestocks are fed on the Alpine meadows near the snowline and are fattened. Before the first fall of winter snow, migration begins towards the lower vales where the animal products are marketed. Quite a number of tribes, numbering over 200,000 practise transhumance. Amongst them, the Gujars of Kashmir, the Gaddis of Himachal Pradesh, the Jadhs and Bhots of Garhwal are most famous in the Western Himalaya.

Labour Migration : Transient movements of labour are quite common in modern society. Such migration is also quite common in India. Quite a large number of people from Orissa, Bihar and U. P. regularly move in the urban areas of West Bengal, particularly Calcutta and work in the offices, and industrial establishments municipal corporations and also offer services in household works. These labourers are the surplus population of the rural areas and generally spend 3 months in their

native villages and the rest of the year in their service centres.

Migration to recently Reclaimed Areas: The State or other organisation may be the prime mover of such migration. When marginal or barren tracts are opened to irrigation facilities, opportunities of agricultural and other occupations generally attract people to such areas. Setting up of new mines or industries likewise attract quite a large number. For example even in the early 50's Durgapur was a small village with only a few huts. But in the course of last 10 years, this has become a humming city with a population clustering of about 100,000 people centred round the steel complex and other associated manufacturing enterprises.

Rural-urban Migration and Outflow from City-core to the Fringes: This is a form of inter-regional migration. Rural-urban migration increases with the rise in circulation technology. The urban areas afford a wider selection of economic opportunities to the rural people. Moreover, the urban ways of life is penetrating fast in the rural areas through improved means of communication and transportation. The surplus labour from the rural areas gradually drift to the urban areas. Conversely when the core areas become over-congested, people specially well-to-do people, prefer to move out to the transitional areas. This mobility therefore reflects the co-operation existing between the city and its fringe areas, and ultimately results in cultural diffusion between the urban and rural areas. This leads to urbanization or urbanization of the countryside and also to countrification of the cities.

Commuting: The journey to work is one of the most common aspect of the modern city life. It has been estimated that on an average about 6 million people commute to and from Calcutta everyday. The gradual growth of the satelite towns within the Metropolitan District has resulted in a progressive rise in the number of daily commuters. Introduction of better and more efficient sub-urban transport would result in further diffusion of residence out in the suburban fringes of the city.

Recreational travels: This is another form of population movement or migration motivated for recreational purposes. The destinations may be places of scenic beauty (hill stations or sea side areas), historical sites (Rajgir, Sanchi, Chittorgarh) or big towns with mixed facilities (like Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta). The duration depends on the spending ability and span of the usual vacation. A large number of Bengalees and Maharastrians generally undertake such type of movement in October, the time coinciding with the long vacation of Pujah or Dewali festival.

Migration and Population Distribution:

The above analysis of the various categories of migration now in vogue in different parts of the world gives us some foresights.

International migration is not a solution to population problem. There is hardly a State in the world which will open its door to mass immigrants. Limited immigration as allowed by the U. S. A. or a few other countries is motivated to offer a quick solution of the shortage of trained and educated personnel. Such migration does not reduce the population congestion. On the contrary, the quality of the people deteriorates with the migration of a large number of people with superior qualitative standard.

In case of internal migration, population redistribution or reallocation is not feasible through Government measures as such migrations are closely knitted with the social metabolism of the people. People do not move to empty lands. They migrate only when better opportunities are provided. This better opportunity, however, is not always necessarily economic in nature. The flight of the Arabs from Israel, Hindus from Pakistan and rural folk coming to the cities may be cited as examples. It can be a positive step to planned population dispersal only when the country strides forward to economic growth through the development of agriculture, industry, trade, commerce and other forms of her resource utilization.

Conclusion

With increasing sophisticated of our modern society the migration pattern is undergoing rapid changes. Inter-continental migrations are gradually dwindling. But internal migrations are gradually increasing in various forms and ramifications. This is well illustrated in case of the United States where the people is always on the move. Urbanization and growth in transport technology will bring this wave to the underdeveloped countries in future.

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RABINDRA SANGEET : SONGS COMPOSED By Rabindra Nath Tagore

So far I have discussed three categories of Indian music namely classical *(Dhrupad, Kheyal, Tappa, Thumri),* light classical *(Bhajan, Gazal, Kirtan)* and folk *(Baul, Bhatiali* and tribal songs of Barabhum). I have also tried to compare some of the features of our classical music with the Western classical music. Tagore's prolific musical compositions, which number more than three thousand do not easily fit into any of the categories mentioned so far. Yet he has utilised off and on in various combinations all the above forms of music. This synthesis, in its expressive completeness becomes a class by itself.

Tagore was brought up in a family environment where cultivation of music was very much emphasised. Famous exponents of the Vishnupur school of *Dhrupad*—such as Jadu Bhatta were his music teachers. His elder brothers Jyotirindra Nath and Satyendra Nath had a mastery over classical Indian music and were also well aquainted with Western music. Tagore's own music known as Rabindra Sangeet grew up on the basis of Classical Indian music. Orthodox exponents of classical music tend to ignore Tagore's contribution to music on the plea that his compositions do not have a classical Indian root. But these stereotyped comments are often not based on an objective analysis of the structure of Tagore's music. To quote his own words (in translation):

"Where do I stand if I deny the age-old magnificent musical tradition of India? There is of course, some place to live in the Western World; but how would I earn the price for that rented house?.....even as children we were accustomed to listen to *Dhrupad* songs .....From *Dhrupad* we have received two elements--its massive depth and its exquisite restraint maintaining a delicate sense of balance and harmony.....When the melodies that were stored up in my mind looked for expression they came out embracing words with them.....it was no longer possible to determine which of them were more important .....When the music is absolutely independent it is possible to maintain the rules and restrictions, but in combination with words to form songs, that absolute standard cannot be preserved. But it is only after a complete grasp of traditional music that one can acquire the right to deviate from the strict rules."

Taking the clue from Tagore's own words, let me proceed toward an attempt to classify his compositions. I have discussed that in classical Indian vocal music the main emphasis is given on the development of melody, words having a subordiante role. But in Rabindra Sangeet it is impossible to separate words from melody. Should we then label his music as light classical or folk music where word themes are more important ? But all forms of light classical or folk music deals with a limited range of word or melodic themes. Being essentially a modern poet with an unusually wide range of creative expression Tagore introduced new elements in both word and melodic themes beyond the sphere of both *Raga* and folk music. In some of his compositions he has violated the strict rules of *Raga* music even more than is done in folk music, Again while he moved freely to the level of folk music he also used deep *Ragas* like *Malkosh, Bhupali, Iman* or *Todi* in many of his compositions in the pure classical style of *Dhrupad* or *Kheyal*, which are generally avoided in light classical or folk music. Tagore's songs have elements of classical music but cannot be equated to classical music ; they have elements of folk music but cannot be classed as folk music. A principle of addition and elimination works through all his compositions. Restraint and abundance have been combined in an unparalled proportion.

Some of Tagore's songs are based on the strict rules of *Dhrupad*. But while in *Dhrupad* the theme is always followed by variation with double and quadruple tempo, variation and development are not allowed in Tagore music. Tagore's *Dhrupad* composition may be called an incomplete *Dhrupad*, but the word theme is blended with melody in such a completeness that in a way it is more than just a *Dhrupad* theme.

Tagore has composed songs exactly in the form of *Kheyal*, *Thumri* and *Tappa*. But his *Kheyal* is far from *Kheyal* because melodic expansion into *Bistar* and *Tana* which are the life of *Kheyal* are not allowed. A major part of the conventional *Kheyal* generally deals with melodic movement disconnected with word themes. Also, except in the cases of some rare musicians with an expectional sense of balance the general tendency of the exponents of *Kheyal* is toward an excessive show of skill, rather than coordination of the melodic movement with the essential emotional message of the *Raga*. Tagore had an aversion for excessive ornamentation. In his compositions the classical forms are restricted and simplified. Of course if the melodic part of Tagore's *Kheyal* themes are separated from the word part, it would not have much more elements than just a skeleton of *Kheyal* in most cases. He has imposed restrictions on the free movement and development of *Raga* in his *Kheyal* compositions, but in an urge to give proper expression to the word themes he has spontaneously introduced variations in conventional

Ragas by wise selection of foreign notes creating new *Ragas* in the process. It should be remembered, however, that Rabindra Sangeet can in no way be a substitute for classical Indian music. While classical music provide a vast and complete base for elaboration of pure abstract melodic expression, Tagore music provides expression for a great range of deep human emotions.

It is comparatively easier to sing a Tagore song than to present a complete classical form of music, which needs very rigorous training. But a deep sensitivity is required to give true expression to Tagore songs. Also, although it is not essential to practise classical music for singing Tagore songs, a good knowledge and practice of classical music surely improves the presentation and appreciation of Tagore music.

When Tagore borrowed from folk music, the same principle of elimination of excess worked. In *Kirtan* as we have seen, some parts are repeated over and over with or without slight variation in word and tune in order to create a hypnotic emotional effect on the audience. Tagore has utilised the rich emotional association of some of the melodic motifs of *Kirtan* in some of his compositions to give a touch of the devotional flavour to a theme which may or may not deal with Radha Krishna. But he has taken the essential elements of *Kirtan*, eliminating excessive ornamentation.

Among folk songs he was perhaps most influenced by the Songs of the *Baul* religious mendicants. The *Baul* melodic motifs have introduced an effect of otherworldly detachment in many of his word themes which are otherwise quite distinct from common *Baul* themes. He has also composed some songs in regular *Baul* from but the melodic theme in these are refined compared to typical *Baul* folk songs.

Through free use of spontaneous rhythm in music he has experimented with new rhythms and *Tals* which are not used in North Indian classical music. Some of them are used in South Indian music but some of them may be completely new innovations.

In borrowing from the Western system the same sense of balance and proportion and creativity operates. He did not just imitate Western tunes indiscriminately but has utilised some Western tunes for some poetic expressions and blended them in harmony with the essentially classical Indian root. Insisting on fixed notation for songs is of course something not common in Indian system of music. But it is hard to decide whether this attitude came through Western influence. Perhaps he was quite concious of the exquisite balance between word, tune and rhythm in his compositions which he wanted to preserve undistorted for the coming generations. He has composed some dance-dramas nothing like which was there at least in North India. He might have been inspired by Western operas to compose the dance-dramas.

From an analysis of different types of Tagore songs it is apparant that they are not just haphazard mixture and justaposition of different types of music but meeting place of many different streams of music in a typical Tagore way. In his compositions the classical forms have been presented with simplified melodic structures and with beautiful word themes, which provide a channel for the layman toward an introduction to classical music. Also, by refining folk tunes in his compositions he has helped to bring the flavour of rural life to the urban people. He does not seem to have operated with a mission for revival of folk music or popularising classical music, but his tremendous creative urge combined with his exceptional musical sense absorbed materials from anything he came across throughout his life.

Tagore's musical works may be classified in different ways—according to chronological order, subject of word themes, and so on. But to keep continuity with my previous papers in the series I shall try to classify his compositions in terms of musical forms. Since word themes are very important in Tagore's songs I have attempted to translate some of the songs, although it is impossible to transmit the true flavour of the songs through translation. It is in fact impossible to appreciate the beauty of Tagore's songs without a good grasp over Bengali language. But though the moods are expressed in Bengali, the appeal of the songs are by no means regional. I hope that the following examples of songs will give some idea of the range of melodic and rhythmic varieties in Tagore's compositions.

Some songs based on the following general categories have been selected as examples of varieties of Tagore songs :

I. *Classical*
   (a) Dhrupad, (b) Kheyal, (c) Tappa, (d) Taumri and (e) South Indian Raga.
II. Light classical (Kirtan).
III. European tune.
IV. Folk songs (Eastern and Western India).
V. Songs with unusual combination of *tals*.

Three other categories of word themes—special seasonal songs, songs to the motherland and Dance Drama uses all the categories of musical forms in various combinations.

Translation of the songs with reference for the notations are given below : The poetic value and the depth of expression could not be brought out in the transtations, which only gives some idea about some type of themes Tagore has dealt with in his songs.

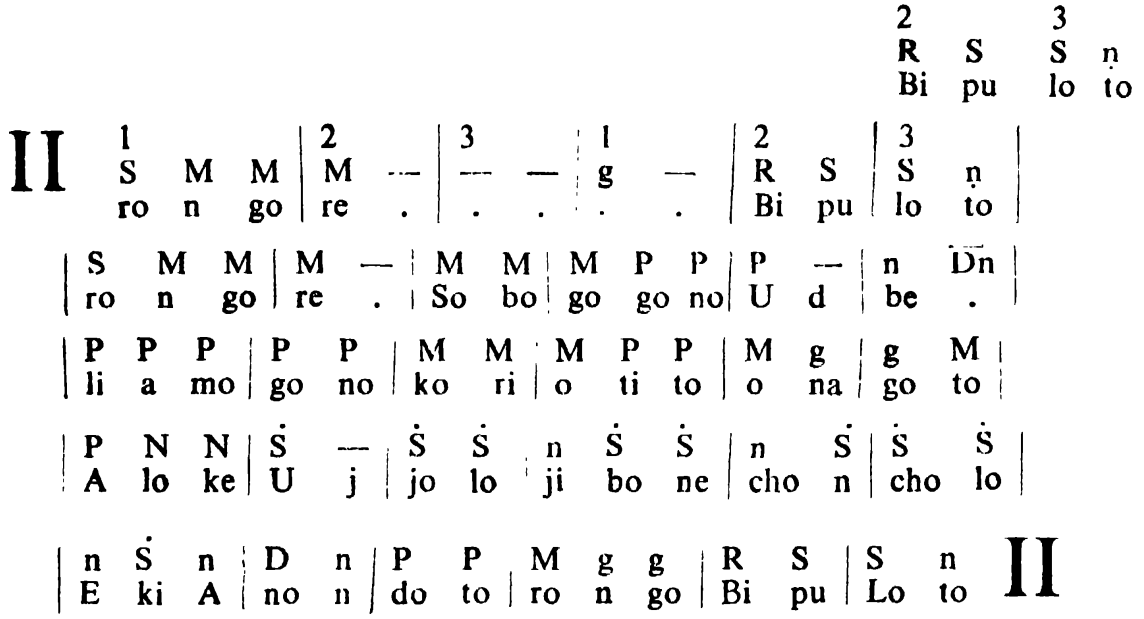
(1) *Classical*

Dhrupad (Raga Bhimpalasree)

Swarabitan 25, 57, 1952 (Calcutta)
In Bengali (Bipulo Torngorey . . .)

O the great waves that overflows through the sky and overwhelms!
Reveals the past and the future with glowing light
Vibrant with life what a tremendous wave of delight
That is why the sun, the moon and the stars are swinging!
The flow of conciousness is trembling with wonder
The run of every day life is submerged in eager restless dance!
The bird of the heart is singing.

Notation of the first staza:
Rhythm cycle (Rupak) 3/2/

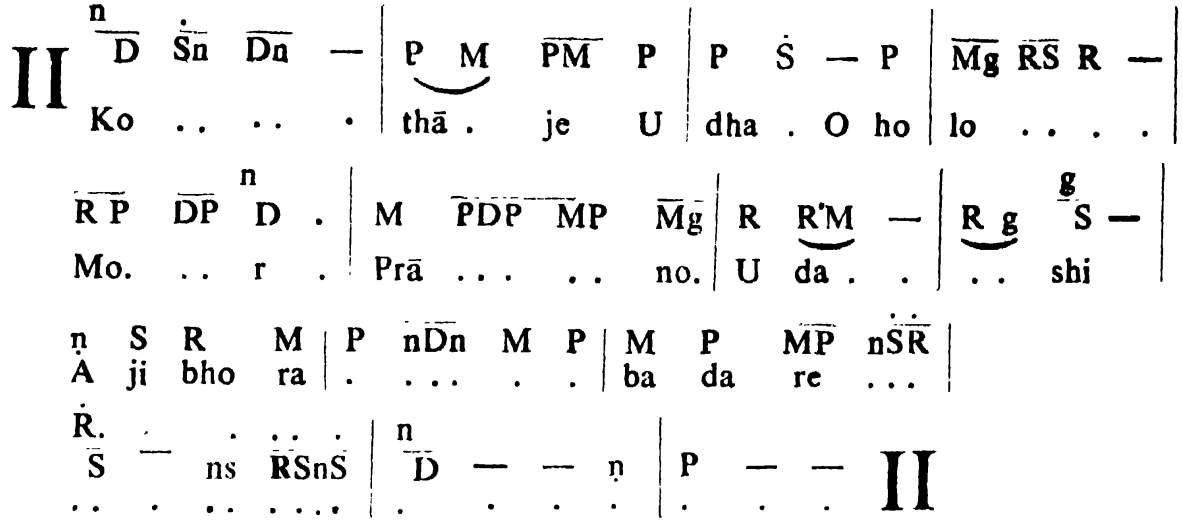


The numbers at the top of the notes in the first two lines indicate the principal divisions in the rhythm cycle, which completes in fourteen beats. The part of the notation within the symbol II comprises a complete malodic theme.

(2) *Kheyal* (Raga Mallar)
Swarabitan 2, 48, 1936 (Kotha je Udhao holo more pran)

I know not where my pensive self has disappeared
in this deep shower.
There is thunderous clammering over and over
Water is pouring down all around and beyong the horizon
My mind runs with the restless winds
Through the void, towards eternity.

Notation of the first stanza:
Rhythm cycle (Trital) 4/4/4/4/

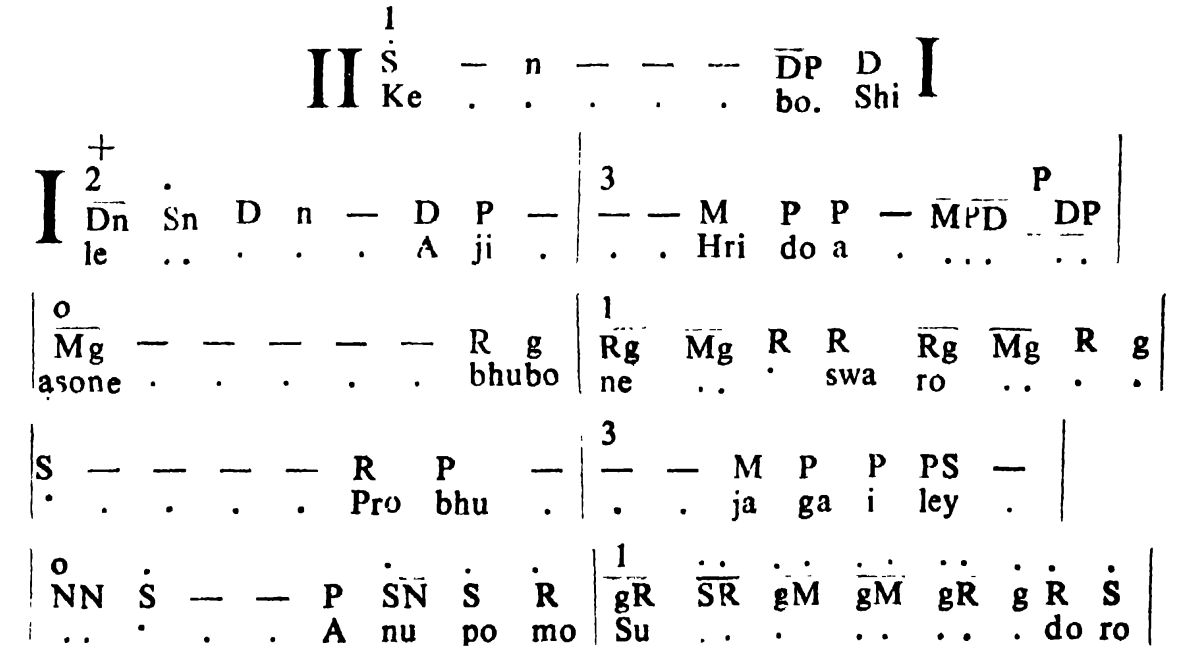


The symbol ⌒ under two notes indicates a glide between the notes. The note n above bar indicates a slight touch on the note.

(3) *Tappa* (Raga Sindhu Kafi)
Swara-bitan 45 39, Santiniketan 1956 (Ke Boshile Aji Hridoy Asoney).

You hav. taken seat in my heart
O Lord of the earth!
You have revealed an unparallelled charming beauty
O the Lord of my heart
Suddenly flowers bloomed in the dry branches!
Neetar is flowing on the stone.

Notation of the first stanza: Rhythem cycle 8/8/8/8/



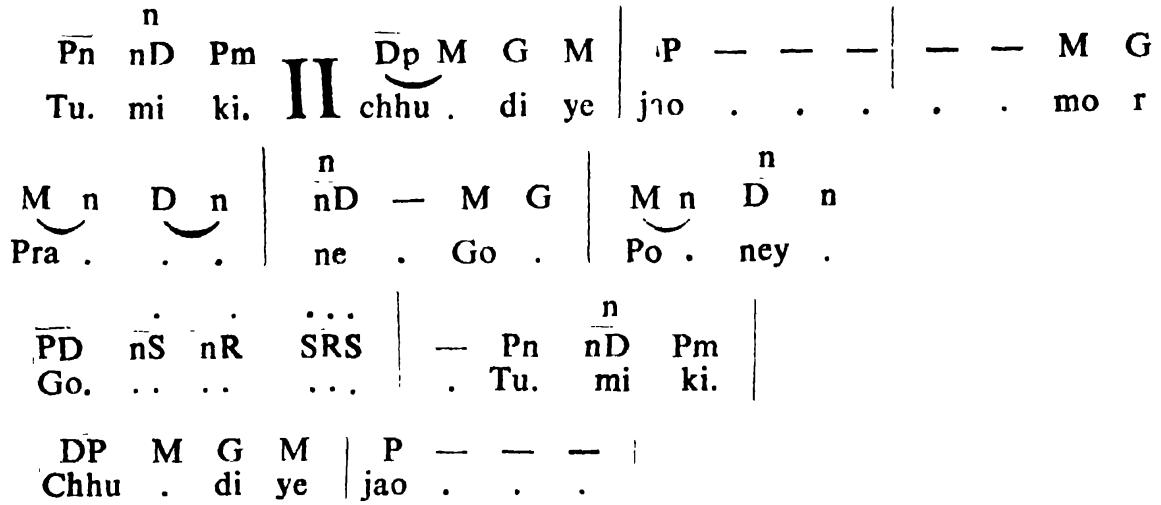
+ Sign indicates the starting point of the rhythm cycle, the corresponding note is slightly stressed.

(4) *Thumri* (Raga Piloo)

Swarabitan *3*, 19, 1938 (Santiniketan) (Tumi Kichhu dieyjao . . .)

Give something to my heart secretly
in fragrance of flower, tune of the flute and murmuring breeze
Take something from my sorrowing heart,
from the tears that have merged into smile,
the words of the silent eyes.

4. *Notation :* (first line) Rhythem cycle 4/4

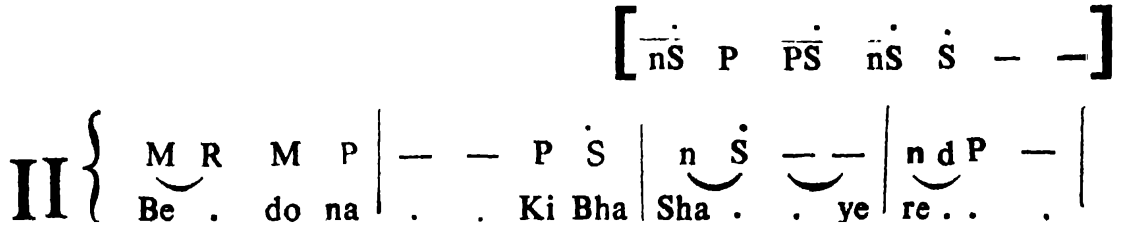


(5) *South Indian Raga*

Swarabitan 5, 45, Santiniketan 1942 (Bedona ki Bhashaye . . .)

O in what an exquisite expression
my sorrow rings through deep in my heart the murmuring tune!
The sorrow moves through the wind,
sets the universe into vigorous vibration
Day and night I am awake in pain of separation
at the door of your paradise garden
O my charming friend—
The divine flower spreads fragnance to my eager heart.

5. *Notation* (first line) Rhythm cycle 4/4/4/4/.



M P M d | dṖ M R M |— M R M P nd P
Mo . . r | me . . . | . mo r m ri

g — MP dp | Mg r S — | n S g M | P dP M P
gu n jo . . | ri . . . | ba . . . |

P — — — | — — — — } II
jey . . . | . . . .

The notation under third bracket in the end of 1st line indicates finer details.

European tune :

6. *Scottish, melody* (Ye Banks and braes of Bonnie doon)
Kalmrgaya pp. 3, Santiniketan 1953 (Phuley Phuley dholey dhioley.
In what a poise the soft breeze flows from flower to flower !
The brook passes with an outburst of rattling rhythm
The cuckoo is cooing in the gardens
I know not what my heart is crying for.

6. *Notation* (first line) Rhythm cycle (Dadra) 3/3/.

II { s / M — M | P DPM P | D SNS D | P DPM P
Phu . ley | Phu . . . ley | dho . . . ley | dho . . . ley

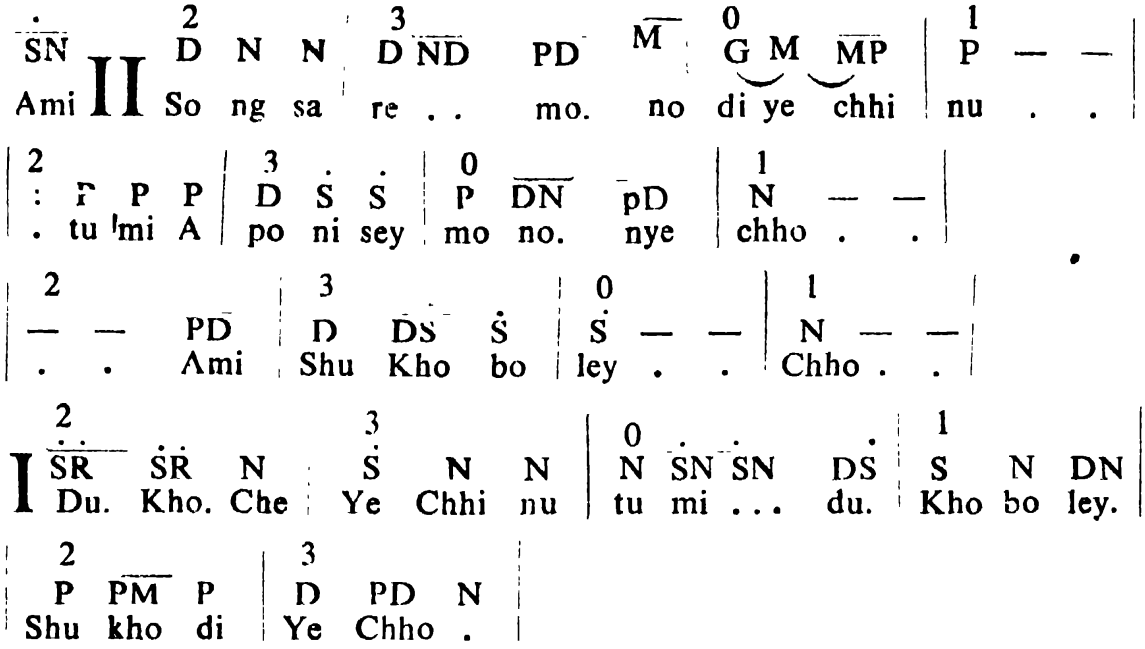
D nDP M | M R S | S R RM | M — — } |
Bo . . . hey | Ki . ba | Mri . du. | Ba . ye }

Light classical :

(7) *Kirtan*
Swarabitan 27 83, 1952, Calcutta (Ami Songsarey mono diyechhinu .

I had set my mind to every day life
But you have taken away that mind.
I took sorrow for happiness
But you have given me happiness in the guise of sorrow
How could you glean the hundred scattered parts of the heart
in search of selfish attainments.
and gathered them into a single devotional bond.
You have made me move from door to door in search of happiness
But at last you have disclosed how near you are to me.
Your grace take people to different directions through different paths
Suddenly I open my eyes to find that I am at your door.

7. *Notation:* (first line) Rhythm cycle 3/3/3/3/.



The symbol : indicates a half beat.

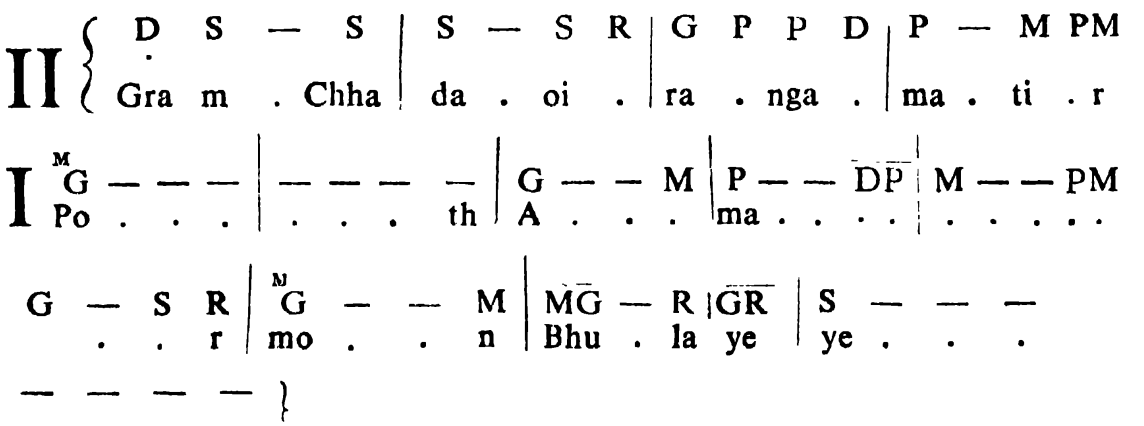
Folk songs

(8) *Baul* (Bengal)

Prayaschitta . . . . (Gram Chhara oi ranga matir poth)

That path of red earth beyond the village carries my mind away.
I do not know toward whom my mind spreads its hands
and bows down at the dust.
He takes me out of my home, leads my steps
He takes me away where I do not know
What wealth he would show in which turn
Where he would put me in trouble
Where will be my ultimate destination
I do not know anything about it.

8. *Notation* (first line) Rhythm cycle 4/4 (Kharva).



(9) *Folk tune from Punjab*

Brahma Sangeets *6* (Bajey Bajey Bajey Romyo Beena . .)

The sweet lute rings
Within the pure lotus, in the moonlight
In dark night, in fragrance of flower
The lute rings with love
Everything is in enchanting dance
The sun and the stars, the rivers, the seas.
life and death and the eternal time
The devoted heart dances
in tune with the rhythm of the Universe
Every thing dance with love.
Everything is dressed up gracefully,
The blue sky, the dawn. and the dusk.
the dust of the earth, the poor and the sorrowing
The submitted heart dress up
in tune with the beauty of the universe
Everything dress up with love.

Notation of the first line 3/2/2/.

S	—	D	S	—	S	R	SR	G	G	R	—	S	–										
Ba	.	jey	Ba	.	jey	.	Ro	.	mya	Bee	.	na	.										
S	—	R	R P	—	m	P	G	M	G	R	—	S	N										
Ba	.	.	jey	.	.	.	Ba	.	jey	Ba	.	jey	.										
D	N	D	S	--	S	—	S	—	R	R P	—	—	--										
Ro	.	mya	Bee	.	na	.	Ba	.	.	jey	.	.	.										

(10) *Mixed Kirtan*

Swarabitan *13*, 68, Calcutta 1950.

Translation by Rabindra Nath Tagore pp. 366, Collected Poems and Plays by Rabindra Nath Tagore The Macmillan Company, New York 1958

I call her my Krishna flower
though they call her dark in the village
I remember a cloud-laden day
and a glance from her eyes,
her veil trailing down at her feet,
her braided hair loose on her back.
Ah, you call her dark ; let that be,
her black gazelle eyes I have seen.

Her cows were lowing in the meadow,
when the fading light grew grey.
With hurried steps she came out
from her hut near the bamboo grove.
She raised her quick eyes to the sky,
where the clouds were heavy with rain.
Ah, you call her dark let that be,
her black gazelle eyes I have seen.

The East wind in fitful gusts
ruffled the young shoots of rice.
I stood at the boundary hedge
with none else in the lonely land.
If she espied me in secret or not
She only knows and know I.
Ah, you call her dark, let that be,
her black gazelle eyes I have seen.

I call her my Krishna flower,
let others say what they like.
In the rice-field of Maina village
I felt the first glance of her eyes.
She had not a veil on her face,
not a moment of leisure for shyness.
Ah, you call her dark let that be,
her black gazelle eyes I have seen.

(11) Combinations of *Talas*

Swarabitan *2*, 78, 1936.

The theme is about the dance of *Nataraj*. The passages are set in the following sequence of *Tals:*

(i) *Dadra:* Six beats distributed as 3/3
(ii) *Shasti:* Six beats distributed as 2/4 *
(iii) eight beats distributed as 2/2/2/2/
(iv) *Jhaptal:* ten beats distributed as 2/3/ 2/3.

Songs of seasons

A description of Tagore music will be incompleted without songs of seasons. Tagore has watched all the seasons with a childlike interest,

* This *tal* has been composed by Tagore

throughout his life and has composed many songs on all the seasons. Translations of only three examples are given below :

(i) Rainy season

Swarabitan *1,* 107, Calcutta 1935.

The Damaru * is rattling in the heart
The deep cloud is frowing
The woods are enchanted
The anxious heart is swinging
in a dream of union with the stranger.

The thunderous showers scare the night
Malati ** branches are shaking the blossoms
with a sad murmur.
The garden with wistling crickets is scared

Notation of the first stanza : The Rhythm cycle (Dhamar) is complete in fourteen bears beats 3/4/3/4/

P	ṇ	P	N	—	N	NS	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	
Hri	do	Ye	Mo	n	dri	lo	da	mo	ru	gu	ru	gu	ru	
P	N	N	N	S	S	S	R	R	R	$\overline{RM}$	$\dot{G}\dot{M}$	R	S	
Gho	no	we	ghe	r	bhu	ru	ku	ti	lo	ku·	·n	chi	to	
R	R	R	RM	$\overline{\dot{G}\dot{M}}$	R	S	N	N	N	$\overline{\dot{N}\dot{S}}$	NS	$\overline{P}$	$\overline{P}$	
Ho	lo	ro	ma.	·n	chi	to	bo	no	bo	na·	·n	to	ro	
M	M	M	M	P	P	P	R	—	R	S	—	S	S	
Du	li	lo	cho	n	cho	lo	bo	.	kkho	hi	n	do	le	
P	ṇ	P	N	—	N	N	N	—	S	S	S	S	—	
mi	lo	no	Sho	p	ne	shey	ko	n	O	ti	thi	re	.	

The sign ⌒ under N and S indicates a glide between the two notes.

(ii) Autumn

Shatagan, pp. 49, Santiniketan 1928.

I know not what my heart is craving for in morning dream
in the autumn sun.

What do the Sephali branches want to tell me
What do the pair of birds sing ?

* The drum of Shiva.
** a creeper.

The sweet breeze carries my heart away
My mind can't rest at home.
I do not know what blossom and fragrance my mind
seeks in the blue sky.
I do not know whom I miss so much that my life loses all meaning
The mind look around and cries "no, not this!"
I do not know in which dreamland she is waiting
with her flowing hair in the mysterious paradise.
In which garden side she is crying in pain of separation from me.

If I compose a song with an eager heart shall I sing for?
If I make a garland with flowers whom shall I dedicate it?
If I dedicate my life, whom shall I offer it?
I am always afraid lest anyone is hurt for want of care
without my knowing.

(iii) *Winter*

Navagitika 2 (Sheeter Haway lago Nachon....)

The winter wind sets the branches of Amloki to dance
The leaves trembled and fell with its rhythm
The ecstatic blast wiped away everything
And the beauty of the fruits are no longer hidden
I am waiting for him throughout the morning
who plays the game of taking away and fulfilling
The touch of winter calls me off and on
When will my turn to give everything away come?

Songs to the motherland

The songs are based mostly on *Baul* melodic motifs adding a deep dedicative mood to the word themes. The mood depicted is distinctly different from usual national songs. Tagore's national songs express a deep sentiment of a son to the mother rather than preaching nationalistic pride.

(i) Swarabitan *46*, 1959.

O my sweet Bengal I love thee!
Your sky and your breeze are playing flute in my heart all the time.
The fragrance of your mango groves in spring enchants me.
What a charming smile I have seen in the full paddy fields in December.
My joy is boundless O mother.

What beauty, what shades, what compassion and charm.
What beautiful trail have you spread under the banyan trees
and on the banks of rivers.
Words from your mouth pour nectar to my ears O mother.
I am in tears if your face is sad

I have spent my childhood in your play house
How fortunate I am to be able to smear my body with your
tender dust and mud.
At the end of the day when dusk sets in.
what wonderful lamps you light!
I run to rest in your lap leaving all my games.

My days are spent in your fields grazed by cows,
in banks of rivers, the village covered with soft shades
with incessant songs of birds resounding, O what a pleasure it is.
O mother, all my brothers are your shepherds and farmers.

I place my head on your feet O mother,
Give me the blessed dust of your feet.
that will be the Jewel on my head.
I place whatever wealth I have in my poor store to your feet O mother.

(ii) I won't leave you O mother, whoever else may do so.
I will cling to your feet and would care for no one else.

Who says you have a poor home?
Your heart is full of jewels
I know the worth of it, I wont care for others favours

Those who seek fame from distant lands
may wander around as they like
But I cannot forget that your torn rug is spread with care
The people around allure me with wealth, fame and popularity
I am scared of those temptations
I will never give in.

I hope that the above discussion will give some idea of the variety of word themes, melodic patterns and rhythm used in Rabindra sangeet. Further details can be obtained from references of complete notation and also by listening to many gramophone records of Rabindra Sangeet. I have only indicated how different *ragas* and folk forms have been utilised in Tagore's compositions. But Rabindra Sangeet can not be meaningfully described merely in terms of derivative forms. One intuitively senses

certain typical melodic sequences, which gives a special character in Rabindra sangeet, irrespective of the form (Baul, Thumri, Kirtan or Dhrupad) on which the composition is based. Structural specification of such special characteristic require much more rigourous analysis than has been aimed at in my preliminary discussion on different types of music of India. But I feel that analysis of basic design and process of elaboration of Rabindra Sangeet is a subject worth pursuing in understanding the culture of modern India. I understand that Dr. Amiya Nath Sanyal in his characteristic lonely path of research has analysed a very large number of Tagore songs. Unfortunately in his ailing health he is unable to complete his endeavour in a published form. A book by Santidev Ghosh (Ghosh 1942) gives a very useful account of different phases of Tagore's musical compositions. The book contains many brilliant insights about the nature of Tagore songs.

Musical compositions of Atul Prasad Sen, Rajani Kanto Sen, Nazrul Islam and Dwijendra Lal Roy, who were Tagore's contemporary are worth mentioning. These composers, also depended mostly on classical Indian root, but have developed charming characteristic styles of their own. Detailed analysis and comparative study of musical structure of these compositions is a field of research which has not so far been seriously taken up by any music scholar.

I have deliberately avoided discussion on the songs termed as modern songs which are being composed in a large number by many people evey year. These songs are mostly of post Tagore period. As yet these songs do not seem to fit into a systematic structure. There are some scattered examples of successful compositions. Most of these songs deal with sentimental themes and are more or less similar to popular modern western songs.

REFERENCES:

1. Das, Prafulla Kumar—Rabindra Sangeet Prasanga Part I (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1960.
2. Ghosh, Santidev—Rabindra Sangeet (in Bengali) Calcutta, 1942.

I. C. C. R. BOOK

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ANCIENT INDIAN EROTICS AND EROTIC LITERATURE, by Sushil Kumar De, Calcutta, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1969, pp. 109, Rs. 8/-.

This little book offers a good deal more than at first sight it promises. And to cover in so small a space an outline of a vast and difficult subject as to that of the title of the book might be expected to result in a collection of dull generalisations. Dr. De has not attempted anything so unwise. Instead he has proved, with a treatment that is his own, a series of fascinating glimpses from the ancient Hindu texts for the general reader than for scholar and the specialist, more as an appreciation than as a piece of original investigation.

The book is the combination of two separate monographs—"The Treatment of Love in Sanskrit Literature" and "Ancient Indian Erotics". While presenting the book to the public the author writes "Although the subject possesses great interest and importance, no scholar has yet made a special or systematic treatment of it as a whole." His early attempts to that effect are reproduced here with a little bit of addition and alteration. As is his nature, the author is better when he sticks to fact. It is good that a renowned scholar has tried to record something on ancient Indian erotics and one hopes that others will be inspired to do the same at no distant days.

Shibnarayan Kabiraj

DRAGONS AND DRAGON LORE, by Ernest Ingersoll, with an introduction by Henry F. Osborn, Payson & Clarke. New York. *raissued* by Singing Tree Press, Detroit, Michigan, pp. XII+202, 1968.

Dragon Worship and the Dragon Myth are popular in a great many ancient nations especially in China. Peaking appeared as the apotheosis of the Dragon in every conceivable form of symbolism and architecture. The Dragons leading up to the steps of the temples and palaces of the Manchu emperors, and the superb dragon-screen guarding the approach to one of the royal palaces, are but two of the innumerable examples of the universal former belief in these mythical animals and of the still prevailing beliefs among the common people of China and even after the completion of the recent cultural revolution by the Chinese Communists this is not yet dead. Exactly how the tradition of folk knowledge of the world survived and how it came to flourish in different parts of the world

has been the subject of some thoughts of some scholars and the author of the book under review draws in great details, in the following chapters, that fill in a considerable hiatus in our knowledge on this score. The chapters are—*Birth of the Dragon, Wanderings of the young Dragon, Indian Nagas and Draconic Prototypes. The Divine Spirit of the Waters, Draconic Grandparents, The Dragon as a Rain-God, Korean Water and Mountain Spirits, "The Men of the Dragon Bones," The Dragon in Japanese art. The Dragons' Prescious Pearl, The Dragon invades the West, The 'Old Serpent' and his Progeny, Welsh Romances and English Legends. The Dragon and the Holly Cross. To the Glory of St. George* and others. The most interesting aspects of this book as far as folklore is concerned are the study of animal lore. The style of the book evolved in close relation to tradition and belief. It is a fascinating work which deserves better circulation.

Samir Ghosal

CORPORATE LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA, R. C. Majumdar, Calcutta, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 3rd Edn. 1969 pp. (16)+391, 1969, Rs. 25/-.

It seems inconceivable that this is one of the fundamental monographs on one of the most important aspects in the socio-cultural history of ancient India But very few authors, indeed, could do justice to such a complete theme, which belongs partly to ancient history and literature and partly to archaeology, folklore and anthropology and the comparative study of religion. It is due to Professor Mujumdar's profound familiarity with all these disciplines and his brilliant descriptions of their interplay that the present edition is so eminently satisfying.

The reviewer is tempted to quote a remark of Vincent A. Smith, the great historian, who while reviewing the First print of this book in 1920 said that "Majumdar's book gives promise of farther well-designed researches calculated to throw much light upon the history of ancient India. His discussion of the kingless states of ancient India in chapter—II is full and excellent . . . . (he) is to be congratulated on his freedom from the literary and other prejudices which have often obscured the story of the origins of caste institution." The present edition consists of *Corporate Activities in Economic Life . . . . ., Corporate Activities in Political Life . . . . Corporate Activities in Religious Life* and *Corporate Activities in Social Life . . . .* with an introduction. While dealing with these the author utilised considerable amount of folklore material that suits his study. Every student of folklore should read this book for widening his knowledge of ancient India. We congratulate Dr. Majumdar on his undiminished vigour and this major achievement.

S. S. G.

EDITORIAL

In India, particularly in rural areas, the status of the folk people are dependent upon the institution of caste. Though family is the primary unit of the village society, all social relations are determined by caste dimensions. In spite of the fact that strict caste regulations which assigned a particular role to each caste is the self-sufficient village economy are in jeopardy, their hold in the village is not yet dead inspite of progressive movements and the propaganda against the castism by the reformers. The membership of the caste is hereditary and a considerable part of each caste still follows the specific traditional occupation perhaps owing to paucity of occupational facilities. Quite a large number of people are unable to breakthrough the traditional occupation which may be good or had, but is reality. Again, even today, intercaste marriages are looked down upon by a considerable number of rural people and for marriage purposes each caste is considered as an endogamous unit. This is deep rooted in the society at large. Not only this, there are also set of rules of interdining and intermixing among different castes and a certain degree of social status is attached to each caste.

Brahmins, as usual, are at the top tier of the caste hierarchy, who officiate at religious ceremonies of all castes except those who are outcasted or untouchables. It has been established by the research workers that the traditional caste occupations and rigidities are slackening very slowly in India and the lower castes have still to bear the order of higher castes even after twenty-two years of Independence. The main reasons for this unfortunate situation seems to be economic dependence and lack of education among the masses of the people. Without proper education of its inâbitants no amount of constitutional guarantee can improve their lot and condition. If peasants are not provided with the land to toil, able bodied young men and women are not provided with employment for livelihood and the students are not provided with meaningful education how one can expect a happy nation ?

But what would be the role of a folklorist in that situation ? No doubt a fact that owing to economic pressure and its influence of urbanism, the simple, unsophisticated folk people are getting changed to a different people, they are neither rural nor urban but a hotch-potch of the two. On the one hand they are superstitious, rigid and believers of caste-rule, and on the other they are trying to get as much sophisticated as possible within their limit, environment and power. Thus traditional joint-families are slowly breaking down which are taking new from as small and nucleated families. Therefore it is high time for all students and workers of folklore to collect as much materials as possible from these people who are getting changed in the changing situation and time in a spirit of now or never.

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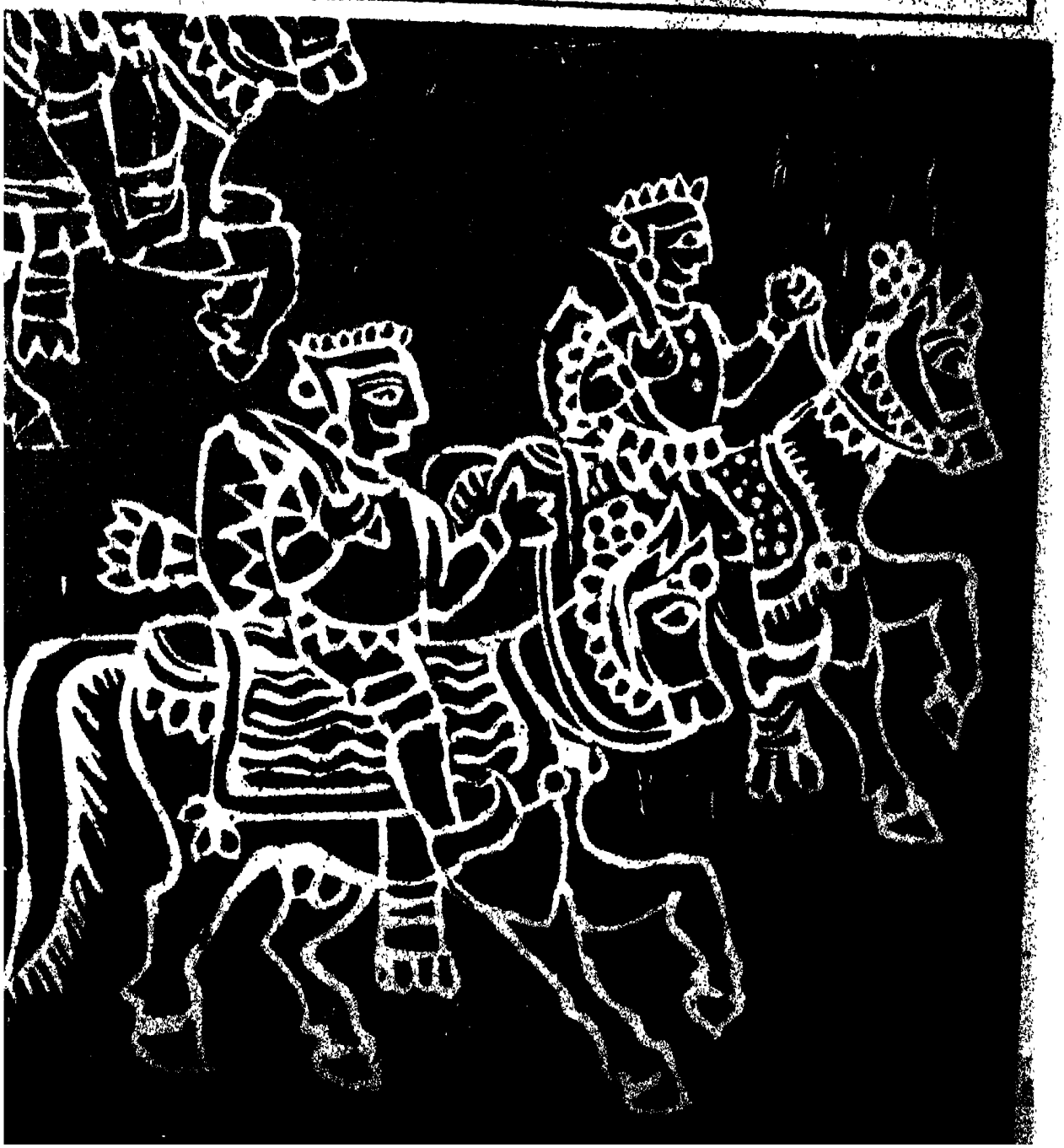
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SAMIR K. GHOSH

MAN LANGUAGE AND SOCICTY

(Continued from previous issue)

A sociology of language, embracing various forms of language and behaviour, language and communication, language and experience, was until very recently unknown (is still unexplored) and indeed was inconceivable as an independent branch of linguistics or sociology. Now this largely developing discipline gets contributions from anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists, political scientists, historians, even educationists; though the major contributions still come from the pen of linguists and social anthropologists. As it stands now, it is still considered a subject taught in the departments of anthropology and linguistics (under various headings of language and culture, linguistic anthropology, ethnolinguistics, sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, etc.) and is also included in the agenda of anthropological/sociological/linguistic society meetings, specially in the United States. A inter disciplinary treatment to the field is not yet in the picture, not to speak of its self-standing status. Recent years have seen the publications of quite a few books as well as many individual papers, which convince one that the sociology of language has attracted the attention and won the virtual recognition as a branch of enquiry of the interested scholars. And if one has to mention four names in this connection, the scholars active in the field, one takes the name of Basil Bernstein, Joshua Fishman, John Gumperz, late Dell Hymes and, Uriel Winreich.

But as an independent science, sociology of language will pose some problems, solution of which is at present not workable. There is the sociology of various forms of language within the related disciplines of literature, anthropology, sociologicy, psychology, folklore, history, philosophy, and of course, linguistics. This brings us to the shore whether

sociology of language is to be regarded as an independent science or an auxiliary science. Besides, how the sociology of language can be integrated in the social sciences as a whole instead of being alloted as a marginal role, is a moot point.

Since we assume that there is a science of language and of society, there will be a sociology of language. Both linguistics and social sciences, are a discovery and rediscovery of nineteenth century scholars and thinkers, though for a proper perspective in the sociology of language one has to go back to Panini, Aristotle, Descartes, Herder, von Humboldt, Vices and others. A history of sociology of language is yet to be written. But this young discipline in order to survive a fatal death, must develop its tenets and trailways, both tried and untried, theoretical and practical, purely intellectual and empirical, various ways and means to establish its identity. Any systematization may register a voice of criticism and protest, but as a starting point is it worthwhile in trying it. Unlike the physical sciences, social sciences have not yet become the monopoly of any individual or group or institution. Also, it is futile to establish any priority rights, in regard to sociology of language in the process of exploration of depth, in the search for the basic structures of unities and continuities of meaning, in symbolizing the functions.

Sociolinguistics approaches the study of language (*code* and the varieties) via an inductive building up of a series of well described cases by showing the systematic covariance of linguistic and social structure. While sociolinguistics is implicitly comparative, the methods of sociology of language are explicitly, deliberately, and formally, so for here the language sociologists draws together a number of case studies from existing sociolinguistic reports; he seeks correlations or covariations (patterned) in several aspects of language and culture, to test pre-set hypotheses, to formulate new ones, to state general laws. But both are interested to show that "variation or diversity is not in fact 'free', but is correlated with systematic social differences". And both the descriptive sociolinguistics and the formal comparative work of language sociology, so far, are atemporal, i.e., they lack the dimension of time. They have not deal with sequences of social-cultural-linguistic events along the continuum of history, and/or with long-or-short term process of social change and evolution. Both should also be interested in the linguistic aspect of the systems of role differentiation, shared values, ideals and goals, and in controlling and regulating the means men use to attend their ends—the work of sociolinguist and language sociologists may differ in the content and complexity, attitude and interest, emphasis and proneness in the subject matter of their study. Otherwise, the terms sociolinguistics and sociology of language may be interchanged in the literature (though the author prefers the latter).

Sociology of languages has so far been the concern of linguists and enthropologists rather than sociologists proper, who may find it hard in linking the various forms and functions of language and society, the sciences of language and sociology. For a history of the sociology of language one has perhaps go back to the Italian Philosopher of history. Giambattista Vico (1668-1744). He emphasized the importance of language as a useful means to the knowledge of the study of peoples. Incidentally, what Chomsky and his associates have done to Descartes and von Humboldt in re-establishing them and reinterpreting their stands and contributions. we need somebody to rediscover Vico. But sociology of language (sociolinguistics) as it has come to mean for us is a contribution of American scholars who have (and are enriching) enriched the field. Mention should be made of Marcel Cohem's largely bibliographic effort in his *Pour une sociologie du language* (Paris, 1956), also his article in *Diogene* (juillet-1956). I would like to credit the late Prof. Uriel Weinreich (beginning with his doctoral dissertation) with the publication of his now classic *Languages in Contact* (New York, 1953) for a first contribution to the field. Joyce A. Hertzler's *A Sociology of Language* (New Yoks, 1965) is the first full-scale attempt at a text in this area, although it does not integrate recent research or the newer theoretical concepts in sociolinguistics (see Fishman's excellent review in *Language).* Of anthologies on sociolinguistics (linguistic anthropology/sociology of language), Dell Hymes (ed). *Language in Culture and Society: a Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology* (New York, 1964) still ranks as a first choice. John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds). *The Ethnography of Communication* (*American Anthropologist* 66 ; 4. Part II, 1964) contains important papers ; so also Joshua A. Fishman *et. al. Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague, 1966). But Fishman (ed). *Readings in the Sociology of Language* (The Hague, 1968) is the best available collection that can be used as a text book. Joshua Fishman, Charles A. Ferguson and J. Dasgupta (eds.). *Language Problems of the Developing Nations* (New York, 1968) is very suitable for macro linguistics course works and information. William Bright (ed.) *Sociolinguistics* (The Hague, 1966) also contain significant papers. But text book is badly needed, as a serious scholar or a beginning student has still to refer to individual work of Bernstein, Ervin-Tripp, Kloss, Haugen, Labov, Ferguson, Hymes, Gumperz, Fishman, Bright, Slobin, Mackey, Shuy, Lieberson, Weinreich, etc., to name a few. The only good survey I have so far seen is a manuscript on "Sociolinguistics" by Joshua A. Fishman, to appear in a volume edited by Kurt W. Back (forthcoming). Though the articles on theoretical-philosophical-structural-historical-descriptive-applied linguistics have their many journals to get them published, the articles on sociolinguistics (sociology of language) have to knock at the doors of

many different disciplines. May be some day, the *Sociolinguistics Newsletter* of the SRC of the International Sociological Association (edited by Rolf Kjolseth) will turn out to be a full-fledged journal to meet the demand. Sociolinguists also have not been able to form different schools of thought, in the sense we can speak of Chomskyan (or MIT) School, Tagmemic (or Pike) School, Firthian (or Prosodic) School, Hjelmslev (or Glossematic) School, etc., in general linguistics, not to mention the different schools of sociology in the U. S A. or elsewhere. Another drawback is the American and British (i.e. in the English-speaking world) experts' lack of knowledge or method of avoidance, of say, French, German or Soviet scholars. Cross-Atlantic communication from th eNew World generally stops with Levi-Strauss in Paris or with some scholars in Britain!

In his work, *Traite de sociologie*, the French sociologist, Georges Gurvitch, has treated the sociologies of music, language, literature, religion, plastic arts, etc. as problems of the *sociologie des oevres de civilisation* (sociology of works of culture)—a phrase coined by Gurvitch to replace one used by him previously in the same context, *la sociologie de e'espirit* (sociology of the mind). Gurvitch says in this connection that 'the sociology of the mind has no "imperialist" claims; it does not pretend to take the place of "philosophy" it will, however, oblige the latter more and more to account of its sociological counterpart and the work that it is doing.' Gurvitch's "dialectical sociology" treats various forms of art, language, etc., as an activity of the individual or social mind, and thus not only lose their own individual character, but are regarded in a kind of uniform light along with many other intelectual activities, despite the evident fact that individual or social intellectual activities cannot be reduced to a common denomination, psychologically, sociologically, emotionally, cognitively, temporally, or even physiologically. It speaks of a system bound view of society. Nevertheless, his views deserve our examination.

A sociology of language should not be equated with the philosophy of language; though it may be classified by some under 'sociology of knowledge', which is concerned 'to find out which type of thinking would be practised by men at this or that time'. In this regard, Karl Mannheim's view: the purpose of sociology of knowledge is 'to ascertain in the correlation between philosophical, intellectual "standpoints" on the hand, and concrete social "currents" on the other (see) Paul Kecskemeti In: *Introduction to Karl Mannheim, Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge,* London, 1952) should appeal to anyone who in language only sees thought on the one hand and action on the other, each independent of the other. Lastly as H.J. Lieber has put it: Mannheim's works show that 'in the central concept of knowledge bound up with

being, a special method of understanding the structure and nature of intellectual life was found'. Both starting points—the sociology of mind as well as the variants of sociology of knowledge—must inevitably lead to an *a priori* way of thinking incompatible with an empirical approach to the sociology of language. The latter's aim is to proceed from the same basic assumptions as general sociology: observation of facts, generalizations based on factual investigation, a general interpretative theory. Here it is the facts—and not feeling, the metaphysical or imaginery, to which the language can all too easily lead us—that must always be our guiding rule. Neither of these schools of thought would appear to meet these requirements, unless the sociology of knowledge is expanded to cover 'a complex field of research with modern sociological methods and techniques with a firm and, as far as logic is concerned, clearly defined place within a general theory of knowledge and science (Rosenmaryr & Scheler. "Karl Mannheim und die Zukunft der Wissenssoziologie" in Silbermann (ed.) *Militanter Humanismus*, Frankfurt/Main, 1967).

How about 'sociology of culture' in regard to the classification of sociology of language? Well, "culture" is a polysemic term which has been used by the social scientists to mean quite a few things, if one cares to know the definitions collected by Kroeber and Kluchohen. It includes not only various forms of arts but also all patterns of behavior and social modes that are socially acquired and transmitted. No one will dispute that language is part of culture (with its broad definition). But if 'sociology of culture' puts an undue marked emphasis on the historical aspects of language, it will fail to put a correct picture as much of synchronic aspects will be out of discussion. Since the days of de Saussure, we are not confused on this topic. Moreover, the social existence of language speakers and language can be to a great extent out of focus in this discipline. One must not forget that all individual or group activities or adventures are found in a more complex reality, viz., the social reality or "interlaced" reality and need social sanction. The sociology of language has at least two aims to perform: firstly, to study and analyse the processes of human language behavior, specially the stability of behavioral patterns and changes; secondly, to define norms and role in such a way as to open the possibility of further discussion and practical action. Sociology of culture concerning itself "the social aspect of cultural life" which may be equated in our case as 'social history of language' is inadequate for our purpose; even if it is extended as "theory of relationship between language and society", the word 'relationship' would imply this field of enquiry is something more than sociology of culture, its scope become broader and would be treated under "sociology of cultural spheres of influence" (*Kulturwirkekreissoziologie*). As Sil

berman puts it in a different context (in case of arts) : Since objective creations of the mind can never be opposed to what happens to society, but only be seen in a functional relation with it in particular cultural sphere of influence, no modern-thinking social scientist today can overlook the fact language, like economics, law, religion, the State, the arts, etc., are ultimately expressions of (though a special one) culture and society, as is already clear from the fact that they can be viewed from such different angles as symbolic representation (see Susanne Langer, *Philosophy to a new Key*. New York, 1956), communication process (see G. A. Miller, *Language and Communication*, New York, 1959), or in the last analysis, social process. All thinking and research on the sociology of language inevitably leads to the sphere of influence of language and must embrace them all.

The social aspect of the history of language is only one of many aims of a language sociologist. Social history is not a complete sociological study. The error has its origin in Durkheim's *fait social* (remember he had tremendous influence on de Saussure) (social fact) which means in the sociological literature as 'sociological state of affairs', 'social fact' or even 'social phenomenon' according to context (see R. Koenig's Introduction to Emill Durkheim : *Die Regeln der soziologischen Methode, Neuwied*, 1961). The language sociologist, in his study of languages, must take into account social roles, social stratification, and social changes. The entire historical development of language cannot be investigated from the standpoint of sociability, though some may wrongly claim that it makes it possible to deduce the economic and social conditions of the entire community on the basis of its linguistic production (literature included). This may lead to lumping together historical social theory, social ethics, social pedagogics, epistemological considerations and concepts derived from economic history, to the exclusion of all sociological principles and methods. This presents social history in the guide of sociology of language and tendious of ideas take precedence over realities. A proper language sociologist, however, must insist on realities ; he must be a positive participant, i.e. must have a "cultural inheritance-competence" of language in society ... this applies also to the history of language. If we take, for instance, language group, institution, language policy, language control, sociolinguistics of nationalism, language standardization the economics of language, language attitudes, bilingualism, etc., we see that they all are sociological facts that can be examined equally from the standpoint of a sociologist as from that a historian or a political scientist.

If we make the above issue clear, it brings to the shore of determining the limits and finding means to define the position of the sociology

of language. Thus the primary concern of the social history is with those facts which stand in contrast with the social condition, possessing no regular connection or correlation with it, because they stem from the originality of great men. Their force and progress are neither constant nor regular. The sociology of language, on the other hand, as a sociology concerned with cultural spheres of influence, enquires into these historical facts which are correlated to one another and to the progress of society. They adapt themselves and develop in accordance with forces that one of the tasks of the sociology of language is to analyse and describe. The sociology of language will, of course, needs serious investigation (as a new branch of sociology and a here a new group may take a starting point). It needs the collaboration not only of the lingusts, also of the psychologists, literary critics, ethnologists ethnologists, folklorists, and above all sociologists and historians.

Another of the tasks of language sociologist will be to place language as a human activity form in the context of social relations and in the center of communication content. One must recall here the *magnum opus* of the sociologist, Pitrim Sorokim, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York,1937, 1941, 4 vols.), also his *Society, Culture and Personality* (New York, 1962) and *Sociocultural Causality : Time and Space, a Study of Refernitial Principles of Sociology and Social Science*, Durham, 1943). Sorokin is the first sociologist, to our knowledge, who made an attempt to examine forms and expressions of man's activities (overt and covert) in relation to aspects of the social situation. While Sorokin points out that what he is writing about is not the history of cultures but the sociology of their evolution, he stresses in particular the importance of the social environment in the creative process and the interdependence of the social processes and forms of man's activities. "He concerns himself with the problems of anlyses of the cultural and social integration of the social system." A recent book by the linguist-philosopher, Noam Chomsky. (*Language and Mind*, New York, 1968), has approached the issue in a different manner. Chomsky has argued that language and man are correlate, that they imply and necessitate each other. By language, he means, of course, social-signal-system of man, and by man, social-man as opposed to animal. "Language appears to be a unique phenomenon, without significant analogue in the animal world."

The course followed by modern language sociologists "like ethnographic semanticists have developed new and bias-free data collection techniques which emphasise the recording of speech in natural contexts, attempt to simulate natural context by prolonged experimentation with culturally realistic questionnaire construction, or work with group discussion ... sociologists have acknowledged that linguistic form is to

some extent a function of social context....The ability to communicate effectively is a socially determined skill (as suggested by Hymes)", thus writes John Gumperz, one of very active sociolinguists of our time ("Language and Communication", *Annals of Am. Acad. Pol. Sc.,* Sept. '67. p. 229) The incorporation of knowledge relating language in the context of social relations is a new challenge to social scientists and will have the way for a new branch of sociology. One is astonished to find out that during the last two decades so many books, collections and papers have appeared, in the English reading world alone, on language sociology and social scientists from different disciplines are showing continuing and growing interests in this regard. This is certainly a great promise, the realisation of which will take some time. Unfortunately, one may note with regret that we do not yet have a text book integrating many of their recent findings, or defining the subject. One hopes, someday Joshua Fishman or Dell Hymes will sit down to work at it. Some still neglected fields of enquiry are the relation between language and personality, language use and existing, grammar of idioms, sociolinguistics of nationalism, to name a few suggested topics. The Marxian view of language analysis has also received little attention, specially among the western scholars (The recent work of Maurice Cornforth, *Marxism and the Linguistic Philosophy*, London, 1967, is philosophical rather than language sociology, ; but superb in its own merits). Sociology and philosophy are not at all hostile brothers ; in fact, language sociology has or will have much to learn from social philosophy if it aims to be an empirical science.

A social object or phenomenon can exist only in and through communication expressed in reactions ; thus communication is the foundation of the work of language and not just a by-product. As Levi-Strauss puts it : "Here is a Corpmican revolution, which will consist in interpreting society as a whole in terms of a theory of communication. This enterprise is currently possible on three levels ; for the rules of kinship and marriage serve to assure the communication of women between groups, as economic rules serve to assure the communication of goods and services, and linguistic rules the communication of messages...But there is much else in society besides matrimonial, economic and linguistic exchanges. One finds also other languages, like art, myth, ritual, religion ; and finally other elements not now susceptible of being structured, whether by their nature, or because of the insufficiency of our knowledge". (*Structural Anthropology,* New York, 1968, p. 83). Now Levi-Strauss here speaks of interpreting *society* as a whole, in terms of *communications,* and mentions the different elements of *society.* Thus the first abstractive principle is that anything is a datum which can be called a *social fact.* Keeping this in mind, we may conclude that in

telms of communication, language and competence, language and nature, above all language and every normal human experience cannot be separated from one another. ((This reminds one the opening couplet of Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsham:* Word and its meaning are (functionally) part of each other and are inseparable)).

In the sociological analysis of language speakers and speech habits, careful distinction is to be drawn between inherited instinctive talents, the nature of a normal productive speaker (user) of language and the socio-cultural unfolding of his personality, or, in other words, what is acquired and how. The linguistic insight on American English or a dialect of its own thrown in recent years by Chomsky or Labov has been possible because they are "native" speakers of them. Or as Anthony Wallace has said of a Chicago anthropologist, Divid Schneider, that it is difficult for the latter to grasp the full meaning and context of American kinship usage and function, in spite of latter's long residence in the States. Thus we find. in regard to gain control of a language, Chomsky's "linguistic competence", or Hymes' "sociolinguistic competence"/ "communicative competence" are rather narrowly defined and inadequate notions. This becomes obvious in case of understanding the proverbial sayings, idiomatic expressions, and the like of a language. Linguistic form is not only to a great extent a function of social context but also a matter of "cultural inheritance-comptence". The socio-philosophical approach to the sociology of language rejects communication, *a priori,* and language-feeling (*das Sprachgefeuhl*) plays a significant role.

Language obeys the laws of human consciousness. Both instincts (from the biological standpoint) and habits (from the sociological standpoint) are of equal importance. But, instinct or mind—i.e. both the 'mind' in itself' and the mind 'for itself' becomes paramount. Note, however, language as such does not represent any social process, but can be interpreted sociologically and a desired sociological interpretation can be linked with a potent value judgment, and as a concession to 'mind' in all its glory, an approach is adopted which primarily analyses and recognises the work of language to the exclusion of factors that have influenced it and to the exclusions of its 'emanations'. Caution should be taken to an extreme position in the so called western and or Marxian interpretation. Basil Bernstein (*Language and Speech* Vol. 5, 1962) makes here an important contribution on the interrelationship between speaker's linguistic competence and their communicative competence in actual speech events with the notion that social relationship act as intervening variables between linguistic structures and their realization in a particular speech event.

A society can hardly be deduced from language, nor can it be

determined by *ex cathedra* what is to occupy a higher rank, nor linguistic models can be extended to analyse all aspects of society. It may not be often observable (experssable) as it may disappear in space and be limited in time. Only the experience of language is a tangible and observable factor. Bernstein's theoretical position (elaborated in many of his writings), however, demonstrates that it is possible to generate different patterns of language usage in society by exposing discussion groups having different social characteristics to similar topical stimuli. Language usage in such cases is independent of overt attitudes to language. (See Gumperz: "On the ethnology of linguistic change" in Bright (ed.) *Sociolinguistics).* Sociology of language usage thus becomes a collection of all social facts relevant to the practice of language (intergroup contacts), classsification of these facts according to their importance for the practice of language, understanding and interpreting of all the factors that determine changes in the practice of language and understanding of all the factors that determine changes in practice. This refers not only to Durkheim's *fait social* but also to Weber's line of reasoning.

The role of individual in language, i.e. *individu socialise* (socialised individual) an expression of Charles Lalo: an individual who long before the creation and community use of the work of language possesses a collective spirit with which he expresses himself and through which he addresses himself to the recipient groups, can be subject to study. However, it should be borne in mind that linguistic evolution and revolution are not synthesis of isolated and independent attempts by numerous predecessors and everything is miraculously created from nothing by a stroke of genius; individual contributions may or do enrich the social function of language or create complexities. The point is also made clear in Plekhanov. "Owing to the specific qualities of their minds and characters, influential individuals can change the *individual features of events and some of their particular consequences,* but they cannot change their general *trend,* which is determined by other forces.... It has long been observed that great talents appear everywhere, whenever the social conditions favourable to their development exist. This means that every man of talent who *actually appears,* every man of talent who becomes a *social force,* is the product of *social relations.* Since this is the case, it is clear why talented people can change only individual features of events, but not their general trend; *they are themselves the product of this trend; were it not for that trend they would real..(The Role of Individual in History,* New York, 1940). Recent knowledge gained through psychiatry, psychology political science, enthnography, folklore, sociology, has emphasised that producer-product-production process in language situation is noteworthy, from the individual point of view. Profound social and structural change resulting a realiengn-

ment of power relationships among individual and groups, tends to linguistic uniformity. (See Barth: "Ethnic process in Pathan-Baluchi boundary" in *Indo-Iranica:* Melange Presente a George Morgenstiern a l'Occasion de son Soixante-Dixieme Anniversaire, Wiesbaden, 1964). Thus individuals torn out of their setting as individuals, in a foreign country do tend to adopt the speech characteristics of the group among which they settle. But the country is also on record. A recent report prepared by the British Council for Aid to the refugees (*Elderly Refugees*: a Report on a Survey into their Circumstances in Great Britain) states: The language barrier emerges as a considerable handicap for many elderly refugees in Great Britain. In 1967 and 1968 the Council carried out a survey into the general circumstances of elderly refugees in Britain, involving 96 interview in London and in a large provincial conurbation. Then it was found that 39% could speak English and communicate adequately. nationalisties were represented in the survey but poles predominated constituting 50% of the total state of the elderly regulees and a further 32% could comprehened fully. On the other hand, 16% had virtually no knowledge of English. Only 25% could read English with complete understanding, and over 40% could not read English at all. (Reported in Vol. 1, 1969, *La Monda Lingvo-Problemo*, Rotterdam). For further details on bilingual psychopathology, for cross generation (parent-child) and conventionalized conflicts between the monolingual and bilingual communities, see Fishman *et al* (*Language Loyalty in the United States*... the Hague, 1966).

Language as confronted with a social phenomenon that manifests itself as a social process, as a social activity, that is language as communication of massages (like cultural and economic communication) needs two partner; giver-sender and receiver. It presupposes a communication channel- a system of symbols which can guide and regulate the interaction between the giver and the receiver. Within "language-society", this process needs a producing and a consuming group, both are individual men in the society, and through group contact, group conflict, group dynamics, group transformation, group identity, etc. they come into contact with each other. Though the origin of language still remains a human mystery, we know that language as matter preceded language as consciousness. Human society without a language is inconceivable as also human language without a society is a mere myth. Throughout man's marching onward in time, exchange relationship between the giver-receiver of interdependence, interrelation and interaction has brought new and novel, stable and changing, compromising and conflicting, attitude and atmosphere. The producer group has revealed new aspects and has accorded the consumer group the importance due to them as recipients and influences of linguistic crea-

tions (giver-receiver may be the same person in some occasions). Both the speakers and listeners, in the center of linguistic life, are characterized by the experience of language. Through contract-contact-conflict, language as social action and process, is concretized and assumes a definite shape and function.

It is on man, however, in his socio-linguistic being, that language sociologist focuses. The spheres of influence of language must in all circumstances be seen in the light of relationships of the individual or of the group. Learning about a new culture as about a new language is not simply a matter of adding to an already existing body of information, but it requires a complete restructuring of perception and understanding (*verstehend*) ; it is not so much of learning rules and apply them in proper context, but to become involved in it. In achieving it, an experience of language (society) is a must. Only the experience of language can, as a social fact, be the starting point and central hinge of the sociology of language, as only it can create cultural sphere of influence, can be active and social. Whether one accepts or rejects, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that language determines a speaker perception of the universe, it is beyond arguments that our view of our surroundings is affected by our speech patterns. Language as a social determinant of our existence is fundamental. The experience of language realised through social determinants of nature, variability and dependence will contribute to a direct connection between the knowledge about language and knowledge about society. Neither language nor society should be viewed as a set of beliefs and traditions which are independent of everyday behaviour. The experience of language is to be apprehended, i.e., actually to grasp it both in its socially organising and disorganizing, for the individual or society. In the analysis of the sociology of language, both the structural (human codes and symbols) and functional (effects of verbal message) elements as data must be collected, processed, analysed and reduced to abstraction, before they can be formulated to laws and tested. The aesthetic function (being able to follow and to be followed) of linguistic communication putting proper emphasis on form and content of a message, social function establising between persons, events, ideas, cultural standards, or patterns of behaviour, psychic function determining what can be said when and how, play immensely significant roles in society. Socio-linguistic investigations should not indulge in formulating linguistic standards, etiquettes and values. This is just not the job of a language sociologist.

The goal of a modern sociology of language is to study the language as a special fact, not to explain the nature and essence of language themselves. The way language in society is experienced from a continuous

social process, involving interaction between message-giver and message-receiver, their socio-cultural environment and resulting in the creating of a communication channel and maintaing it effectively, in a process of reception and reaction. The spoken (or the written in some cases) symbol makes a certain impression on certain social groups in a meaningful and analysable way which to some extent determine and regulate the productive and receptive activities of giver and receiver. It involves the interaction of individuals, groups and institutions. It starts with man and leads back to man, in a complex chain of relationships, in a total socio-linguistic process. That is why the sociology of language is more meaningfully human of all human sciences. The primary concern of the sociology of language is to study the total language process,—the interaction and interdependence of language speakers, the production of language and the human sphere where it is spoken (communicated)—in regard to their importance as language forms.

The next aim of the sociology of language is to study man as the producer of language. This reviews the evidence on the evolution of language and man (see Hockett & Ascher, "The human revolution" in *Current Anthropology,* 5 : 3, June, 1964; also Lenneberg, *Biological Foundations of Language,* 1967). Note in this connection, if, as Chomsky proposes, linguistic universals,—those orderings which allow immediately to differentiate what is possible from what is not—"must simply be a biological property of the human mind", then it is likely that the biology of mind is itself "syntactical" (*The Listener,* May 30, 1968). Syntactical or not, linguistic cognitive etiology shows that parallels can be drawn between human mind and human language in its sentence formation rules. The study of man as the producer of language is aimed at a description and an analysis of man's social position and relationship in society, his social origin, ethnic-economic-educational-aesthetic background and membership as data are collected and analysed. Though the language (or work of language) or the ability of symbols to structure the apprehensions of man (see Sussane K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key,* 1942), he is not simply interested in analysing language as such, which is the job of a linguist.

Language as the intimate concern of an individual, say whistling to oneself, or monologues, or muttering may not engage the attention of a language sociologist. If a language object gets across individuality, is concretized, has a sociological reality value, is experienced and can be verified, i.e., if it produces a social effect, it will be his subject of analysis and attention. What is of interest to him is the social process and action, the definite fact brought into play by the work of art. On the other hand, sociology of language will be much concerned with the language groups(s). Sociological study of various sub-groups within a language

group, say study of caste-dialects or dialects, diglossia, bilingualism, different levels of speech, study of restricted codes, (individual and group behaviour during reading-writing-listening) motives and patterns, linguistic taste, the economics of language, language suppression, language policy, language engineering, language control, collective consciousness, and concensus of language, language education, etc., are some of the many problems that a language sociologist would like to investigate. The dynamic character of the social phenomenon "language" in its forms, functions, expressions and uses is his center of attention and investigation. In this way, a sociology of language achieves a generally understable convincing and valid approach to the works of language and language production.

A sociology of language will be able to formulate and develop laws, to predict what can happen under what social circumstances, what can be controlled for the benifit of the linguistic society. Since man is the end and means of all languages, since all languages have sufficient expressive forms for their speakers, since all languages are comparable within sociolinguistic frame of reference, in his linguistic being man can be put in the right place and situation. The language sociologist will never separate language from reality. He never draws on knowledge that is not accessible to him. He does not indulge himself to investigate the social processes, social facts, their nature and origins, in order to see and prescribe what they should be. He does not develop theories that cannot be tested socially or are not based on social cognition.

The social implication and observation of facts gives the sociology of language a habitat and a name, a part of sociology and at the same time with an identity of its own, a new and competitive discipline by the side of sociology and linguistics.*

* This paper was written during the summer of 1968, while the author was in residence at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, India. My first thanks are due to its Director, Prof. Niharranjan Ray. Though I have consulted the original sources in most cases, I would like to admit that in writing Parts I & III various published papers of Joshua A. Fishman, John J. Gumperz, Dell Hymes and A. Silbermann, and in writing Part II, A. G. Spiritkin, 1960. "Dialekticheski Materialism", In *Filosofskaya Entsiklopediya,* Moscow. Vol. I., have been very helpful. I also owe a special debt of gratitude to Prof. Joshua A. Fishman (Jeshiva University) and Dr. Martha Allen (Geneva), my friend and former student. The ideas presented here will be incorporated in my forthcoming book, *Die Sprachen in der Gesellschaft,* Berlin, 1971. It is with deep respects, I dedicate this paper to the memory of my teachers, Wolfgang Steinitz (Berlin) and Uriel Weinreich (Columbia). SKG/.

HARISH CHANDRA PRASAD

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FOLKLORISTIC STUDIES IN BIHAR

Books, Articles, Reports and Monographs in English and Hindi

The following abbreviations have been used in ths bibliography.

1. J. Anth. Soc. Bom.—Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
2. JBBRAS—Journal of the Bombay Banch of Royal Asiatic Society.
3. JBRS.—Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna
4. JBORS.—Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Patna.
5. JMS—Journal of the Mythic Society of Bangalore.
6. J (R) ASB.—Journal of (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
7. JSR.—Journal of the Social Research, Ranchi.
8. JUB.—Journal of the University of Bombay.
9. BT.—Bihar Theatre, Patna.
10. EA.—Eastern Anthropologist, Lucknow.
11. FL—Folklore, Calcutta.
12. IA—Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
13. IF.—Indian Folklore, Calcutta.
14. IN.—Indian Nation. Patna.
15. Mem. of (R) ASB.—Memoirs of (Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta).
16. MASB—Memoris of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
17. JPASB—Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
18. MII—Man in India, Ranchi
19. NINQ—North Indian Notes and Quiries, Allahabad.
20. VJ.—Vanya-jati, Delhi.
21. ZDMG.—Zeitschrift der Deutschem Morgendandischen Gesellschaft.

Other Journals, Periodicals, Magazines etc. which have been consulted in preparing this bibliography are :—

BULLETINS :

(1) Bulletin of the Asiatic Science Institute.

(2) Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta.

(3) Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Calcutta.

(4) Bulletin of the A. N. Sinha Institute, Patna.

(5) Bulletin of the Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta.

(6) Indian Sociological Bulletin.

JOURNALS :

(1) Journal of the American Physical Anthropology.

(2) Journal of the Ranchi University, Ranchi.

(3) Journal of the Historical Research. Trivandrum.

PROCEEDINGS :

(1) Proceedings of the Indian Folk lore Society, Calcutta.

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AKSHAY KUMAR KAYAL

'JIUTJA FESTIVAL'

My attention has been drawn to the article "Jiutia Festival: A reconsideration of the concept of 'Generalization", by S. L. Srivastava in the 'Folklore' of August, 1969. I want to put forward something as an addition to the statement of the author, without entering into any controversy. The author has said that 'this festival is spread only in a particular area, i.e., in eastern U. P. But this is not quite a correct statement. Jimutavahana is worshipped not only in U. P., but also in Bengal and Bihar.[1] From an article published in 'Man in India' March, 1960, p. 8, it appears that this festival is in vogue in the Punjab also. Women of Bankura, Midnapore and other districts of West Bengal observe Jimutavahana Vrata or Jitastami Vrata and listen to the *katha* or stories referring to the greatness of the deity. Jimutavahana or Jiutbandhan is the same deity, as suggested by the author.

In Sanskrit literature, viz., Kathasaritsagar, Vrihat Kathamanjari etc., Jimutavahana has been mentioned as the son of Salivahana or Jimutaketu. In Bengali folk poems and books on Vratas he has been referred to as the son of the Sun and there is a curious story regarding his birth. In one Bengali *Vratakatha* he has been called as the son of king Salivahana and the founder of Jitastami Vrata.[2]

Reference has been made to the worship of Jimutavahana in the Smriti digests, e.g., Camatkarcintamani and Varsakritya attributed to Vachaspati Misra and Vidyapati Thakura respectively. They have stated that it was taken from Bhavisya Puran, and Vishnudharmottar Puran. There is reference to Jimutavahana in books like Varsakritya by Rudradhar.[3]

Perhaps Jimutavahana could not secure respectable position in higher societies of India. Worship of Jimutavahana was forbidden in the society of Kshatriyas coming to Bengal in the booklet 'Mahajjar Nama' (1871). There was of course no objection to send the offerings to the deity at the houses of other people.[4]

Mr. Srivastava has referred to many stories of Jiutbandhan, but has not given any detailed account of any story. Stories of Jimutavahana as current in eastern India have been noticed by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti in esteemed journals.[5]

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BOOK REVIEW

FOUR PAPERS ON LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS by V. I. Subramoniam, P. R. Subramaniam, K. Pannerselvam and A. Govindakutty, published by Meenakshi Puthaka Nilayam, Madurai, 1, 19768. paperback, Pp. 48, Price : 1.75.

These papers were submitted to the Second International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, sponsored by the International Association of Tamil Research (IATR) in Madras in 1968. Since the first of the four papers, was felt unnecessary by the Academic Committee of the Conference-Seminar it was returned forthwith. Second to fourth too were returned to the authors later which prompted them to publish the booklet which has the following papers : (1) Landmarks in the History of Tamil Literature, Pp. 1-12, (2) Folklore as Precursor of Literature Pp. 13-28, Pp. 13-28, (3) A Dimodel System of Inscriptional and Literary Dialect, Pp. 29-40 and (4) Vocative Pp. 41-48.

The contributor of the first article in his survey of the Tamil literature has not done justice to his predecessors who rendered effective services for the development and progress of Tamil literature. While detailing folklore study in Tamilnad he has written that the "Collections of folklore has been attempted by M. Arunachalam, K. V. Jagannathan, N Vanamamalai etc." but the history of folklore study of Tamilnad provide a different picture. It is a partial statement This type of partial survey is not wanted in a learned paper. P. R. Subramaniam's paper is the best of the four. He has tried to describe the unrefined and refined folklore and also the morphology of folk genre and said 'Folklore takes the averaged-out dialect as its medium.' He wanted to provide concerned readers with the understanding of their likenesses and differences among the folklore and literature. He hopes that his is an impetus for the students of literature and linguistics in the field of Tamil folklore but it should be said that some of his ideas is languid and the treatment is not as exhaustive as is wanted from a scholar of his stature. There are many points where agreement with the author may not be possible. As for example, he says : "Colloquial words and slangs are abundant in folklore. But its dialectalism has been replaced by literary style in the epic.' This is not cent percent correct. The third article is an attempt to compare the language of inscriptions (I. D. of 7th, 8th and 9th centuries A. D. with the contemporary dialect of Teevaram of St. Appar who lived during the period of later Pallava king Mahendravarman (600-630 A.D.) and the fourth paper is on vocative which is used to address a person. The vocative system of the Dravidian cultivated languages, according to the author, may be described with the help of a minimum number of rules To substantiate this he has given some examples. It is a good reading.

Dr. B.N. Shastree

EDITORIAL

Men cannot afford to live together on their merits and they adjust themselves by their demerits—by their customs and traditions and by their love of gossip or by sheer tolerance. Here again, as so often, nature delights to put us between extreme antagonisms, and our safety is in the skill with which we keep diagonal line. A sound mind will derive the principles of being respectful to these from insight, with ever a purer ascent to the sufficient and absolute right. The transmission of knowledge, opinion, doctrines, practices, etc. from generation to generation is tradition. And consequently, while we examine numerous customs and traditions which have been recognised either as actual survivals to totemism or as relics of the ideology, we find that they are deeply rooted in Indian society.

It is well-known that the membership of the clan is determined by descent. In the last century, following Bachofen, ethnologists were agreed that descent was reckoned originally through the mother. This view has been rejected by nearly all authorities without any agreed alternative. It has again been reaffirmed by Briffault who said that the old view is correct.

The members of the clan have a strong sense of affinity, even identity, with their totem species. The men who live on witehethy-grubs, thriving when they thrive, starving when they starve are literally flash of their flash and blood of their blood—a relationship which they express by saying that they are witehetty-grubs. Hence, when the authority exercised by the clan elders gives rise to ancestor worship. The ancestors are not worshipped in human shape but in that of the totemic animal or plant. So the first stage in the evolution of totemism was segmentation of the primitive sorde, which divided in order to gain access to different success of food supply. So long as the new groups thus created lost touch with one another, the change was merely quantitative —two groups instead of one; but at some stage it became qualitative. Instead of continuing to get their food independently by simple appropriation, they became integrated as a pair of interdependent clans. The food produced by each group was distributed between the two or more and this system of co-operation was maintained by means of taboo. This is said by George Thompson.

Many instances are recorded from modern tribes of the transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent, none of the reverse process. We find that matrilineal descent preponderates slightly in the hunting-

grades, but then declines, rapidly in the pastoral grades, much more slowly in the agricultural. This shows that the mode of descent is corrected with the mode of production.

Again in the pre-hunting stage there was no production, there was only simple appropriation of seeds, fruits, and small animals, and consequently there was no division of labour. With the invention of spear, however, hunting became the men's task, while the woman continued the work of food-gathering. This is modified again and sexual division of labour in the came into existence due to the relative immobility of women during pregnancy and lactation. This was followed by economic division of labour and birth of caste system : This caste system in India has its own peculiarity and characteristics which should be studied elaborately and in this respect country's folklorologists should not be neglected and be dependent on the works of some cultural anthropologists or social historians. Let the folklorologists realise this point and let them undertake studies of caste with the aid of folklore but of depending on the cultural anthropologists alone.

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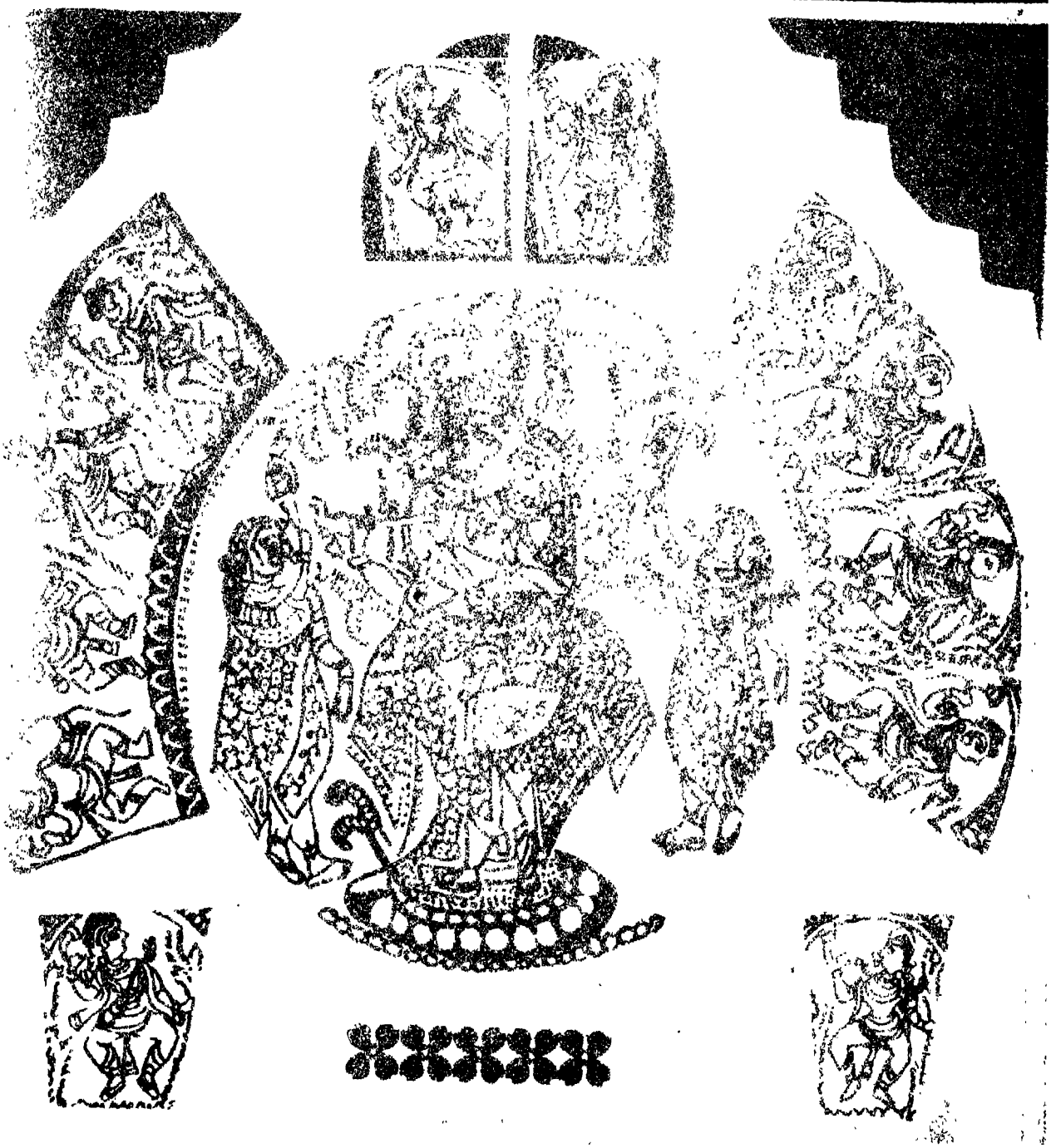
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BHOLANATH BHATTACHARYA

A NOTE ON VAISAKHI DHARMA GAJAN OF BENGAL

In such familiar folk rhymes of Bengal as that in which the two brothers sing the Gajan song of Shiva, it is the Puranic god Shiva who figures as the unobtrusively intended object of the celebration of Gajan. It is however common knowledge that the folk festival of Gajan can by no means be called purely a Shaivaite celebration, having secretly imbibed in the distant past the ineffaceable influences of the primordial tribal society on the one hand and of the subsequent Buddhist institutions and customs on the other. Ever since Hara Prasad Shastri drew our attention to these alternative origins of this festival, the discussions on the subject have mainly followed two courses. One section of scholars persisted in maintaining the purity of the nature of Gajan as a Puran-based Shaivaite festival while the other section put a greater emphasis on the primitive or the Buddhist influences on it or both. In many respects however Gajan still remains an elusive subject. There is still room for fresh comprehensive analysis of the exact process through which this traditional folk festival abandoned or transformed some of its original traits in order to earn its conversion into a Puranic festival and developed into its present form. The starting point of all discussions on Gajan is the generally accepted key role of Dharma Thakur in the Gajan festival of past. The origin of Dharma Thakur may be traced back to the magico-religious faith prevailing in the primordial society of Bengal. In the second stage the folk god became transmuted into a thoroughly Buddhist deity while at a still later juncture he was converted into a Puranic god, if also secretly retaining traces of Buddhism.

It may not be out of place to recapitulate the Buddhist origin of Dharma Thakur as traced by Hara Prasad Shastri. According to him

Buddhism in Bengal, when critically faced with the onslaught of Islam, gradually came to be confined to a small minority who refused either to embrace Islam or to submit to the domination of the Brahmanical Hindu Society and as a result were subjected to oppression at the hands of both. Gone was the enlightened guidance of scholarly priests and along with it disappeared the refined practice of Shila and Binaya, Prajna-Upaya-Bodhisatva, Shunyabada and Bijnanabada. The foolish priests, who took over as the custodian of religion, introduced Dharma Thakur in a bid to adapt Buddhism to the changed conditions. This deity had the appearance of a tortoise, which again resembled a stupa with the four feet and the protruding neck of the tortoise representing the five Dhyani or Meditative Buddhas installed on the north, south, east west and south-east corners respectively of the stupa. Each of the five Buddhas was supported by a Shakti or consort, Dharma Thakur too had Kaminya for his consort who had the pride of place among all the reities. The Abarana or covering deities of Dharma Takur were Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, Indra, Chandra, Vayu, Varuna, Bhagavati, Vishalakshmi, Vashuli, Kali, Ganesha, the king, the Kotala or police chief and the minister.

Strictly speaking however Dharma Thakur has assimilated Jain influences too. A number of Digambar Jain icons in the district of Bankura and Purulia on the western border of Bengal are still worshipped in the guise of folk variations of Shiva. The present contributor came across an extremely tall image of Trithankara amidst the ruins of a Jain Vihara at village Palma in Purulia district. Local villagers worship him as a kshetrapala or the presiding deity of agriculture. He is called Baba Bhairaba, a folk variation of Shiva, whose annual worship assumes the form of a Gajan festival. He is the universally acknowledged village deity and at the same time the local Dharma Thakur too.

Gajan festival is held centering Shiva as well as the numerous local variations of Dharma Thakur at various seasons of the year. It is proposed to discuss in this note a relatively scantily analysed aspect of Gajan, namely, the significance of the Baisakhi Dharma Gajan. Usually the occasion for a Gajan festival that is held on a public scale is any of the full moon days or the last days of the Bengali months, most of the Gajans taking place in Chaitra or Vaisakha. Deviations from this general pattern are observable however in the celebration almost throughout the year of the annual Gajan of one or another of the numerous family deities like Bankura Rai, Jatrasiddha Rai in private ceremonies. The Gajan of Shiva held in Chaitra is invariably ascribed a Puranic association in the usual discussions and as such any attempt to indicate the presence of non-Puranic elements in it is more likely than not to raise a controversy at every step. No such Puranic label however is applicable to the Gajan festivals of Dharma Thakur, or rarely, of Shiva held on the

fullmoon day of Vaisakha, the first Bengali month, coinciding with the birth anniversary of Buddha.

Let us recount here briefly the various Puranic deities with whom Dharma Thakur has been sought to be identified with obvious motives. There is however little agreement among the scholars as to the exact significance of or the origin of Dharma Thakur, so that no consistent picture emerges from the discussions put together. Dharma Thakur has been ascribed such Vedic and Puranic names respectively as Vishnu, Shiva, Surya, Yama, Varuna and the like by his devotees who would have him regarded as a Puranic god. In the Vedic literature as well as in the Avesta, the Zoroastrian holy scriptures, Yama or the god of death and the afterworld is the son of Vivaswan or the Sun. Thus Yama, who is regarded as Dharma Raj in Bengal, and Surya, who is another manifestation of Dharma Thakur, are interrelated according to the scripture of the sophisticated Hindu religion too. Dharma Thakur is sometimes imagined as a cowgod and is again identified with a bull according to a Puran Another version would identify him with a white dove or pigeon.

In popular imagination Dharma Thakur is invariably associated with majesty, being a king unto the gods and called Dharma Raj or King Dharma. In fact the suffix 'Rai' in the nomenclatures of such local Dharma Thakurs as Bankura Rai, Jatra Siddhi Rai, Dakshin Rai and the like all suggest themselves to be a mere corruption of the epithet of 'Raj' The regal status of Dharma Thakur is reflected in the courtly rites and manners simulated at the time of his annual worship. Dharma holds a regular court at which the votaries are ushered in with befitting solemnity

A plausible explanation of the admixture of Puranic and non Puranic elements in the making of the Dharma Thakur of today is to be found in the religious and social history of Bengal in the middle age. Even by the Tenth or the Eleventh century it had not yet been possible for the Brahmanical heads of the resurgent Hindu society to bring within the fold of the sway what was by far the largest section of Bengali population. However, a process of syncretism had started already and some of the Buddhist deities occasionally crossed the floor to reappear in a Puranic guise. Together with the deities, degenerate Buddhist practices and meditation and prayer too were freely blending with Puranic rituals. Subsequently, with the rigourous imposition of the injunctions prescribed by the Varnashrama system, the bulk of the community was degraded to swell the rank of the Shudras, who were denied the performance of Vedic and other sacred rites that formed the preserve of the privileged higher casters. The discriminatory treatment meeted out to to the lower classes only served gradually to weaken the hold of Puranic and Vedic Hinduism on the common folk in general and the Shiva-worshiping anchorites in particular. Shiva, as recognised in the holy scriptures, is a deity wor-

shipped by the privileged elite upholding the varnashrama system. In folk worship however Shiva is a much more accessible, permissive, relaxed and liberal God. Puranic Hinduism no doubt tried its best to give a sophisticated and scriptural touch to this Shiva but had nonetheless to come to terms with his widespread worship in a characteristic folk style the highlight of which was the Gajan fectival held in the month of Chaitra. Parallel to this trend of popular Shaivism or even prior to it is noticeable the even more widespread worship of Dharma Thakur to whom the lowest sections of the society turned, by force of habit or tradition reinforced by the ill-treatment at the hands of the higher castes. as the king among the gods, who possesses immense magical power ever kept in readiness to be exercised in favour of the humblest of the votaries soliciting such benefaction as the endownment of fecundity (for barren women) or the cure of chronic diseases. In course of time the increasingly great popularity of Dharma Thakur among the bulk of the society induced the Brahmanical guardians of the Hindu society to readmit this folk god into the fold of Puranic theology and culture, followed by a induced the Brahmanical guardians of the Hindu society to re-admit this into a completely Puranic deity The cult of Dharma Thakur together with the ritual of his Gajan has thus come to be so confused and entangled an affair that it is hazardous to venture any precise identification of the origin of any of its characteristics.

Even today the worship of Dharma Thakur is preponderant in a wide area of Radh Bhumi of Bengal comprising parts of Murshidabad district, the northern border of Birbhum district, the eastern part of the Santal Parganas skirting Bengal, the middle portion of Midnapore district, the southern part of 24-Parganas district and the whole of the districts of Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah. In most of the villages his annual worship in the form of a Gajan festival takes place on the full moon day of Vaisakha, which indicates the Buddhist origin of the cult and denies it the character of an unmixed Hindu festival. No rational explanation of the timing of the Vaisakhi Gajan seems to be admissible except in terms of its subtle and close association with Buddhist cults at a remote date. There is little point in maintaining that the devotees intend to celebrate the first full moon day of the year. What is significant is that the widely prevalent Gajan of Shiva in Chaitra is so closely followed by another Gajan, this time of Dharma Thakur alone, at the interval of less than a month. The argument advanced by some scholars that a separate observance of the Gajan festival of Dharma Thakur on a date different from that of the Gajan of Shiva is calculated to distinguish it from the latter does not seem to be adequate either. The selection of the birth day of Buddha as the occasion for the Gajan of Dharma is not a mere coincidence.

So far as the ritualist aspects of the Gajan of Dharma Thakur are concerned, particularly the dance with a stale truncated head of a human being or a dead body, we are reminded of the primitive cults including that of human sacrifice. The primordial character of Dharma Thakur is apparent from his indifference between vegetarian and non-vegetarian offerings, although he is most offered animal sacrifice, especially in connection with fertility rites, the sacrificed kid being reminiscent of the cult of human sacrifice. Functionally speaking, Dharma Thakur is a benefactory deity who is not worshipped regularly throughout the year but only occasionally by votaries for warding off diseases or removing barrenness and the like

The character, appearance and nomenclature of Dharma Thakur vary from place to place, depending on the local porportion of the admixture of the assorted ingredients that have gone into the making of this godhead. At some places Dharma Thakur is a symbolic abstract deity while at others he assumes a concrete form. At Dauko in Uluberia Sub-division, at Narna in the Sadar Sub-division near Domjur as well as in various other villages in the district of Howrah, Dharma Thakur is known as Panchananda and is symbolically represented by a ghat or a ritual container. There is also a temple of Dharma Thakur at Dauko which is bereft of any image. On every Vaisakhi full moon day the annual ablution ceremony of the deity is held with pomp and splendour. A medium-sized fair is held on this occasion. At Amta in Uluberia sub-division Dharma Raj is called Matilal and is installed in a pucca temple of the traditional Bengal style. Another Dharma-temple though at present almost decrepit, sports rich terracotta embellishments on its walls. There are umistake signs of the paramount sway of Dharma Raj in this region a few centuries back. 'Isad Sri Dharma Devata' is still a traditional slogan in the life of the people of this region.

At Bandipur near Haripal in the district of Hooghly Dharma Thakur is worshipped under the title of Shyam Rai and is given the pride of place among the Dharma Thakurs of various regions. His annual worship takes place on he Vaisakhi Purnima as usual and is accompanied by a small fair. The annual Gajan of Shyam Rai has all the appearance of a royal court convened by Shyam Rai at which the subjects being the votaries observe the usual customs of a court. On same day is worshipped Noajan (Niranjan ?) Thakur, another variation of Dharma Thakur, at Balagarh in the district of Hooghly. He is represented by a shapeless stone slab. The festival of Gajan takes place beneath a Nim tree. Brahmins serve as the priest.

Another variety of Dharmaraj is the Buro Raj of Jamalpur off Patuli in the district of Burdwan. The Gajan or coronation of him too takes place on the Buddha Purnima day, marked by a large Gajan fair, which

continues for about twenty days. According to the local people of Purbasbhali Buro Raj is but another name of Shiva, which only indicates a peculiar mixture of Shaivism, Buddhism and primitive cults.

Jatra Siddha Rai (literally meaning one who is conducive to the success of a journey) of Bankura is one of the most renowned among the various Dharma Thakur. However, the Gajan of most of the Dharma Thakurs of Bankura which the present author came to know about takes place on the last day of Chaitra and not on the full moon day of Vaisakha. Amongst the Dharma Thakurs of Bankura whose Gajan is held on the usual date of Vaisakhi Purnima, the symbolically represented Dharma Thakur in the Kamar kuli locality of Chhatna deserves special mention. It is interesting to note that even the name of the shrine or 'than' of the Dharma Thakur of Chhatna has been usurped by Shiva, the entire locality being known as Shivtala or the region of Shiva—another instance, similar to that of Jamalpur, of a commingling of Dharma and Shiva.

In certain areas in the Southern part of the district of 24-Parganas Dharma Rai makes his appearance in the form of a huge male deity more than two metre high even in a seated posture. His complexion is blackish green and he wears in his ears a Datura flower resembling a chillum or the indigenous pipe, both of which again are significantly associated with the popular attributes of Shiva. The mighty and formidable appearance of Dharma Rai seems to be intended to inspire confidence in the hearts of the weak seeking refuge. Here too the Gajan begins with a contemplation of Shunya Murti or the 'Void' as worshipped by the Buddhists.

To sum up, the origin of the festival of Gajan (of both the Chaitri and the Vaisakhi variety) as well as of the associated cult of Dharma Thakur may be traced back to folk cults of the primordial society, which have since shaped anew through a confusing commingling of diverse elements contributed by the subsequently established religious trends. The salient features of the course of their evolution may be set out as follows, it only at the risk of an unavoidable measure of over simplification.

(1) The folk god Dharma Thakur must originally have been a tribal god endowed with magical powers. The primitive origin of this cult is underlined by such rites as the dance performed by the votaries sporting the truncated head of a human being or an entire corpse, the sacrifice of kids at the Grihabharan rite, the various penances practised by the votaries (similar to those practised by the swingers) and the type food and sacrifices offered to Dharma Thakur at his annual coronation festival. According to scholars, most of these rites are reminiscent of the cult of human sacrifice. The magico-religious character of such rites as Grihabharan confirm the inference of the primitive origin of the cult.

As a matter of fact Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee holds that the very word Dharma is Austric in origin.

(2) A striking characteristic of Dharma Thakur is that he has from the outset been essentially a tutelary god of the lowest classes of the society who seldom came distinctly under the purview of any aristocratic religion. Even when Hinduism sought to spread its sway over the masses in Bengal, an allegiance to Dharma Thakur, a symbol of hope and benefaction for the common people, gradually served to forge a bond of unity amongst the underprivileged who virtually remained outside the pale of the varnashrama system. The newly imported Brahmanical culture could not weaken the hold of, let alone replace, this popular cult. To the masses, Dharma Thakur was not only an indigenous, homely and traditional object of veneration, but he had also the advantage over the Vedic or Puranic deities in that the rites and precepts underlying his cult were never too rigorous or beyond the reach of the ordinary folks. What Dharma Thakur demands of his followers is merely faith and surrender as opposed to a complicated process of worship involving the mediation of a priest belonging to one of the higher castes. Dharma Raj does not discriminate between one follower and another on grounds of religion, caste or social status, a Brahman and a Chandal being treated alike. On the other hand it is the common folks who are attracted to Dharma Thakur more easily as the priest is selected from amongst the lower castes, especially the Doms. All these factors go to show why Dharma Thakur is generally preferred to the other wish-fulfilling benefactory deities and why his popularity has even been on the increase. Even in the face of the fierce aggression of the sophisticated Hinduism launched under the partronage of the kings of the Sena dynasty, this cult could not be subdued but went on flourishing through a continual process of syncretism. It has not only survived for several centuries since then but is still a most living faith among the lower classes in a large area of Bengal irrespective of caste and even formal religion.

One of the factors inducing the common people to gravitate towards this cult and to hold fast to it is the intimately simple and unformidable and universally accessible character of the shrine or 'Than' of Dharma Thakur. It seldom consists of any permanent structure but generally comprises an open space obtained as a gift to the community, outside the habitations, situated often beneath a tree or on the top of a small mound, at the crossing of several plots of agricultural or fallow land. The image of Dharma Thakur if any, consists of a generally shapeless slab of stone, hardly distinguishable by a stranger. Not being confined within the precincts of a distinctly identifiable building, Dharma Thakur is eminently in a position to attract even the Muslims and overcome their obvious inhibitions about worshipping a folk-god with Hindu Characteristics.

(3) To trace the development of the cult of Dharma Thakur and the festival of Gajan, it is certain that by whatever name the deity of Gajan was originally called, the festival itself changed its appearance from time to time by absorbing the influences of the then prevailing religious trends of the society so that a newly emerging popular deity became at the same time the deity of Gajan too without prejudice to the ritualistic core or the significance of the traditional festival. As a matter of fact it has never been possible for any exogenous religious belief either radically to reform or replace or ignore folk cults deeply entrenched in the life of the common people for centuries. It was merely open to the former to effect a compromise with and assimilate the latter if only with a view to containing their influences for its own survival. In the Gajan festival of today may be discovered traces of not only Puranic but also Buddhist and Jain influences. No matter whether this festival predates the predominance of these religions in Bengal or not, it has served as the most acceptable mode of propagating new religious beliefs which were not originally connected with it. The innate popularity of the festival has imported such an enduring strength to it that it could easily outline its original purpose to become a popular frame into which the ruling beliefs of the subsequent ages could be fitted in order to win the hearts of the common people. By assimilating and exalting the cult of Dharma Thakur and Gajan, the sophisticated religions sought to maintain their hold on the lower classes. It is through this process that the Brahmanical culture, resurgent following the decline of Buddhism in Bengal, tried to convert Dharma Thakur into a sophisticated godhead by imputing the attributes of Vedic or Puranic deities like Yama, Varuna, Surya, Shiva etc.

(4) The subsequent evoluation of Dharma Thakur and Gajan has proceeded along two courses as an indirect consequence of the acceptance of Dharma as a Puranic deity by the sophisticated Hindu society. Those who had, until recently, been ardent followers of Buddha could hardly bring themselves to discard altogether the worship of Buddha and the related rites. Instead of directly worshipping Buddha, they replaced him on the one hand by Dharma, and on the other they still went on celebrating the traditional festival of Gajan on the Vaisakhi Purnima as a concealed mark of commemoration of Buddha on his birthday. It is not unlikely that certain aspects of Gajan such as Sannyasa or ascetism, Yama-Niyama or continuance and self-mortification, mendicancy, the wearing of apparel dyed with yellow or red ochre have been bequeathed by its Buddhist ancestry.

The other alternative form of expression of Gajan is familiar Gajan festival of Shiva which takes place in the month of Chaitra. There is little material difference between the Gajan of Shiva and that of Dharma

Thakur except in their timing. Here again it may be observed that while the scheduled date of the Vaisakhi Gajan is a clear indication of its Buddhist origin, the selection of the summer months of Chaitra and Vaisakha as such to hold the respective Gajan festivals was probably prompted by the fact that this period is the agricultural lean season and is consequently preferred as suitable for mendicancy. Nor are the two types of Gajan fundamentally different from Charak festival or swinging and the worship of 'Neela' or Shiva on the last or the penultimate day of Chaitra, severe penance and self-mortification being common to all these festivals.

The Shiva of Gajan is however more a folk deity than a Puranic god. In Gajan as well as in the Gambhira songs of Maldah and other places, Shiva appears as a simple, unassuming and liberal god who lends a sympathetic ear to all those aggrieved common people who are denied access to any other Puranic deity. He is regarded as a king, a judge or mediator of agricultural disputes and a redresser. He is familiarly addressed as 'maternal uncle' and is represented in person by a man who listens in an observed mood to the grievances ventilated by the devotees. In certain areas of Bengal such as the frontier districts of Purulia and Bankura, Shiv has imbibed not only Puranic or primitive influences but Jain influences too, presumably because of the Jain background of these places. A syncretism with Buddha too is noticeable. Routed by the agression of Brahmanical Hinduism and Islam, Buddhism came to find a secret asylum in not only the godhood of Dharma Thakur but probably in the folk form of Shiva too. This partly explains why the Buddhist traits of the Gajan of Dharma Thakur have lingered in the Gajan of Shiva too. Moreover, the memory of the worship of Buddhist or Jain icons in the distant past is still kept alive subtley through a popular conversion of these deities as folk variations of Shiva whose Gajan is regularly celebrated. For instance, a number of Jain icons are worshipped by the common folk as Shiva in some villages of Bankura and Purulia. The rites and festivals connected with these folk versions of Shiva do not agree with the scriptural mode of worship but are more akin in spirit to the cult of Dharma Thakur and other folk rituals.

It thus appears that just as the festival of Gajan and the cult of Dharma Thakur are inherited from the primitive society and have left an indelible mark on the religious life of a large section of the lower classes, the Buddhist and the Jain cults too became so firmly entrenched in the life of the people in parts of Bengal that it was hardly possible to oblitrate their influence altogether. The nomenclature of the Dharma Thakur of Jamalpur may be cited as an illustration of this confused blending Though this deity goes by the name of Buro Raj Shiva, his Gajan takes place not in Chaitra but in Vaisakha along with any other Dharma Thakur.

SUBHOBROTA ROYCHAUDHURI

SOME MID SUMMAR FESTIVAL

The month of July has been regarded as most favourable of all the fairs and bon fairs of mid summar. The business of hay making and attending to other crops engaged most of their activities at this season.

The Fairlop Oak Festival

Among the local celebrations at this season, the famous of these was the Fairlop Oak Festival in Essex. If traditions tell truly then Fairlop Oak was an enormous tree. A man named Daniel Day need to admire this tree. He was a pump maker by profession and he has a habit of inviting other fellow men to come to him once a year to hold a picnic under the famous Oak. As the days went on Mr. Days neighbours followed him and the interest of having picnic under the tree prevailed with gradual increase of men. To-day it has taken a shape of a fair. Mr. Day died in 1767. No long before his death a branch of that Oak tree was cut to make Mr. Day's coffin. In the usual time he was buried in Barking churchyard. The tree remained till 1805, untill after a while it was destroyed by fire accidentally. The The tradition went for a short time then after. But soon the origin was forgotten.

The Bodmin Riding

The mediaeval church kept July the seventh as the day dedicated to St. Thomas, a Bocket. July the 7th was the anniversary of the day when the archbishop's body was moved from the first tomb in which it had been buried and was re-interred in the shrine built to receive it after his canonization. The church of England no longer revere Thomas a Bocket as a saint. His name has been expunged from the calenderst the Reformation. Bodmin, in carnwall, had a festival held on the first Monday after the seventh, which began in the memory of article bishop was still being held in the early years of the nineteenth century. It was known as 'Bodmin Riding'. A feature of the fair was the broaching of a barrel of bear, brewed in the preceeding October. The beer, put into bottles, was then carried round the town by a party

of youngmen chosen for the task. Mounted on horseback, the men rode round the town, stopping before each house and calling out—'To the people of this house a proserous morning, long life, and a marry-riding. And then each household was called to a feast followed by a special tune known as the Riding Music.

St. Swithun's Farthings

St.Swithun's Day was observed on the 15th of July. An old custom long discontinued, was the practice of bringing farthings to present to the priest. In the south of England, this custom was very general and there are entries in several old church account books showing that sometimes quite substantial amounts of money were received. The reason for bringing this offering on St. Swithunn's Day is now lost, but possibly there was an idea in the giver's mind that this apple crop would be more plentiful if he thus propitiated the saint, for, as is well known St. Swithun's is said to be chirstening the little apples if rain falls upon this day.

Oyster Shell Day

25 of July was observed as the Oyster Shell Day or the feast Day of St. James the Great. The custom has now quite died out, though less than a hundred years ago it was still observed. It probably had 'its' origin, in the accounts brought back, from the continent of Europe, by pilgrims to the shrine of St. James at compostella in Spain. There are many references to the use of the scallop-shell in old plays and ballads. In the ballad, 'the Friar of Orders Grey', the lady when asked her how lover, who has gone on a pilgrimage and not returned, could be recognised, replies :

O by his Scallop Shell and hat,
And by his Sandal Shoon.

And in the poem written by Sir Walter Raleigh while he awaited his death in the Tower of London, one of the verses says :

Give me my Scallop-shell of quiet,
My statt of faith to walk upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation.
My gown of glory hope's true gage ;
And thus I will take my pilgrimage.

SUHRID KUMAR BHOWMIK

A NOTE ON THE PATUAS OF BENGAL

Patua or Patidar is a very common word in Bengali vocabulary and more or less it is known to everybody. In a number of villages in Bengal there are *Patua-paras* or the dwelling places of the Patuas.

Actually Patua means professional artist who earns his bread by image-making in the Hindu-society. Thus there is a socio-economic relationship between the Patuas and other castes in the Hindu society. When they have no work for icon-making they draw pictures and sell them to earn money for livlihood. The pictures are called *pat ; patua* has come from the word *pat* with the help of Bengali suffix *ua ;* sometimes being added with word-ending *dar* meaning a holder (a Persian suffix), *pat* has produced *patidar.*

The original meaning of *pat* is a piece of cloth. Majority of the the Sanskrit dictionaries have recognised the word *patta* meaning cloth, a kind of fabrics, silk-cloth etc. perhaps *patta* is not an Aryan word, it has been adopted in Sanskrit from some pre-Aryan groups and most probably from the Austrics. In Santali and in Mundari *pat* is not used to mean cloth but silk or jute fabric, for weaving cloth. In the Bengali vocabulary the word *pat* is used to mean jute (from Sanskrit *patta*). In Santali *patka* is a long piece of cloth which is sixteen cubits in length and is used for the turban or waist-cloth. It may be that from *patka* the *patkar* (*patidar* in Santali) has come. Whatever it may be, *patta* in Sanskrit became a synonym to cloth and sometimes it reveals silk or jute. Then *patta-bastra* which means silken cloth. In those days, as the invention of paper had to be done, artists used to dawn picture on cloth. Then the word *patta* got a new meaning for canvas or a plate on which painting was to be drawn. Still now we say *chitra-patta* meaning canvas for painting. And then metal or stone cutting-images began to be called *patta,* for example *vishnu-patta.* In Bengali, *patta* or *pata* has morphologically been transfered into *patta* indicating many things at a time. But it chiefly means scroll-painting of which we are saying of. There is a popular indigenous word in Bengali *jal-patti* (*jal*=water, *patti*=cloth). A *jal-patti* is a long narrow piece of cloth not more than two inches in breadth and six inches in length, which is used with water on the fore-head at the time of headache, to get service of an ice-bag. *Patti* is used as a bandage to cover a wound

or any hurt in the body. This change of meaning of the word *patti* has given new idea of bandage and then *pattimara* which means to conceal something bad by covering a piece of cloth, then to play on a trick, and last of all impose upon and decieve, to create something out of nothing. Such a *patti* of a long size was to be used for painting by the *Patuas*. But now after getting paper, generally, the Patuas save money in drawing pictures on paper as cloth appears costly.

A scoll-painting is just like a wall-map ; it is kept rolled. A story is depicted serially. It is about one to three feet in breadth and ten to twenty feet in length according to the story. Two marginal sides of a *pat* are attached with two bamboo-sticks and a Patua shows the pictures describing musically the story and rolling one side of the scroll keeping the other left to be unrolled.

Now a days, majority of the *patuas* use the word *chitrakar* for their family-surname, though they are popularly known as *patua* or *patidar*. Patua or patidar is recognised word in the Bengali dictionaries. The quarter of the Patuas in a village is called patua-para and not chitrakar-para. In the Sanskrit dictionaries, *chitrakar* is used to mean *patua* but there is no mention of *patidar* or *patua* there, though *puta* has been recognised. In Amarkosha, the famous dictionary, synonym for *chitrakar* is *rangajiba* or who earns on colour-works. So it can be presumed that *patidar* or *patua* is a word which was not used outside Bengal, because of its native and non-Sanskritic origin. The *patuas* have been living in Bengal before the word *chitrakar* is introduced to us which we can deduce from the place-names like Patuatola and the type. But in course of time the Chitrakaras and the Patuas mixed together as synonym.

The conglomeration of the Patuas and the Chitrakars leaves no relics to find out the history. But there is no doubt that it took place in the mediaeval period at least before the writing of the Bramhavaibarta Purana. There is reference about the origin of the Chitrakars who were the *Patuas* or *Patidars*. The Chitrakars, professional artists by occupation, like other artisan-castes in the Hindu-society were the descendents of the Supreme artist Viswakarma and his wife Ghritachi. Both of them were born in the world and got nine sons of whom all the artisan classes have come into being. The *Chitrakar* is one of them. *Patuas* were not *chitrakars* first. They were lower in status and their chief occupation was to show scrolls with sing-songs. When Aryanisation was going on in Bengal the non-Aryan *Patuas* declared themselves as *chitrakars* in an epidemic form. The then society did not receive it heartily and as there was no clear distinction between the Chitrakars and the Patuas, the whole Chitrakar caste were declared

corrupt. The Bramhavaibarta Purana explains thus—as the pictures and images were made wrong by the Chitrakars, the Bramhins became angry and they (the Chitrakars) being degraded were outcast by the curse of the angry Bramhins. And they were oscillating in the society being neither rejected nor accepted by the Hindus.

For the whole mediaeval period the proselytisation of Islam was going on and the Patuas became proselytized into the Musalman society. This is a very peculiar caste in Bengal, that belonging to the iconoclast group—they earn bread by their only occupation in image-making for the Hindu idolatrous. There is a myth among the Patuas that originally they were Hindus. One day Siva, the Lord, came in disguise of an artist to see whether his image had been completed. The chitrakar to give the final touch took the brush at a time when he was cleaning his teeth with the help of a green stick. It is very profane to do any holy thing in the time of brushing uncleaned teeth. Owing to this the whole chitrakar group became out-caste by the curse of Siva.

Apart from all social movements in their society, they still remain in the same condition belonging neither to the Hindus nor to the Muslims. Most of them of the older generation follow the Hindu ones as Panchanan Chitrakar, Biren Chitrakar etc. But most of the younger generation feel proud to be called by Islamic names as Rahaman Patidar, Ismail Patidar etc. and they claim that they are Musalmans. They regularly go to the mosques and worship the Koran. The amusing thing is this, the old Panchanan Chitrakar calls his only son-in-law as Ramen, a Hindu name, but the son-in-law himself says that his name is Sk. Rahaman Patidar. Now there are two different motives among the Patua society. One group wants to keep Hinduised surname, Chitrakar, and the other group wants to be associated themselves with the Musalmans. Even though one thing is to be noticed that those who call them as Musalmans they too keep restriction on marriage and choose bridegrooms and brides from the Patidar society, and not from the Musalman society. It is quite difficult to say as to what will be the social position of this society in the near future.

There are *Patkar* or the *Patuas* in the Santal and Bhumij society. They have the practice of showing *pats* and claim to be the origin of the Bengali Patuas. They are not neglected like the Hindu Patuas, rather they have a respected position. Their practice of showing *pats* is quite different. A *patkar* or Jadav Patkiri first takes information whether anybody has died in a Santal family. Then he comes to the door and calls out the name of the head of the family. Then he says that someone of the family has died recently and that he feels in his mind that the spirit of the dead man is suffering in his life after death. He begins to

open the scrolls and shows the figures. Then he points out that in some figures no eye has been drawn; he explains it is only because the spirit is suffering for want of the eyes. All these the family members believe and hear being overwhelmed with grief. The *Patkar* then wants a metal pot of water and with the help of his brush and a drop of water from the pot draws the eye in the figure and says that the sufferings of the dead man will be no more; then he demands the metal pot which he has used. This is one of the means of his livelihood.

This type of *pat* is full of description of the world after death which is full of tortures to a dead man by Jama, the God of death. Even now in Jhargram, Mayurbhanj, Singbhum and Santal Parganas they have profound influence on the Santal society. A Santal thinks that a *patkar* has some supernatural power. The *Patkar* himself also claims that in the time of painting, the Supreme god Marang Buru comes to help him and this is why he can see every thing of the life after death.

In the Santal society, there is another type of scroll-painting which is called *mara-haja pat* (*mara*=death; *haja*=loss). If a Santal is lost in the forest in the time of hunting his relatives call a *patkar* and the *patkar* with the help of the Supreme god Marang Buru can draw the picture of the lost man in the forest and then everybody can see there whether the man is dead or alive.

In the Austric societies such *paralauk'k pat* or the scrolls about the life after death is as popular as their folk-tales about the existence beyond life. Many interesting tales are well-known specially how a man suffers after death in the kingdom of Jama and how he takes rebirth as a domestic animal to serve the man with whom he had misbehaved in this world. Such folk-tales of the Santals give us a common idea about rebirth. According to some folk tales (in some scrolls also), not Jama but the Supreme god, Marang Buru, Himself gives the punishment to a man after his death for his sins. But now we see Jama in the place of Marang Buru. Scroll painting about re-birth is also popular in Tibet among the Buddhists. These reveal atleast one idea that the practice of scroll-painting is of pre-Aryan origin.

Before the Aryans, scroll-paintings were very popular among the aboriginal societies which sprang out from the Austric origin. In the first period of Aryanisation in India, all the cultured Austric people became Aryanised keeping off their own mother tongue and learnt Sanskrit and Prakrit. But they could not put off the cover of the customs and the rituals of their society. In the western zone of India Aryanisation was strong as the west-north part of India was the centre of the Aryan people. It was not so active in the eastern zone where Aryans were very little in number and most of them came of corrupt

blood. Last of all, major part of the eastern zone became Aryanised. Still now this practice of Aryanisation of the Patuas is going on.

A *Patkar,* drawing Santali *pats* with a tribal style speaking Santali at home is using the word *chitrakar* for his surname. Actually, in the Santal society, there is no special caste for the *Patuas.* They have no catse system based on occupations like in the Hindus. If a *Patkar* thinks himself unfit to earn his bread by showing *pat* he may give up the practice and lead his life otherwise. A case may be cited to this effect. The grand-father of one of my Santal students was *patkar,* but for economic reasons he had left out the practice. Now his family-surname is Hembram. Had he not given up the practice he could have used his surname as *chitrakar.*

There is yet other reasons to believe the non-Aryan origin of the Patuas. The pre-Aryans were believers in rebirth and life after death. They gave more importance to the life beyond this world. But the Aryans were the worshipers of the Nature and this world. Scroll-painting about the life after death are popular among the Santals. This type of scrolls depict how Jama hellishly punishes the dead in the life after death. So it is called Jama-pata. No doubt this type of *pat* is the origin of the scrolls in Bengal. Though it is very rare, still now, Bengali Patua depicts the picture of Jama in the beginning and in the end of a *pat,* the main story is placed in the middle. Such practice proves the link between the two types of pats (Austric and Bengali). Actually a thousand years back, the subject matter of the scroll-painting was only Jama and his kingdom, which is now concentrated in the Austric society. There is reference of the Patuas in two Sanskrit dramas, *Mudra Rakshasa* and *Harasacharit.* In both the books the Patuas were singing with the Jama patas. Both the books were produced in the Buddhist period.* The style of showing pats by

*Kshitimohan Sen thinks that it takes its origin from the Buddhist source! "I have seen the pictures of the heaven and hell, drawn by the Tibetans....Still now the Lamas sing showing the pictures of Buddha, hell and heaven and the Jamaraja. Such scrolls with songs used to be shown in the houses after houses in Bengal. Though many of the Hindu and Buddhist Patuas have been Muslim still now this practice is their only occupation....The scrolls of the Muslim Patuas are called *Gajir pat* (scrolls of the Gazi). But one thing is to be noticed that the subject matter is like the old wine in a new bottle. In our childhood days we heard song of *Gazirpat*—

Jamdut and Kaldut are in the left and right
between them the Jamaraja is seated
and this is the power of the Gazi that
in the holy name of the Gazi we shall pass away.

The singers of this *Gazir pat* are Patuas. And their paintings are done in the style of the Tibetan paintings."

Patuas is vividly described in the *Harshacharit* which remains unchanged. In *Mudra Rakshasa* a king's spy in disguise of a *Patua* was singing with the *pats* for finding out some secret information. This indicate how much the Patuas were popular in Bengal. Here we come to know that the Patuas could not use Sanskrit but Prakriti for the sing-song. Jama was the subject matter of the scroll-painting upto the mediaeval period. But in the Mediaeval period, some of the Patuas to earn more money from the so called Aryanised Bengali society, took the subject matter from the Mangal-Kavyas. Here we should remember that stories of the Mangal Kavyas are originally Austric. Then they took the story from the Bhagabata, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Now various type of social stories are being used as the subject matter of these patuas.

An argument for its Austric origin may again be cited looking at to the Buddhist period. Some Patuas embraced to Buddhism. The name like *Patua para* or *Patuatola* is also a point. In view of all these it can be argued that in the pre-Aryan age all the Patuas were Austric. After Aryanisation some of them became Aryanised Hindus. Again in the Buddhist period some Patuas embraced to Buddhist thoughts. This practice spread out to Bali, Java and Malay and to Tibet. In the Muslim period again most of the Patuas took to Islam religion and were influenced by such Rajasthani art which was imported by the Mughals.

Notes on the Style (including that of Jadu Patua or Jadav Patkiri)

In Bengal there are three style in Patua art which are as follows—

(1) Tribal style in the Santali pats ;

(2) Bengali or Hindu style (Kalighat Bazar painting) ;

(3) Popular style of Patua-art influenced by Rajasthani art.

1. Tribal style

The tribal style has been surving among the Santals. It seems to be crude in comparison than other two types. In Santali paintings, the use of colour is very limited and simple. There is a tribal touch in putting on the clothes and dresses in the figures. There is also a tribal style in structure of the figures—masc'ular body, the upper portion of the body (chest, waist, and head) appears little bigger than normal.

The Charyapadas were composed in the Buddhist period (8th to 10th century A.D.) There is a reference of Pata in its interpretation of Pada No. 2.

Jatha chitrakaro rupang Jakshasyatibhayankarang
Samalikhya swayang bhitang sangsarejhyabadhastatha

The picture of Jama (Marang Buru) sometimes seems to be crudest. He appears merciless, destroyer of every thing and looks to be threatening with his punishing instruments. We get an idea of Jama from the description of *Mudra Raksha* and in the *Harshacharit.*

2. Bengali or Hindu style (Kalighat school or bazar painting)

Kalighat school of painting is of Bengali style. It originated from the Ajanta style. Many old copper plates with drawings of gods and goddesses have been discovered in Bengal in the Hindu age. They clearly prove that this style is the origin of the Kalighat Bazar painting. The history of the Kalighat Bazar painting is this : the Patuas or professional artists came and settled round the holy places like Kalighat, Nabadwip, and Tarakeswar where numbers of pilgrims came from different parts of the country and at the time of returning home they purchased the drawings of gods and other social pictures. The style of their drawings followed the traditional style of the copper plate-drawing, preserved in the Asutosh Museum and many other places. Now they have been replaced by the printed pictures. In Kalighat-style of painting there is no touch of colour. By the simple line drawing it could express the idea with an approach of dignity and sublimity. After the modern style of painting the Patuas began to use colour to compete the market.

3. The popular Patua art

This style of art actually began in the Mughal period in Bengal. The Patuas use this style for scrolls which are influenced by Rajasthani art. The style of puting on dresses in the female figures is completely foreign to the Bengali culture. Behula, Rahuti of *Manohar Fansira pat* or other females seem to have been influenced by Rajasthan art. Sometimes male figures are seen with *paijamas* or *chapkans.* This style still survive in the villages among the Patuas.

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PIYUSH KANTI MAHAPATRA

THE BAUL CULT

[Continued from June, 1971]

The body has been described as a tree, but it is a miracle tree. The ultimate reality is conceived to be the moon attached to the tree. It is stated in a song,[43] "What a miracle did I see ! A tree growing without seeds and a moon is attached to it. The tree is rootless and topless and it stands erect in the air. The fruit grows in the tree without flowers and the eyes become dazzled in seeing it. That is a miracle tree with flowers and fruits full of honey. Its fragrance puts an end to hunger and removes poverty. If the implication of the message of the tree is known to one, he is conscious and aware of the self."

In another song[44] it is stated, "A single flower is coloured with four hues. How charming is the city of love with the beauty of the flower. The flowering plant is independent of root. The leaves are there without a branch. This is really miraculous, but to whom I should say and who will believe it !"

The human body has been described as a boat. It is described that the body is a boat of love and the builder of the boat resides in it. In a song it is stated,

Ye gatheche e prem-tari
Sei hayeche cadandari
Koler ghore cinte nari
miche gol badhai ||[45]

"He who has built this boat of love is the passenger on it. I am unable to know him because of personal limitations and only I make confusion." In another song it is stated that the body is the boat of the Lord and by this boat one can cross the material life,

Pare ke yabi Nabir naukate aya |
Rup-kather naukakhani nai dobar bhaya ||[46]

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43. Lalan-Gitika, song No. 183.
44. *ibid*, song No. 96.
45. *ibid*, song No. 84.
46. *ibid*, song No. 210.

"Come to the boat of the Lord, you all who want to cross the river. The boat is built with the timber of revelation of the Lord and there is no fear of sinking down."

The human body is the boat and the sadhaka has to sail in the boat towards the abode of the ultimate reality through the dangerous current of the river or stormy sea of gross feeling and lower emotions. There is every possibility of sinking down into momentary crude pleasure. So, the sadhaka should be very careful and cautious. As the natural calamities overtake a lonely ship in the distant sea, so also the worldly allurements pose a danger to a sadhaka. But there will be no danger of being sunk down if the Lord becomes the helmsman. There is no way but the human body by which one can reach the abode of the ultimate reality. If the boat is not strong and steady, it is not possible to pilot it properly. So, the boat of the body must be kept strong, steady and in a perfect condition. In a song[47] it is stated, "I am very much anxious about my ruining boat. There is water infiltrating into the boat through different holes and the upper portion is being decayed. The water in the boat will make it sink down. O kind Lord, you did not see my condition. Help me, I am rot in myself."

The body is described in some songs as the mirror-city. The mirror-city is close to every person and He lives there. He is a close neighbour to man but man cannot realise Him because his thoughts are not clear and his feelings are not perfect. In a song[48] it is stated that the Lord dwells in the miraculous mirror-hall decked with jems. In some songs the body has been described as an instrument or engine. In a song[49] it is stated that the engine is constructed nicely by four elements—earth, fire, water and air. But if the wind ceases to flow up, the engine will be stopped, the passenger will leave the car, and then four persons will carry it on shoulder to the cremation ground. There is a miracle wave in the engine. There is also a room in the engine where resides the great queen *Kundalini* on a lotus of four petals, and there are sixteen guards. There are eighteen halls, nine doors and the wind flowing everywhere. There are lighted candles in the colourful hall where resides the man of the heart. In another song[50] it is stated that Lord has created an instrument made of the five basic elements—earth, water, fire, air and the ether. The creator is uncatchable, but one can get Him through love if the whole mind is directed to Him.

The body has been described as land. In a song it is stated, "O

47. *ibid*, Song No. 373.
48. *ibid*, Song No. 52.
49. Bangar Baul O Baul Gan. Song No. 315.
50. *ibid*, Song No. 52

2. [illegible]
3. Soci[illegible]

peasant, what a fool you are! Why you did not look after your land? The six birds are eating up all the ripe paddy of the land of your body. You possess your land identified with your body having the length of five and a half feet. There grew the crops of love in the land, but, alas, all have been eaten by the bird of envy. The fencing of consciousness has been fallen apart and the cattle ate up all the ripe crops."[51] In another song[52] it is stated that the human body is the land from where one can get everything he wishes to have. If that land is cultivated properly the ultimate goal will be attained. The length of the land is five and a half feet and man gets it at the mercy of God. It is stated in a song[53] that the sacred scriptures cannot explain the Ultimate Reality. The Ultimate Reality dwells in the world of the body.

The human body is doubly important in the Baul Sadhana. First, the Ultimate Reality resides in the human body and secondly, the ritual of the body is the only way to realise the Ultimate Reality. Even the gods in heaven wished to come down to the world to get a human body because it is the essence and the supreme manifestation of the god's creation. According to the Bauls, the human body is the creation of the god and it is natural phenomenon. In Baul sadhana the whole emphasis is laid on the human body conceiving the body as the microcosm of the universe.

Man goes to the place of pilgrimage which is the abode of gods. According to the Bauls they should not go to the other places for pilgrimage. Human body is the place where god resides. In a song it is stated,

Ache adi Mecca ei manab dehe
dekhanare man bheye
Des-desantar doude ebar
marcho kena hapiye |
Kare ati ajab hakka
gatheche ei manab-Mecca
Kudrati nur diye ||[54]

"See my mind that there is the first Mecca in the human body. Why you are running anxiously far away in so many places? The Mecca of human body has been created by the miracle light of the Ultimate Reality." Also it is stated that there are four Imams at the

51. *ibid*, Song No. 178.
52. *ibid*, Song No. 385.
53. Lalan-Gitika, Song No. 133.
54. *ibid*, Song No. 295.

four doors and the Ultimate Reality is in the centre. In another song it is stated that,

Dhade kothai Mecca Madine ceye dekha nayane |
Dhader khabar na janle ghor yabena konadine ||[55]

"See where the Mecca and Madina are in the body. If you do not know the knowledge of the body your confusion will not go away."

The basic elements by which the body is built are conceived to be the earth, water, fire and air. In some songs it is mentioned that the body is built of five elements viz. earth, water, fire, air and the ether. There are many floors like the floors of a multi-storeyed building in the body. In different floors there are innumerable rooms. There are numerous windows and somewhere latticed openings in the rooms and also nine doors. Many mirror-rooms are there with wonderful colours. The rooms are decorated with gems of differents dazzling colours. The veins, nerves are like the ropes by which the joints in the building are tied with. The Bauls believe that there are fourteen worlds in the human body. These descriptions are given in the Baul songs to describe the location of the mystic self, the man of the heart.

The Bauls have a yogic physiology of the body. As the Baul sadhana is observed through the yogic practices of the body, they adhere to the yogic physiology of their own. In the Baul conception the location of different *cakras* or the wheels and *padmas* or lotuses are very important. The lowest cakra is the *Muladhara cakra* conceived to be in the abdomenal region in between rectum and the male organ. In *Muladhara* there is a coiled serpent power known as *Kula-Kundalini Sakti,* a passive female force. The *Kundalini* is also called as *Jogamaya,* a passive female force having the potential power of creation. It is said in a song of Lalan,

Tar bame Kulakundali
Jogamaya yare bali
Lalan kai, tar smaran nile
Yai svadese ||[56]

"*Kulakundali* is at the left, which is also called *Jogamaya.* Lalan says, if one adheres to it he will go to the true place."

In another song Lalan says that there are five cells and *Muladhara* is at the centre, but the root of it is at the sky. In a song it is stated,

55. *ibid*, Song No. 296.
56. *ibid*, Song No. 131.

Kula-kundalini Sakti rai muladhare
Pranayer yoge jagao tahare
Sakti cetan hale purnananda mile
tomar sadananda svarup ekbar dekhana |
Bame idanadi, dakshine pingala
Raja-tama-gune kariteche khela
Madhye biraje susumna
tare dharana kena sadare ||[57]

"Awaken the *Kulakundalini Sakti* through love which is in the *Muladhara.* While the female force is awakened, it leads to the supreme bliss and realisation of the self. The *Ida* is at the left, the *Pingala* is at the right and the susumna is at the centre. One should observe the rits of these" then the self will be realised.

In *Muladhara cakra* there is a lotus of four petals usually of red colour. Sometimes this lotus is conceived of as having six or eight petals. The *Muladhara* is the place where meet the left nerve *Ida,* the right nerve *Pingala* and the middle nerve *Susumna* at a particular point. This point is usually called *Triveni* or the meeting place of three streams.

The higher *cakra* is the *Ajnacakra,* which is conceived to be at the centre of the eyebrow. There is a lotus in *Ajna-cakra* with two petals usually of white colour. It is also the upper point of the meeting place of the three vital nerves. The three nerves join *Muladhara* with *Ajna-cakra.* There are two other *cakras, Manipura cakra* which is nearest to navel with a lotus of ten petals and *Visuddha cakra* which is nearest to throat with a lotus of sixteen petals in between *Muladhara* and *Ajna cakra.* It is believed that the man of the heart plays in the place of the lotus of two petals. In many songs this is mentioned.

Maner manus khelche dvidale |
Yeman soudamini megher kole ||
* * * *
Kiba ruper Jhalak diche dvidale |
se rup dekhle nayan yai bhule ||
* * * *
Dvidaler mrinale
Sonar manus ujjvale
Manus-guru kripa hale
Jante pabi ||

57. **Banglar Baul O Baul Gan, Song No.**

* * * *

Maner manus hai re ye Jana |
(O se) dvidale biraj kare ei manuse—
Tumi sahaj manus cinlena ||[58]

The highest plexus is the *Sahasrara*. It is located in the cerebrum region. It is believed that there is a lotus of thousand petals in *Sahasrara*. There are seven floors in between *Muladhara* and *Sahasrara*. In *Sahasrara* there are eighteen cells or *mokam* and in the central cell, which is the peak of vacuum, resides the man of the heart. The female force of creation resides in *Muladhara* and the male force of creation resides in Sahasrara. There is celestial light and eternal flow of supreme bliss in *Sahasrara*. The man of the heart usually plays and stays at the *Ajnacakra*, the lotus of two petals, but sometimes he comes down to *Manipur cakra* and *Visuddha cakra*, the lotuses of ten petals and sixteen petals respectively and at the right and proper time of sadhana he comes down to *Muladhara*, the lotus of four petals. In these plexuses the man of the heart moves and his tendency is the downward movement. The sadhana of the Bauls is to move the man of the heart in the upward direction to the *Ajnacakra*, the lotus of two petals through the vital nerves and from there towards the *Sahasrara* or the lotus of thousand petals. When the man of the heart is realised in *Sahasrara*, the material existence is lost and the sadhaka reaches the state of 'death while living' and the self comingles and melts away in the Ultimate Self and leads to ultimate realisation.

Sahasrara and *Ajnacakra*, the abodes of the man of the heart are conceived as the places of eternal celestial light and eternal supreme bliss. The above of the man of the heart is conceived to be not bigger than an oil-seed. It is conceived as a room illuminated with celestial light and miraculous colours, and a land of eternal bright light. The man of heart effervesces in that place. The place is described in many songs as *Rangmahal* or the chamber of luminious colours and *Rupnagar* or the city of beauty. In a song it is stated,[59] "How beautiful is the Lord dwelling in *Rungmahal*! The eyes become enchanted with the sparkling beauty never seen. There is a building encircled by water and the seven floors are fitted with mirrors and the beauty sparkles from the room at the centre like the electric spark." In another song it is stated, "Who has created this *Rungmahal*? The candle is lighted without oil, it is like a precious gem or pearl and there is water encir-

58. *ibid*, Song No. 454.
59. Lalan-Gitika. Song No. 151

cling it." In another song it is stated, "O my mind, let us go to *Rupnagar*." The journey is from *Muladhara* to the *Ajnacakra* through the *Manipurcakra*.

There are two aspects of the body in Baul conception, first, the material aspect and secondly, the physiological aspect. The body has been compared with a cage, building, boat, instrument etc. and it is made of material elements which are subject to desecration like the things compared with the body. Ultimately the body will be destroyed therefore, it is stated in many songs that the ultimate realisation must be attained as soon as possible before the destruction of the mortal body. So far the physiological aspect is concerned the location of the plexuses are described and emphasis is given on the three vital nerves. It is also conceived that there are many cells or rooms in the body in different floors.

The mind pertinacious

In all yogic practices, particularly in esoteric practices, a firm command over mind is essential. Unless the mind is concentrated and directed towards the object of attainment, the final goal cannot be achieved. Body may be considered as the way and material of sadhana but it is mind, which guides the feelings and emotions in different stages towards the ultimate attainment. In Baul sadhana emphasis is given on mind and it is described in many songs. The act of love and esoteric practices are observed in the sadhana and next they are climaxed in metaphysical attainment. In this case if mind is not concentrated and fully prepared to drive towards the ultimate achievement, there is every possibility of a lapse into material pleasure, and this is very likely for the uninitiated mind.

Man has five *indriyas* or sense-organs and six *ripus* or six inimical passions. By these sense-organs we perceive the material world. If these sense-organs are not controlled, no kind of sadhana is possible, because the feelings cannot be elevated to the metaphysical plane. The six *ripus* or inimical passions of the mind are there to drag the mind from behind. Therefore, a firm command over a concentrated mind is essential to realise the ultimate reality. In a song of Lalan it is stated, "I do not have a mind like a mind, so, how can I know the rites of love. My mind roams here and there as a captive of the sense-organs. If the two minds are identified I would be able to overpower death. Those who are initiated and adherent to the rites mingle the mind with other mind and after performing the rites of three courses get the jewal (Ultimate Reality). I do not know how the serpent

(*Kulakundalini*) will be controlled and how I shall perform the rites of the nectar, only the poison is ruining myself."[60]

There are many songs in which it is stated that mind should be alert and should not be allowed to go in the wrong direction. In a song it is described,"O my mind, do not go in the way which you do not know clearly. If you go in the wrong way, you will be ruined. Clearly know the right way being free of all doubts. Keep your eyes in the right way and there are two ways, the tide and the ebb, but if you go in your own way, you will not be able to reach the shore."[61] The mind should be concentrated and wholly directed towards the ultimate aim under the guidance of the *Guru*. The bird *catak* do not drink any kind of water except the direct rain water, even in time of death. It always keeps its mouth open upwards for rain water. The mind should be directed towards the aim with that passion. If mind is controlled and guided with that sincerity the ultimate reality will be realised in the body. The sunflower blooms as the sun rises but it becomes sullen as the sun sets. The mind should be initiated with such unfeigned wholeheartedness.

There are two kinds of mind, good mind and bad mind. Good mind goes in the right way but the bad mind always goes in the wrong way. Good mind sometimes does not know how and when bad mind goes in the wrong way to find the worldly pleasure. It is stated in the song, "It is strange that the mind does not keep the information of the mind and for this reason it dares with vanity to catch the moon. It is described in all the scriptures that attainment can be achieved by mind. But their information where are the doors and windows of the mind and where is the king of mind are not known, only a mass of scriptures makes the mind heavy and it goes in the wrong way."[62] It is stated in a song, "O my mind, do you think, what should you look after ? What will be your future if the time of death comes ? The days are numbered but all the arrears are left undone in life for your idleness. The success can be attained by a clear mind but you did not get the clearness. What will you do if death occurs ?"[63] In a song it is stated that mind is such a fool that when it keeps alert vigilance at the front door, the thief comes through the back door. In another song it is stated that the mind has the sense-organs which it considers to be its friends but the friends, the companions in enjoying worldly pleasures, would not accompany it at the time of death. It is stated in another song

60. *ibid*, Song No. 28.
61. *ibid*, Song No. 38.
62. *ibid*, Song No. 188.
63. *ibid*, Song No. 379.

that the good companions are lost at the fault of mind. The life-time is spent being absorbed in temporary worldly pleasure. If mind would have been one's own real mind, it would not select copper or zinc in lieu of gems and jewels. It is the mind which is solely responsible for the utter distress in human life. Mind is the root of success or failure. If mind is not concentrated and directed towards the goal, the realisation cannot be achieved. It is said in a song, "You never once thought of the vital crossing. How will you, then, cross the bridge of diamond ? You cannot feel secure even for a moment and you do not know when the Master will summon you. What excuse will you give in the prison when the summons comes? You can buy the merchandise free, and meditatively utter the name of the Master, a sure cure for indolence. Launch the boat of love and let the Master pilot it. Then, says Lalon, you will safely reach the shore."[64] In a song Lalan says, "It did not come to the mind of my mind where I am and where I will go and with whom ?"[65]

Man of the heart : the unknown bird

In Baul conception the Ultimate Reality is the "man of the heart" or "man of the mind". The Ultimate Reality can be realised only through the process of compassionate love, so, He is conceived as supreme Beloved. Although different kinds of metaphors have been used to express the conception of the ultimate reality, the image of the ultimate reality is conceived in Baul theology as the 'man'. The distinctive feature of the Baul theology is that the metaphysical existence of the ultimate reality or the Absolute is conceived to be existing in the world of human body which dwells in the body in the from 'man'. It is said in the Baul songs that he, who believes in the philosophy of man or the truth in the man, never will follow other practices or discipline. This concept of 'man' has been held in the Baul faith because the human body is conceived to be the microcosm of the universe and the creation of the Absolute. The sadhana of the Baul is performed by the human body. The impulse of the Baul sadhana is the passionate love-impulse of human beings transformed into the love for the Absolute, and the human body, as created by the Absolute, is the abode of the Supreme Being. The Supreme Being, therefore, is the ultimate truth in the from of 'man' to be realised.

The prime impulse of the Baul theology is the eternal quest for the 'man' or the ultimate reality. The man of the heart dwells in the

64. *ibid*, Song No. 422.
65. *ibid*, Song No. 410.

human being but cannot be viewed or realised because of inadequate knowledge and wrongful understanding. The spirit of the Baul is expressed thus, "Where shall I meet him, the man of my heart ?" The man of the heart is the true self or the real self. According to Baul concept the true self has been described as *manus* or man, *maner manus* or man of my heart, *adhar manus* or the man uncatchable, *ajana manus* or the man unknown, *raser manus* or the man beloved, *sahaja manus* or the man of absolute innate nature, *bhaber manus* or the man of devotion, *sonar manus* or the man of gold, atal *manus* or the man immovable, *manus ratan* or the jewel-man and the like. Each of the expressions has its technical meaning in the religious practices of the Bauls. Besides the term man, some other terms have been used to express the true self or the ultimate reality. These are *gosain* and *sain* or the Lord preceptor, *murshid* or the preceptor, the spiritual guide, *Navi* and *Rasul* or the Prophet, *Niranjan* or void, 'formless one'. In some songs the Absolute is described as *Nur* or the divine light, the essence of divine power. The Absolute Reality is the eternal, illuminated existence.

(To be continued)

University of Calcutta.

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SUNILRANJAN MITRA

A SHORT NOTE ON A GRAIN GOLLA IN MIDNAPORE DISTRICT OF WEST BENGAL

Here an attempt has been made to describe about the organization, function and some of the important features of grain golla (store house) in a Santal village. The village where the investigation was conducted is situated in the Midnapore district, within the Jhargram sub-division of Silda union under the police station of Binpore. The name of the village is Kamarbandhi.

The particular grain golla where the investigation was carried out situated in the middle of the village Kamarbandhi. It is a permanent structure. The walls which are made of bricks and the roof is prepared with corrogated iron sheet. It has got two rooms, the smaller one is utilized as office room while the larger one is for storing grains. The store house is identified by the local Adivasis as "Dharma Golla". The West Bengal Government sanctioned a sum of rupees ten thousand for the establishment of this store house, of which five thousand was spend for the construction of the building and the rest five thousand was spent for purchasing grains to store.

Governing body

At first this organisation was started by fifty members only. Anybody could be a member of the golla by donating one maund of paddy and a sum of rupee one only. The executive body was formed by the election of the members of the grain golla. The election was conducted in a simple way. First of all the name of the candidates was announced and by the vote of the members nine persons of executive body was formed. The members elected for 1970 in the executive body are :—

1. Mongol Soren (President). 2. Barin Soren (Secretary). 3. Santal Hansda (Member). 4. Lakshmi Soren (Member). 5. Kumar Murmu (Member). 6. Surya Soren (Member). 7. Nanda Soren (Member). 8. Samur Soren (Member). 9. Chunaram Soren (Member)

After the election of the executive committee, secretary and president were elected by the members of the body.

Function of the Executive body

The secretary is fully responsible for the proper functioning and maintanance of the "Grain Golla". In the meeting of the executive body members decide the amount or rate of interest in which the loan should be given. The executive body also receive the repayment of loan. The

executive body is also responsible to submit the account of the "Grain golla" to the general members annually.

Rate of interest

Every man who takes loan from the golla has to pay an interest of ten maund of paddy per year. Any man fails to pay within that scheduled time may be charged a higher interest according to the decision of the executive committee.

Rules and regulation

It has some rules by which it functions :

(1) One member cannot take more than 5 maunds of paddy at a time.

(2) The entry fee for a new member is rupee one.

(3) The grain golla is open two times in a year—June and November.

(4) The month of January is fixed for receiving the paddy.

Staff for regulation of office work

There are three different categories of office workers :

A. *Clerk*—Clerk is appointed by the executive committee whose salary is Rs. 50 per month.

B. *Weighing man*—The weighing man is temporarily appointed and he gets a salary of Rs. 180/- for six months

C. *Night guard*—The man who guard the grain golla in the night. He gets a salary of Rs. 12/- per month

Appointment and payments of staff

The government of West Bengal pay the salaries of the staff when these staff are appointed by the executive body.

Audit of the Grain golla

At the end of the year government of West Bengal appoints auditors to audit the account of the grain golla.

Capacity of the grain golla

The grain golla has a capacity to store 1,300 maunds of paddy.

Deeds and documents

For a loan land acts as a security. No body can take loan without the security deposits.

Importance of the grain golla

The grain golla save the poor Adivasis from the money lender, who use to take higher rate of interest. The villagers can get loan from the golla at any time during their need and they repay it when they are in a position to do so.

JAG MOHAN,

THE FORT OF PANGNA IN HIMACHAL PRADESH

The Fort of Pangna in Himachal Pradesh is an impressive five storied building. It is about sixty feet high. Deodar, timber and stone have been used in its structure. The framework of the walls and the floors are made of wood. The beauty of the framework has superadded charm of having carvings upon it. The freshness of these carvings has survived the decaying effects of rain, mist and sun through centuries. The buildings, though old and worn out now, remind us about many historical incidents that occurred at Pangna, a medium sized, multicaste village in Karsog tehsil of Mandi District.

The Fort reminds us of the grandeur of a flourishing kingdom. In the beginning it was a part of the palace and had as many as sixty rooms. The palace is now no longer in existence. In its place stand the P. W. D. Rest House and the Government Ayurvedic Dispensary buildings, with the Fort between them. The Fort is the only remnant of the old palace which has been able to stand even to this day.

The available historical records tell us that the Fort was built by Raja Bir Sen, the founder of Suket State, in eighth century A.D. The later Rajas of Suket could not, however, stick to Pangna for more than a few centuries. During the reign of Raja Madan Sen in the thirteenth century, the capital was shifted to Lohara. One of the most interesting reasons given for this change is that one night, when Raja Madan Sen was resting in his palace, a goddess appeared to him in his dream. She told him that his occupation of the palace was unauthorised and unless he left Pangna immediately, evil would befall his kingdom. The Raja, bowing to her command, immediately shifted to Lohara. From there the capital was later shifted to Sundernagar.

The story goes that when the king woke up in the morning, the dream was quite fresh in his mind. He talked about it to his councellors and ordered for a search of the place where he slept the previous night. A throne and a sword were found buried in his bed chamber. The throne was made of *asht-dhat* and looked very beautiful. All over it were engraved the images of various *devtas*. Both these finds were taken to be the belongings of the goddess and were kept in the Fort.

For centuries, the sword attracted people from far and near, because it was believed to the endowed with the power if fertility. If water

contained in some tumbler were crossed with the sword and given to a barren woman, she would be pregnant forthwith. This magic sword was now vanished from the Fort and could not be traced despite all efforts. The throne and Darbar have since shifted to Sundernagar.

Other antiquities here are the large weighing scales and a wooden drum. Raja Madan Sen brought the scales from the salt mines at Drang, after conquering that principality. The wooden drum too was a war trophy of the same king. After he conquered Drang, Raja Madan Sen overcome the Raja of Guma. The drum marks the capture of that kingdom.

Village elders, however, narrate a different story about this drum. According to them, one of the rulers of Suket, probably Madan Sen, prior to his being enthroned, lived on a *jagir* at Samarli. There was a tree in his estate, on which a barely like substance of gold appeared daily. This was a mystery for the ruler, as well as his subjects. People from far and near would go to see it. One day this tree got up-rooted and two images of Narsingh *deota* emerged from the ground. The ruler ordered one of these images to be installed in a temple building near the Fort. He got the trunk of the tree hollowed and out of it, five big drums were made. The wooden drum at Pangna is one of them

Another legend relates how an innocent princess ended her life in the Fort by committing suicide. Princess Chandravati, daughter of Raja Ram Sen was once play-acting with some young girls who were dressed in male attire. She was suspected of immorality by a *purohit* who happened to pass by. The *purohit* distroted the facts and to arouse suspicion in the mind of the ruler about the chastity of his daughter. He rebuked the princess and had her removed to Pangna to pass the rest of her life there in penace. The misery of her lonely life and the stigma attached to her reputation compelled Chandravati to end her life by taking poison. Before dying, she left a note for the king, warning him against the unfaithful priest who was the cause of all her unjust and terrible persecutions. She desired that her body should be buried under the ground for six months and claimed that her chastity would keep it safe from the decaying effects of death. This was done. When the body of the princess was exhausted, it had no signs of decay or decom position. It looked as fresh as it was at the time of burial. The king was very much repentant over what he had done to his own daughter. The compunction for his deed affected his mind. He became insane and died soon afterwards.

The princess, however, did not end her temporal existence with her body. Her soul came to live in the Fort. The repentant father and her brother Jit Sen did their best to console her restless soul. Even though the priests in those days were too powerful to be touched by the kings

yet they were prohibited to go anywhere near Pangna. The princess later came to be regarded as a goddess and was worshipped as such. An image of *Bhagwati Devi* was installed in the Fort. Thus the Fort turned into a temple.

The princess regularly appeared to her father and her brother in their dreams and asked for vengeance against the unfaithful *purohit*. But her injunctions could not be carried out before the reign of Raja Garur Sen. Because of some intrigue in which the priest was involved, the *Raj Purohit* fell into disfavour and lost his hold on Raja Garur Sen. He summoned the relatives and descendants of the culprit *purohit* and condemned them to the rank of *nachhuhan* or untouchables. Their descendants continue to live nearby even now and are still treated as untouchables by the villagers.

The image of Bhagwati has recently been transferred to Sundernagar and the Fort now bears a deserted look in which the bats and birds have made their abode. It is, however, still serving the mankind. With an electric lamp fixed on its top — a boon of the post independence era, it now stands calmly guiding travellers in locating Pangna in the nights.

BOOKS ON FOLKLORE OF BIHAR

A Bibliography of Folklore of Bihar

By H. C. Prasad & Gita Sen Gupta

An exhaustive bibliography of English and Hindi books, articles, monographs, reports etc with annotation wherever possible.

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Guest Editor : Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi & Pt. Ganesh Chaubey

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INDIAN PUBLICATIONS, CALCUTTA-1

NOTES AND NEWS

Progress in Laccadives of Union Territory

The Laccadive islands in the Arabian Sea, have recorded progress in many spheres. A consolidated administration for the group of islands, the introduction of scientific methods of cultivation, the supply of electricity, fisheries fully developed, a well-run co-operative marketing federation, and better educational facilities and communication services have worked to give a facelift to the islands.

The coastal islands became a Union Territory in 1956 and a co-ordinated development plan was approved by the Planning Commission. The First and the Second Five Year Plans provided the necessary base for transport facilities and a strong administrative machinery. The Third Plan with a total expenditure of Rs. 108.5 lakhs worked towards the development of fisheries and education. The Fourth Plan outlay is Rs. 200 lakhs. In addition, Rs. 85 lakhs have been set apart for schemes like harbour works and navigational facilities.

The cultivation of coconuts is the mainstay of the islanders. This is being put on a scientific basis. Coconut nurseries set up by government provide seedlings to the islanders at concessional rates. The cultivation of vegetables is being popularised and vegetable seeds and plants are distributed free to farmers. Attempts are under way to grow food crops like rice, maize, pluses, tapioca in coconut plantations. The use of pump sets is in vogue.

The setting up of co-operative societies in the islands and the "Co-operative Marketing Federation" has put an end to exploitation of the islanders by middlemen and traders. Till now, their only produce, copra, was taken by these traders and in turn they were given consumer goods.

The presence of wireless stations and the internal telephone system are new features in the islands. To provide better communication facilities, Government have decided to introduce a radio-telephone service in the islands. This will bring the islanders nearer to their brethren on the mainland with whom they can directly converse by dialing any number. Eight out of the ten inhabited islands are now supplied with electricity. The services of on all-weather ship have been made available to the islanders by the Administration.

Fisheries are an import aspect in the economy of the islands. An ambitious scheme to develop fisheries with an outlay of Rs. 4.6 lakhs is concentrating on the development of both shallow and deep-sea fishing with mechanised boats.

Till recetly there was nothing like a regular education department and the number of schools was few. Now education is looked aftar by a full-fledged department and there are 38 schools including some exclusively for girls. The number of students has increased from 1521 in 1956 to 7500 at present.

A junior college is expected to start functioning at Kavaratti Island during the Fourth Plan.

The growth of industries has received a momentum with the establishment of coir training-cum-production centres. The main industry of the islands is the production of coir.

There are even primary Health Centres in the islands. The health authoritis can now successfully control the incidence of leprosy and other diseases which were prevalent in some islands. A major hospital with an X-ray unit and surgical ward is under construction at Kavaratti.

--Press Information Bureau, India.

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Champaran makes fresh History

The Champaran district of Bihar has rich historical aassociations. In the ancient days, its forests were the retreats of many sages. This was the land of King Janaka. The Ashram of Valmiki was also situated here. Gauatma Buddha passed through Champaran on his last journey from Vaisali to Kusinagar. Emperor Ashoke erected pillars in this area

In the nineteenth century, however, the peasants of Champaran were reduced to the condition of near-slavery. The English indigo planters, often supported by the Government of the day, forced the peasants to cultivate indigo and sell it at very low prices. "Nil Darpan", the Bengali drama written by Dinabandhu Mitra in 1860, depicted the misery and oppression suffered by the peasants in the whole indigo belt which covered both Bihar and Bengal.

What put a stop to the oppression was the civil disobedience movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi in Champaran in 1917. Gandhiji himself described the Champaran movement as India's "first direct object lesson in civil disobedience." The area thus saw the birth or a movement which restored courage and self-respect to the down-trodden masses and ultimately enabled India to win political emancipation.

In 1966, about half a century after the historic movement of 1917, another movement took birth in this area which has as its objective the economic emancipation of the peasants. The Solidarity Fund of Norway donated a stock of fertiliser to the Indian Freedom From Hunger Campaign and its sale yielded over Rs. 31 lakhs. Of this fund over Rs.

20 lakhs were used to finance a many-sided programme for the economic improvement of a selected area in Champaran district. The area thus selected was Turkaulia block, with a population of over a lakh.

The most important of the irrigation projects in this area is the Gandak, but part of Turkaulia block lies outside its reach. Therefore, alternative methods had to be devised for stepping up the irrigation potential. The Turkaulia project acquired an Indian-made rig with a trained crew. This tubewell drilling unit set before itself a target of 50 wells in the block. Against this target, 101 tubewells, or more than double, have been made. The project dug these wells for the farmers on a "no-profit-no-loss" basis. The farmers provided casual labour for drilling operations to help the drilling crew and made the channel and the pump houses themselves.

There has been an enthusiastic response from the farmers to these measures for stepping up the irrigation potential. In addition to the 101 tubewells dug by the project, the farmers themselves have dug about 300 wells. They go about 80 feet deep and use 50 feet pipes and 30 feet coir filters. Much cheaper than the bigger tubewells made by the Project, they are dismantled and erected by farmers in different locations after several seasons.

In addition to these tubewells, the farmers have also set up 284 diesel pump-sets, tapping various water sources like ponds and lakes. There are four rivers—Dhanauly, Sikrahana, Tilawe and Bangari—and two lakes—Turkaulia and Majharia—in this block. Therefore, there are great possibilities of programme has caught the imagination of farmers.

The cooperative credit structure in the area is being steadily strengthened. The Project authorities have deposited Rs. 2 lakhs with the Central Cooperative Bank. This fund enabled four cooperative societies in flood-affected areas of the block to convert short-term loans into medium-term loans.

The traditional crop in this area was mostly paddy, with an occasional second crop of pluse. Demonstrations on farmers fields in the command area of tubewells were undertaken by the Project authorities and multiple cropping has been successfully stabilised in this area. A rotation of three crops is very usual and, in some cases, a four-crop rotation of pulse-maize-paddly-wheat has also proved very successful. The whole cropping pattern of this area has been radically transformed. Onion, turmeric and ginger which were cultivated in small areas in the old days, have now been expanded to much bigger acreage. Side by side, soil analysis is also being undertaken. A large number of samples from the tubewell command area have been analysed and on the basis of the results, a soil map has already been drawn up for the Turkaulia block. Water samples from the tubewells are also being analysed to find out

what would be the effect of intensive watering in the tubewell command area in the long run.

The tractor unit set up by the Project has generated great enthusiasm for mechanised agriculture. The charges have been kept very cheap, compared to those realised by private tractor owners and tractors are hired out on a "first come first served" basis. Farmers of means have begun to acquire tractors on their own and there is a fleet of about 20 such privately owned tretors in this area. These are also hired out to others and thus mechanised farming is gaining momentum.

A seed godown has been constructed at Turkaulia and rural godowns of 100 tonne capacity each at Belwaria, Jatwa, Semara and Jaisinghpur are under construction. For developing ancillary occuptions, improved breeds of poultry are being introduced in this region. The advent of electricity has helped not only in energising tubewells and pump-sets, but also in initiating agroprocessing units for hulling paddy, making wheat flour, extracting mustard oil, etc.

Very responsive to the winds of change, the farmers listen regularly to the farm broadcasts of the Patna Radio Station. Transistorised radio sets have been distributed to 24 groups of farmers. Many of the farmers are maintaining notebooks on information on agricultural subjects obtained from the broadcasts. They also go on field visits to Piprakoti, Pusa and other Gavernment farms. A healthy spirit of competition in production has em rged among the farmers and crop competitions have become a very popular feature.

— *Press Information Bureau, India.*

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Indian Folklore Society

A meeting of the Indian Folklore Society was held on 27th June, 1971 at its office, 3, British Indian Street, Calcutta to consider accounts and to appoint an auditor. Shri Sankar Sen Gupta was in the chair. Society also congratulated Sri Sankar Sen Gupta for his receiving Rabindra Smiriti Prize for 1971-72 from the Govt. of West Bengal.

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Folk Music and Folklore Research Institute

Folk Music and Folklore Research Institute, Calcutta organised a get together on 4th July, 1971 at 10, Hindusthan Park, Calcutta-29 where a demonstration of the folksingers from 'Bangla Desh' was held. Shah Ali Sarkar and Rathin Roy who are at present residing at 21/A, Babu Hakkak, Lane, Calcutta-17 sang some beautiful and originat folksongs which were tape recorded by the Institute. Khaled Chaudhury played different folk instruments with the folk singers. It was well an attended meeting of the lover of folksongs.

REVIEWS OF BOOK

STUDIES IN MUSEUM AND MUSEOLOGY IN INDIA, by Prof. D. P. Ghosh, Calcutta, Indian Publications, Demy 8vo, 155+16+3, Rs. 18.50 or $4.50.

'Studies in Museum and Museology in India' has been waiting far too long for the detailed comment which I promised when I first received it and thanked its author for sending it. As I told him then I felt I must take time to read the book with care.

As time went by I had been reading and rereading slowly various of the chapters, deriving full benefit from what they could teach me to the early years of the museum movement in India, to which Prof. D. P. Ghosh contributed so much, and reviewing those events of the movement since 1960 when I first arrived here and of which I have sometimes able experience for me, and it has often filled in aspects of the total picture of museum progress in India, of great interest to me.

It is truely a most valuable thing that Prof. Ghosh has thought to bring out many of his significant articles and addresses in this more permanent form. I should not be at all surprised if the book were to be used as a text in museology courses here, for it truely contributes greatly to as accurate account of what was proposed and what it has been possible, despite many handicaps, to accomplish in the development of museums, in the one under author's own direction and elsewhere in the country during the past 30 years or so. Prof. Ghosh's comments and suggestions in themselves represent a valuable text.

Though I am so familiar with author's line of thought and also with his achievement in creating the Asutosh Museum and developing it so successfully, as well as with his enormous contribution to museology and museum training, I have found much information of value, new to me in his book. I have greatly benefitted from and enjoyed author's review of professional progress as he discusses it so clearly in chapters, I, VII and IX, his excellent explanation of the importance of the University Museum, (Chapter II), his vision of museums in education (Chapter VIII), and the description of museum training as he himself has given leadership to it's development (Chapter X). Earlier I had known of author's dream of a National Museum of Indian history and I was interested to read the very thorough plan for it outlined in Chapter III and the detailed scheme as set forth in Appendix B. It is a comprehensive pageant of what is a long and colourful history for which the illustrations that author suggests would provide a vivid panorama of successive periods and significant events. In these times it is perhaps too much to hope that so grand a sheme

could be realized in three dimensions. Perhaps some one could take up his plan some time and create an educational motion picture or even a picture book for young people following the general outline that the author has drawn in the book under review.

Prof. Ghosh's review of the steps in the development of museums in India (Chapter I) is very useful. Recently I had occasion to read the Museum Expert Survey Committee Report of 1956. It remains to a considerable degree a valid blueprint for the development of museums in India. Author's survey of Museums in West Bengal and especially his history and description of Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, I found very useful indeed. In short, I consider that author has made a valuable contribution to the technical literature on museums in general and of those in India in particular. We all in the field can be grateful to Prof. Ghosh and his publisher is most fortunate to have secured his manuscript and he is to be congratulated on providing a most useful and attractive book which is sure to find wide use.

ICCM Regional Agency in Asia —Dr. (Mrs.) Grace Morley

HINDU ACHAR-ANUSTHAN (In Bengali), by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarty, Lekhak Samabaha, Calcutta-26, Demy 8vo, Pp. 198, 1377 B.S. Price Rs. 8.00.

The book under review reveals to us a wealth of wonderful knowledge which the author presents by his close and intimate study of the rites, rituals, customs, superstitions, fairs and festivals of the Hindus of Bengal. It is a brilliant work, though brief in exposition of the subjects which the author has discussed, in four parts, and short but not as comprehensive as a critical reader asks for from him.

Besides three introductory notes on the Hindu religious ideas, the book under review has seven short notes on such customs and rites which a devout Hindu should perform daily. Further, it contains as many as eleven notes on regional and local festivals like New Year, Son-in-law's Day, Car festival, Worship of the Goddesses Durga, Kali along with Holi, Gajan etc. and ninetytwo notes on different local and regional deities, Worship of the Virgin Girls, Fairs, Festivals, Birth Day, New Rice Eating Day, Mahalaya, Worship of Basil, and so on. The author also discusses the customs, traditions, beliefs, superstitions etc. which are prevalent among the different Hindu castes and sects as *Gauridan* or the marriage of the girl when she is eight years old, *Asauch* or purificatory rite after birth or death and others.

Prof. Chakravarti has presented before the reading public a work of lasting importance. The author deserves hearty congratulation for this very useful and informative book.

Indian Folklore Society, Calcutta —Samir Ghosal

EDITORIAL

Civilization changes environments. Any change in environment—such changes as modern civilization dictates—may be too much for body and hence for the mind. We want to anihilate distance and time with rockets and radio. we want to convert night into day with lamps that are miniature suns, we want to clothe ourselves in fabrics woven from fibres and nature did not provide. All these are incompatible with the survival of man as a specie. In us a mind that yearns is at work, but the reward of successful yearning would be extincted. And yet human mind go on experimenting in developing a quality of mind which curbs the tiger and the ape in him even at the risk of extinction.

Science becomes an agency that draws millions of people into one common fabric of human society or social order. Man has been getting more civilised, more urbanised and more sophisticated, yet he is busy in discovering more and more destructive weapons of killing. Violence can never be checked with violence, No war can end all wars. But can a scientist be blamed for this ? Can sophistication be responsible for this ?

History tells us that in the last 2,500 years, not less than 902 wars have been fought, more than 1,615 internal dissensions have taken place, which have rent nations asunder. The most bellicose period of the world history has been the first half of the 20th century. We are now in the mist of a new Era, call it Atomic Age. Whether the hydrozen bomb will prove to be the doom of mankind, or a stable force for permanent peace, cannot yet be predicted. On the other hand, it can be said as certain that material developed from Neclear Reactors can be wholly beneficient

It is here there is necessity for everybody to contribute their share towards the development of human society where man can live in peace and in harmony with nature and with fellow human beings. But as man goes forward new problems arise. From these problems come dissatisfaction and worries. As work goes on new patterns of life emerge. This adventures of life continues. There is no finality about anything. Our ideal today may be a hundred years away from now, the ideas then may again be hundred years hence. As we proceed, the target appear to recede and bigger and better targets are formed. The clouds of time may have hidden for us innumerable problems, trial, and dangers, yet time may also reveal solution of unknown difficulties or delightful surprises, which man with his knowledge of science should be prepared to turn to his advantage with faith, hope and goodwill. The usefulness of folklore study and research lies on this faith, hope and goodwill.

1. Rain in Indian Life & Lore : An Anthology, edited with an introduction by Sankar Sen Gupta, Foreword : Prof. Nirmalkumar Bose, Director Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1963. Rs. 18 (Rare).
2. Studies in Indian Folk-Culture : An Anthology, edited by Sankar Sen Gupta and Dr. K. D. Upadhyaya, Calcutta, 1964. Rs. 12.
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4. Folklore Research in India, Official Proceedings of the All India Folklore Conference, Calcutta, 1964, Ed. by Sankar Sen Gupta, Calcutta, 1964. Rs. 8.
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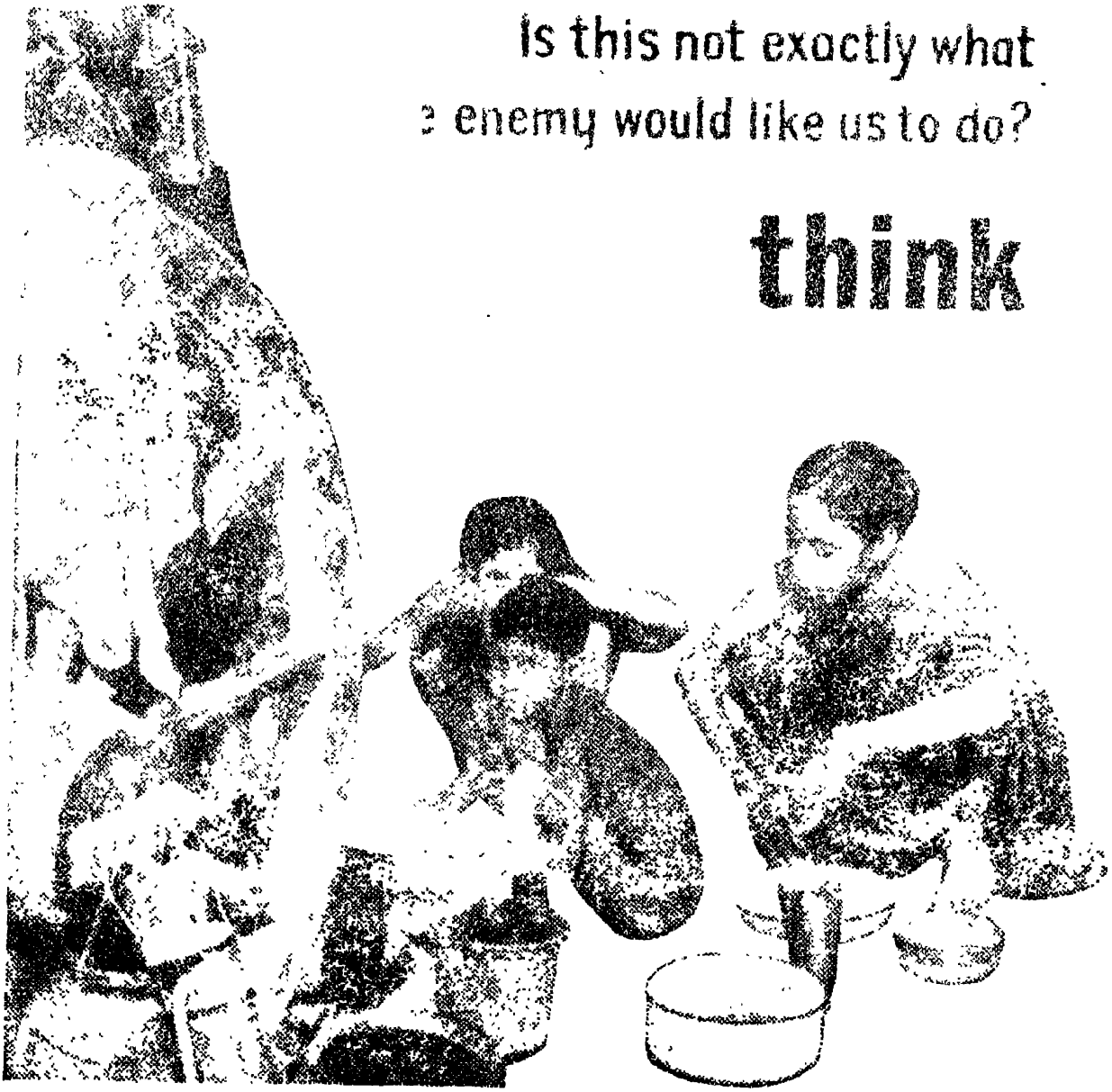
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think !

By talking of Bandhs
Are we helping Bangla Desh evacuees?
Are we helping vigilance on the borders?
Is this not exactly what
the enemy would like us to do?

think



FOLKLORE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY

OCTOBER, 1971 Vol XII, No 10 WHOLE NUMBER 141

ASUTOSH BHATTACHARYYA

SERPENT STORIES AND LEGENDS

The Grateful Serpents :

Once upon a time there was a merchant. He had seven daughters-in-law. Presents came from the paternal houses of all the daughters-in-law excepting the youngest. The mother-in-law was therefore displeased with her.

One rainy day the daughters-in-law expressed the wish to take things according to their liking. The youngest daughter-in-law was big with child—she wanted to take boiled rice steeped in cold water with a sour preparation of fish.

At nightfall the daughters in law went to bathe in a pond. The youngest one saw that there was a shoal of fish above the water. The eight serpents (*naga*) lived in the near by forest. As a wild fire broke out in the forest they changed themselves into fish and concealed themselves in the pond. The youngest daughter-in-law caught them in her napkin. Her husband's brothers' wives noticed this and remarked that the wish of the youngest daughter-in-law alone was going to be fulfilled.

She went home with the fish. Next day as she got ready to cut them for preparation she saw that they had all become snakes. She, therefore, began to nurse them with milk and plantain.

Sometime after, the serpents went back to their mother, Goddess Manasa, in heaven. They told her of the youngest daughter-in-law's services to them. At this Manasa thought that she should invite her in her house . She dressed herself in a suitable manner and presented herself at the house of the merchant. She approached the mother-in-law of the youngest daughter-in-law and gave her self introduction as the latter's aunt. She spoke of her desire to take her away to her house for a few ways.

Riding a chariot Manasa set out with her. Helping her up in the chariot she told her forthwith to keep her eyes shut and to reopen them only when asked. Having reached her mansion, Manasa asked her to

open her eyes. She now saw that she was in a big mansion. She found the eight serpents also there.

Manasa said to her, 'You will arrange for my worship every day and get warm milk ready for these eight brothers of yours. But be a ware of one thing—never look to the south.'

The youngest daughter-in-law thought to herself, 'Some strange things must be there in the south?' One day as she turned her eyes to the south she saw that Manasa was dancing. As she saw and saw she became enraptured. She forgot to warm milk for her brothers. Then as soon as the dancing of Manasa came to a step she quickly turned back and went to warm milk for her adopted brothers. Now as soon as the serpents put their mouths to the milk, they were scorched. The eight serpents got infuriated and ran to bite her. Manasa intervened and said, 'You need not bite her here in my house. I would rather send her back to her house on the earth. You will do well to go there and bite her.'

Manasa started back for the house of the youngest daughter-in-law with her. Manasa forewarned her by saying that her brothers had got incensed with her. She would do well to praise them while she was back on the earth. Then they would be very very pleased with her.

Embellishing half her person with ornaments, Manasa left the youngest daughter-in-law in her father-in-law's house. At the sight of it all said deprecatingly, 'What sort of fashion is this! Half the person is decorated with ornaments while the other half is quite unadorned!'

The youngest daughter-in-law put in, 'Let my eight brothers live—how then shall I lack ornaments—it is they who will fill in the other half.' The eight serpents were then about in creeks and corners. Hearing that the youngest daughter-in-law was loud in their praises they became mightily pleased. They gave up the desire to bite her, went back to heaven and lauded her up in the presence of their mother Manasa.

In deference to the wishes of the eight serpents Manasa embellished the other half of her person as well with ornaments. Then she revealed herself before her in her true identity and said to the youngest daughter-in-law, 'I am not your aunt. I am Manasa. I reside in the Cactus Indicus plant. You will propagate my worship on earth. You will gather the plant on the Dasahara (the day on which the river Ganges is ceremonially worshipped) and Naga-Panchami day and worship me on the last day of the month of Bhadra on which cooking is prohibited. You will worship me with respect and give me the offering of the boiled rice steeped in cold water. Then you will have no more to fear from snakes'. With this the goddess disappeared. Then the youngest daughter-in-law made a clean breast of everything. It was from then that every one began to worship Manasa.

Serpent-child claims property of its human father :

Once upon a time there was a merchant. On one occasion his wife gave birth to a serpent. As soon as it was born it left for the forest, and none except the mother could know of this incident. The merchant had three other sons. In the course of time they grew up to manhood and the father died. The three sons now resolved that their paternal property should now be divided among themselves according to their shares. The moveable properties was brought in and were divided in four equal shares—three for the three brothers and the remaining one for the mother. But it was seen that instead of the four shares the property was itself being divided into five shares. Now the mother disclosed that there was yet another heir of their property. To their utter surprise the brothers learnt that it was a snake. At that very moment the snake also made its appearance there and coiled round its own share of property just divided. But the snake did not stay there for long. It soon made over its own share of the property to its human mother and returned quietly to the forest.

Why water viper has no venom :

When god made the serpents water-viper was the most venomious of all. This is why the serpent-goodess Manasa asked him to take the responsibility of biting her enemy's son Lakhindar in his nuptial bed within the iron-chamber. In addition to the venom which the water viper itself possessed the serpent-goddess bestowed on it more deadly venom on that particular occasion. While on its way to the iron chamber carrying the venom in its fangs it reached the river Ganges which lay across its way. The water-viper got down into the river and began to swim. The mother Ganges coming to know of its evil motives played a trick with it in the midstream in order to save the life of the innocent Lakhindar. The mother Ganges created a phantom of a shoal of fish before the eyes of the water viper who felt tempted to feed on it, forgetting the responsibility he was entrusted with by the divine mother. The water viper for a moment forgot himself and put off the venom he was carrying, on the leaf of an arum and ran after the phantom shoal of fish which however took him a long way off and suddenly disappeared. The water viper searched for it in vain. Being disappointed he returned to the place where he had left the venom out of his teeth. But unfortunately it found the venom already stolen by the wasp, bee, scorpion, red ant and singi (a class of fish having sting) fish which explains the presence of poison in their sting. The water viper returned to the serpent-godess who rebuked it for its having so poor

a sense of responsibility. Nay, she even cursed it to lose its own venom for good.

The Serpents Saved from Annihilation :

Once upon a time there was a great sage whose name was Kasyapa He had two wives—Kadru and Vinata. Sixty thousand serpents were born in the womb of Kadru and her co-wife Vinata gave birth to two sons Aruna and Garuda. The Creator Brahma appointed Vasuki the king of the serpents. Vasuki had a sister ; her name was Jaratkaru.

In a family of sages who were under the vow of leading nomadic lives, a certain sage Jaratkaru by name was born. When come of age, he too adopted the vow of living an itinerant life. He was indifferent from his birth to the life of the house-holder.

One day in the course of his pilgrimage he came to a place where to his astonishment he found his names dangling with downcast faces from the branches of a tree. Enquiring into the causes of their miseries he learnt that they came to such a state as he did not marry and did not lead the life of a householder. At the request of the manes he consented to marry on condition that he would not seek the hand of any one's daughter of himself, that the girl must bear the same name as his, that he would not shoulder the responsibility of maintaining his wife and that he would have the option of forsaking her whenever he pleased.

There was a king at Hastinapur whose name was Parikshit. He was bitten to death by a serpent. After his son Janamejaya occupied the throne of Hastinapur he thought of destroying the serpents by a sacrifice in order to retaliate the death of his father. Naturally there was a great consternation among the serpents on this. But they felt assured to learn that a son would be born in the womb of the serpent king Vasuki's sister Jaratkaru of the loin of a sage of severe penances and that son would destroy the function of Janamejaya.

Now one day the sage Jaratkaru stood alone in the heart of a dense forest and bawled out the intention of his marriage and the conditions thereof. At this Vasuki approached him with his sister and delivered her unto his hands.

Once the sage Jaratkaru left his wife behind because of the offence of her disturbing his sleep. In the meantime she carried in her womb the issue of Jaratkaru. In due course the child was born. It was named Astika. While yet in his teens he became versed in all the branches of learning. His learning, intelligence and dextinty saved the race of the serpents from the wrath of Janamajeya.

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N. R. MUDIRAJ

MINSTREL BEGGARS OF TELANGANA: CUSTODIANS OF ORAL LITERARY TRADITION

In the village communities of Telangana, the minstrel beggar castes form an integral part of the traditional ritual-oriented system of functional specialization. As carriers and custodians of much that constitutes oral literary tradition of the region, members of these castes have for generations preserved and passed on popular legends, ballads, stories and devotional songs by the spoken word. The aim of this paper is to describe, in a very broad outline, the principal types of minstrel beggars found in this part of rural India who vivify and vocalize a vast fund of traditional lore as a living heritage from a distant past.

The following features are noteworthy with regard to the minstrel beggars of Telangana :

(1) The minstrel beggars, excepting one or two types, belong to lower castes some of them being regarded as ritually unclean and untouchable.

(2) Almost as a rule, all forms of folk-literature are sung by the minstrel beggars to the sound of some sort of musical instrument or other.

(3) Not all materials of folk-literature sung by the minstrel beggars are of local or regional origin, that is, indigenous to the area. Some materials are distinctively local or regional adaptations of themes pertaining to the great tradition.

(4) Different castes of minstrel beggars are versed in different types of materials. In other words, they specialize in different areas of oral literary tradition of the region.

(5) Some types of minstrel beggars give specially arranged recitations either during the day or night besides singing on their usual morning rounds.

(6) Minstrel beggars receive alms in varying froms viz., cash, grain, cooked food, and old garments.

(7) Some types of minstrel beggars go about on their rounds singly, some in pairs, while some others in trios.

(8) Minstrel beggars do not attach themselves permanently to any one village. They move from place to place and live in improvised huts on the outskirts of villages.

(9) Often, the area of operation covers two to three villages in the neighbourhood which they visit on alternate days.

(10) Minstrel beggars do not beg from castes which are lower than themselves in point of ritual status.

(11) Minstrel beggars enjoy a decidedly higher degree of respectablity than their non-minstrel counterparts who solicit alms merely by evoking emotions of pity and compassion.

The principal types of minstrel beggars found in Telangana are as follows :

1. Dasari, the most popular and leading minstrel beggars of the region belong to a low, ritually unclean caste. They are also the most numerous and widespread of all minstrel beggar castes. They are ranked very low in the caste hierarchy because of their ritually impure food habits which include among others eating the flesh of jackals and jungle rats.

The Dasari are the unrivalled folk dramatists of Telangana who have monopolized the art of performing legendary and mythological plays since time immemorial. They are also specialists in rendering devotional songs (mostly in praise of Vishnu) and ballads. They perform their plays invariably during the night, starting around eight or nine O' clock and usually continuing till the break of dawn. The remarkable feature of the plays performed by the Dasari is that all female roles are enacted by males. The Dasari folk-arts are essentially men's pre-occupations. As such, only menfolk go on morning rounds, singing devotional songs in a sonorous voice to the accompaniment of a one-stringed musical instrument which they play with one hand and flat cymbl-like plates of wood which they sound with the other. The Dasari are also adept in mimicry. Their womenfolk vend small baskets and rattles made of palm leaves which find a ready market among the village children.

2. Tandana-kathavanlu are the favourite story-tellers of Telangana who occupy a low position in the caste society. As professional story-tellers they are versed in a wide range and assortment of stories some of which deal with events of the hoary past that occurred outside the physical limits of present-day Telangana. As a rule, the Tandana-kathavanlu narrate stories in pairs. Their artistic style of rendition coupled with appropriate gestures exert a high emotional impact on the audience and create a drama-like atmosphere. Their rendering of stories is characterized by both rhythm and percussion. The typical musical instruments used by them are a one-stringed fiddle, a one-sided hide-covered earthen drum, and a pair of hollow brass rings with small metalic balls inside them. The story-teller wears the pair of brass rings on the left thumb and keeps them jerking to produce a jingling sound while he plays the

one-stringed musical instrument held in the right hand. His companion plays in tune with him on the one-sided hide-covered earthen drum.

Apart from going on their daily morning rounds, the Tandana-kathavanlu narrate stories in sessions lasting ten to fifteen days depending upon the length of the story concerned. Such sessions generally take place either during the day or night particularly in those parts of the year when the agriculturists have little or no work in the fields.

3. Pandava-kathavanlu are specialists in locally adapted legends and stories about Pandavas—heroes of the epic Mahabharatha. They are a ritually clean caste. A signal fact about them is that they sing the legends and stories of their specialization in trios. One man narrates the legend or story to the music of the one-stringed fiddle (an instrument consisting of two hollow round grounds fixed to a piece of bamboo and fitted with a string) which he plays with his right hand and to the sound of three or four jingling hollow metalic balls which he wears like rings on his left hand fingers. Another man plays on a small two-sided drum with both hands. The third man plays a pair of cymbals. The story-teller varies his tone and tune in accordance with the situation in the story, while both his companions keep chanting the words "Rama Rama" at the end of each line irrespective of the type and theme of the story.

The Pandava-kathavanlu are frequently seen sitting in the courtyard of a well-to-do villager relating stories in their inimitable style to large gatherings in the night or after-noon hours

4. Balasantha--the minstrel beggars who mostly sing the folk songs depicting Seeta's suffering in the forest after she was renounced by Rama, are members of a very low caste. Their ritually unclean status is attributed to their food habits of lowest level of ritual purity namely eating of the flesh of such animals as wild cates, jackals and field rats. Only the males set out on morning rounds. The Balasantha is conspicuous by his peculiar dress and paraphernalia. In rural Telangana, it is a common sight to see the Balasantha going from door to door, in his long patchy gown adorned gith pieces of glass, and carrying on his shoulders a bamboo stick with a bag for collecting grain at one end and old garments given in aims at the other. The same stick has tied to it a bell on one side and a conch shell on the other. He solicits alms by singing to the sound of the bell which he continually keeps ringing. When he receives alms at a door, he blows the conch shell as a tribute to the donor family.

5. Sharadakalu are a ritually unclean caste of minstrel beggars who specialize in singing devotional songs in honour of Rama besides singing ballads of miscellaneous themes. They go about singly on their morning rounds, generally singing to the music of a sort of one-stringed

fiddle held in the right hand and to the sound of two hollow brass rings worn on the left thumb. Their low status in the caste hierarchy is due to their ritually impure food habits which are similar to those of the Dasari and Balasantha.

6. Mala Jangam who act as priests to the Shaivite section of the Mala caste (a ritually unclean and untouchable caste) are specialists in the folklore concerning Shiva and his consort Parvati. They narrate Shiva-Parvati folktales in pairs. The story-teller plays a one-strainged musical instrument with his right hand and simultaneously sounds a pair of hollow brass rings which he wears on the left thumb. His companion (male) plays on a one-sided hide-covered brass drum which is a typical musical instrument of the Mala Jangams. Apart from soliciting alms in the morning they relate stories in the day as well as in the night when engaged by well-to-do families.

7. Mala Ayyavar specialize in singing devotional songs in praise of Govinda (Vishnu). They occupy the same position in the caste hierarchy as that of Mala Jangam. The Mala Ayyavar officiate as priests to the Vaishnavite section of the Mala caste. They collect alms in a brass pot called Akshaya Patra which they balance on their turbaned head. A peculiarity about them is that they dance vigorously while they sing hymns of Vishnu to the sound of flat cymbal-like plates of wood which they hold in both the hands.

The repertory of oral literary tradition in Telangana is so vast and its carriers and custodians so numerous that it is difficult to present a thorough description of them all within the limited compass of a paper like this. Nevertheless, forgoing sketch of the principal minstrel beggars of Telangana serves the basic purpose of introducing one to the human agencies which have for countless generations perpetuated oral literature of the region as a hereditary obligation. It would be an extremely narrow view of things to look upon the minstrel beggar merely as one who makes his living by singing the popular lore handed down from the hoary past. Indeed he is all this and much more. He combines in himself many mindskills and handskills that have been preserved and passed down in his family line by his known and unknown ancestors. As folk-literature is essentially people's literature so the minstrel beggar is essentially a folk-functionary or people's functionary. He is the traditional keeper of their memories about the men and events of the legendary past. He enriches their vision and world-view and enables them to appreciate their cultural identity and image better by orienting them to the esoteric aspects of their ethos. He is an artist in the sense that he renders the contents of folklore in an artistic style.

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S. N. RATHA

MENARIKAM—MATRILATERAL CROSS COUSIN MARRIAGE AMONG THE KOMITI, A SOUTH ORISSAN VILLAGE

Kinship plays a prominent role in the regulation of sex marriage. Such regulations may be prohibitory, permissive or obligatory. (Murdock : 1966 : 262). The latter leads to a preferential or prescriptive form of marriage with a relative. The relatives who are most commonly preferred or prescribed are those of the daughter of the mother's brother or the father's sister (for a male ego). Such other relatives like the FaSi. MoSi, FaBrDa, MoSiDa and SiDa are also encountered in a limited frequency in the 'preferred' category. (Murdock : Op. Cit., 286).

Marriage with a MoMrDa/FaSiSo or FaSiDa/MoBrSo, real or classificatory, is defined as the cross cousin marriage. The former is qualified as matrilateral and the latter as the patrilateral type. Literature on the various aspects of cousin marriage is extensive and varied. Leach (1961) has made a brilliant survey of the available literature upto 1951 and classified all cousin marriage into three types (p 59) as "1. Kariera type—'symmetrical cross cousin marriage. This system approves the simultaneous or nearly simultaneous exchange of women between two local descent groups. .....

"2. Trobriand type—'asymmetrical cross cousin marriage (patrilateral)'. This system precludes the reciprocal marriage of a man with the sister of own sister's husband. .....

"3. Kachin type—'asymmetrical cross cousin marriage (matrilateral). .....Is the ideal type. Here a man marries the mother's brother's daughter : he is forbidden to marry the father's sister's daughter....."

The data presented here show that the Komiti[1] marry three categories of close relatives. They are the daughters of the mother's brother, the father's sister and the ego's own uterine elder sister. However, under the ideal social norm a Komiti man is not expected to marry his father's sister's daughter or his elder sister's daughter though such marriage when contracted do receive social recognition and approval.

1. The Komiti are a Telugu speaking South Indian Caste. Their chief concentration is in Andhra Pradesh. They are also found in southern districts of Orissa. They follow patrilineal rules of descent and patrilocal rules of residence. For a detail ethnographic note please see Thurston (1909, 306-348)

This may be the reason why these two types of marriages constitute a distinct minority (Table 2). On the other hand, a man is expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter. Such a marriage is prescriptive (to use the terminology of Needham, 1962) for a Komiti and it is this type of marriage that the Telugu speaking people of South Orissa refer to as *menarikam*. So if we regard the minority of the FaSiDa and the elder SiDa marriages as deviations from the ideal norm the Komiti type of cross cousin marriage falls under the Kachin typology.

Under the system of *menarikam* a man is under obligation to marry the daughter of his mother's eldest brother provided they are within the prescribed limits of age. If the eldest uncle does not have a daughter suitable for marriage the man is allowed a limited preference of choosing from among the daughters of his younger uncles if any. Conversely a girl is under obligation to marry her father's sister's son. In other words the families of procreation of the brother and of the sister are under constant and mutual obligation to get their children under wedlock failing which the refusing side has to pay an adequate compensation commensurate with its economic status and as determined by an *ad hoc* body of elder relatives and family friends.

Investigation among the Komitis of Chalakamba, district Koraput in South Orissa resulted in the collection of information for 184 marriages spread over three generations and dispersed in three lineages (Table—1) of these only 19 individuals were ever presented with the opportunity of *menarikam* but five escaped it by a payment of cash-compensation. Thus X received Rs. 5000/- from his sister who refused her son's hand for her brother's daughter. Y paid Rs. 500/- to his sister for refusing to offer his daughter to her son. Three others refused their mother's brother's daughters and compensated the refusal. Two paid Rs. 500/- each and the third did not like to disclose the amount.

These refusals are found to be based on economic considerations. The Komiti is a trader caste. Wealth to them is very important. In their matrimonial alliances dowry plays a crucial role—it is more or less the deciding factor in a marriage negotiation. The demand for dowry is considered against the background of the economic solvency of the groom. If his demand is disproportionate to his economic status social pressure is brought upon him and his family to agree to a reasonable amount. This clearly means that to demand more one should have more. Everybody generally wish for a rich bride. Therefore the marriage which is not *menarikam* needs a very careful and cautious selection of the family of the bride. Mother's brother's daughter marriage in the apparrent absence of father's sister's daughter marriage is a one way traffic. The same lineage supplies brides in every successive generation. So long as this traffic is accompanied by a substantial dowry for the

sister's son and an occasional marriage of the father's sister daughter (reversing the traffic) the line continues. But once economic crisis takes over one or the other family the line breaks. So when the expected dowry from the mother's brother is far short of what can normally be available, the sister's son's family feels it prudent to pay a compensation and breaks the line.

Other than these five deviations those who married according to the prescribed pattern constitute 21.21% among the male and 12.35% among the female (i.e. 18.48% in a total of 184 marriages) over three generations. This is naturally due to the non-availability of suitable marital partners for all under the prescribed category of relatives. 1.05% of men married their father's sister's daughters and 6.32% married their own elder sister's daughters; 2.25% of women married their mother's brother's sons and 1.12% married their mothers' younger brothers. But these marriages are not obligatory. They do not even enjoy a degree of preference over marriages with non-relatives which is 64.21% for male and 82.03% for the female. Nevertheless there seems to be an implicit desire in maintaining a line of relationship through such marriages and thus they receive social approval. Through marriages with such distant relatives as a FaBrDaSoDa, FaFaBrDaSo, FaBrDaSoDa, FaFaBrDaSoSoDa, or FaFaMoFaBrSoSo a line of relationship is further lengthened or strengthened or a about-to-be forgotten relationship is revived.

As the marriage with the patrilateral cross cousins is not overtly discouraged the Komiti system has an occasional tendency to resemble the 'Kariera type'. This results in synchronization of the positions of the MoBrDa with the FaSiDa and that of FaSiSo with the MoBrSo in the succeeding generation.

This can be illustrated in the following way.

F is under obligation to marry G and at the same time if E marries H then I is J's MoBrDa as well as FaSiDa and K is L's MoBrDa as well as FaSiDa. Under such circumstances the relation on the mother's side is over emphasized and the cousin is passed on as matrilateral and the prescribed marital obligation of *menarikam* is brought to bear on him/her. The system reverts back to the Kachin type.

That the Komiti type of cross cousin marriage is typologically similar to the Kachin type can also be proved by the associated kinship terms. "Under a rule of preferential marriage with a MoBrDa the same kinship terms tend to be applied to MoBrWi and WiMo, to MoBrDa and Wi and/or WiSi and/or BrWi, and to WiBrDa and SoWi" (Murdock: 1966: 173).

The Komiti terms bear a testimony to this assertion. Among them the term *atta* is applied to the MoBrWi and the WiMo, *maradalu* to

MoBrDa (younger than the age) and WiSi, *vadina* to *MoBrDa* (older than the ego) and elder BrWi. The son's wife is referred to as *kodalu* and the wife 'brother's daughter (before her marriage to the son of the ego) is referred to as *mena kodalu*. The prefix *mena* indicates her special position.

That the sporadic occurrences of marriages with the FaSiDa and occasional exchange of sisters have not substantially effected the system can again be proved by the examination of the kinship terms that are likely to be influenced when such marriages are preferential or prescriptive. For example, "When the normal mode of marriage is by exchange of sisters, the same kinship terms tend to be applied to MoBrWi and FaSi, to WiBrWi and Si, and to WiBrDa and SiDa" (Murdock: Op. cit., 172).

The Komiti term for the mother's brother's wife is *atta,* whereas the father's sister is referred to as *mena atta.* The WiBrWi is called *vadina* when the WiBr is older than the ego and *maradula* when he is younger. The elder sister is called *akka* and the younger one *chelli.* The WiBrDa is *mena Kodalu* whereas the sister's daughter is *meva kodalu.*

Further, "under a rule of preferential marriage with a FaSiDa, the same kinship term tend to be applied to FaSi and WiMo, to FaSiDa and Wi and/or WiSi and/or BrWi, and to SiDa and SoWi." (Murdock: Op. Cit., 173).

As noted earlier the FaSi and the WiMo are referred to by two different terms and so are the SiDa and the SoWi. The wife is referred to by the term *pellamu.* The FaSiDa (older than the ego), the wife's elder sister and the elder brother's wife are referred to by the term *vadina;* and the corresponding younger relatives are referred to by the term *maradalu.* This shows that the Komiti data are in substantial agreement with the 'theorems' cited.

However, the MoBrDa, FaSiDa, BrWi and the WiSi are all referred to by the same term. This ambiquity can possibly be explained with reference to the structural possibility.

In concluding the above discussion we can say that the Komiti type of 'asymmetrical cross cousin marriage 'typologically resembles the Kachin kind and the associated kinship terminology is a function of that marriage type, and that the custom of this prescriptive marriage influences the kinship terminology not so much because it applies 'to all or most marriages' within the society (it accounts for only 18.48% in a total sample of 184 marriges—Table—2.) but because of the rigidity of the social prescription and the value attached to such marital alliances in preference to all other marriages.

TABLE I

Frequency of marriages with relatives and non-relatives

Individuals' sex	Pre marriage kinship relationship with the spouse	Number of marriage (Figures inside brackets indicate percentage)			
		Ego's own generation	First ascending generation	Second ascending generation	Total
Male	MoBrDr	13(22.03)	6(40.00)	4(19.50)	23(24.21)
	FaSiDa	—	—	1(4.76)	1(1.05)
	SiDa	4(6.78)	1(6.67)	1(4.76)	6(6.32)
	Other	FaBrDaSoDa FaFaBrDaSoSoDa		DiSi FaBrDaSoDa	
	Relatives	2(3.39)	—	2(9.52)	4(4.21)
	Nonrelatives	40(67.79)	8(53.33)	13(61.91)	61(64.21)
Total		59(100.0)	15(100.0)	21(100.0)	95(100.0)

TABLE II

Two types of marriage constitute a distinct minority

Female	FaSiSo	8(11.59)	1(14.29)	2(15.38)	11(12.35)
	MoBrSo	1(1.45)	1(14.29)	—	2(2.25)
	MoBr	1(1.45	—	—	1(1.12)
	Other	FaFaMoFaBrSoSo	FaFaBrDaSo		
	Relatives	1(1.45)	1(14.29)	—	2(2.25)
	Nonrelatives	58(84.06)	4(57.13)	11(84.62)	73(82.03)
Total		69(100.0)	7(100.0)	13(100.0)	89(100.0)

Frequency of the two types of cross cousin marriage (Figures inside the brackets indicate percentage)

Generation	Marriage with			
	Matrilateral cross cousins	Matrilateral cross cousins	Others	Total
Second ascending generation	65(17.65)	1(2.94)	27(79.41)	34(100.00)
First ascending generation	7(31.81)	1(4.65)	14(63.54)	22(100.00)
Ego's own generation	21(16.41)	(1 0.78)	106(82.81)	128(100.00)
Total	34(18.48)	3(1.63)	147(79.89)	184(100.00)

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CH. S. TRAB

A NOTE ON LEO FROBENIUS

Leo Frobenius was an outstanding scholar. He was interested not only in ethnology and mythology, but also in prehistoric rock paintings. "He is one of the few African scholars who saw and understood our soul. With Frobenius we feel that he loved us. For other scholars we were often no more than an object for research."

Leo Frobenius was not an archeologist. His burning interest, an interest which was later to become affection, was in living human beings. their culture, their nature, and their customs. Frobenius led his first expedition into the African interior in 1904 after thorough preparation. At that time. Africa was for many years mainly an object for political and economic speculation, with attention centred on its mineral resources and communications. It was the decade before World War One. in which an age ended amid the roar of cannon. Leo Frobenius was neither a businessman nor a politician but a man seeking the soul of Africa and its peoples. Indeed, he believed he would find the "Urkultur" in Africa. For this reason, he took upon himself the hardships, deprivations and illness which "fieldwork" entails. He was prepared to make these sacrifices for something which interested few other Europeans in Africa : the customs and motives of the Africans. He made a dot on a map for every place where a particular custom was to be found and the motive behind the custom. On the basis of these dots Frobenius worked out areas dominated by a particular type of customs and usage and by comparing the diffusion of phenomena belonging together by reason of type and area, preceived the totality of a particular culture. This was his theory of "cultural areas". This cartographic method made every detail and every district equally important for him. The whole of Africa was important for his work—not towns and their surrounding areas and not accessible or inaccessible regions, but simply Africa wherever people lived. In the course of his life, Leo Frobenius undertook twelve expeditions to Africa, seven before World War One and five between 1919 and 1938, the year he died. He was not only in Africa but also in parts of Oceania and Siberia, and he created an organisation, the German African Interior Scientific Expeditions (DIAFE) with the help of which he carried out his uncommonly fruitful projects.

His theory, which has long since been proved to be scientifically correct, is this : it must be possible to find the same human and technical ways of life among certain natural, simple peoples as those which moulded European culture in the earliest recorded and in prehistoric

times. It was a grandiose idea, which most of Frobenius' contemporaries failed to comprehend. We can no longer comprehened today—and this is something we should be glad of—the pained surprise with which Frobenius' theory was received in Europe at that time. At the same time, we should make an effort to comprehend it, for it is the only way we can truly realise how far ahead of his time Frobenius was.

Of course, he did not spend his whole life on expeditions. An ethnologist must keep returning to his desk at home to sort out and describe the results of his fieldwork. But Frobenius' many books and his collections make it plain that for him personal experience and direct impressions were the decisive factors. He never sacrified a single fact to his theory, and he never regarded the people of Africa or Polynesia as the means to some scientific end.

Leo Frobenius was one of the most impressive figures of European scholarship, of individual mind, courageous, sometimes stubborn—but true to his goal, to which he subordinated everything, including himself. At the age of 25, he had already made himself a highly-regarded name among his fellow ethnologists with his first publications. In 1925, he moved with all his collections and institutes from Munich to Frankfurt-on-the-Main. Frankfurt is today still the site of the Federal Republic's leading ethnological institute, the Frobenius Institute, which is based on his personal collections.

In the last years of his life, Frobenius liked to talk about the Berlin Zoo, which his grandfather directed. This Zoological Garden was a part of his childhood, as ordinary gardens are a part of other people's childhood. And one might well regard as an anticipation of his life's work the fact that, as boy, Frobenius vanished one evening and was not found until a search had been made of tents housing the ethnological show, which was at that time a regular part of a zoo. He was found there late at night, cradled in the arms of an African tribal mother.

Frobenius' wife, Editha, who accompanied him on many of his expeditions, lived for many years after his death. For the most part, she was the only woman present. Twelve years after Frobenius' death, when she was already an old lady, she had this to say: "I was his driver and I always went to whatever part of the globe he might suddenly call me. I wrote for him, read proofs, took shorthand—and I used to listen to him without saying anything myself. I drove my husband on our last journey from Cairo via Kufra to Tripoli, and he helped me with his optimism for he never knew what it was to worry about a decrepit car."

Leo Frobenius lived only to the age of 65. The hardships in his life had weakened his body prematurely. On August 9th, 1938, he died at his country house on the Lago Maggiore. He will always be a link between German scholarship and African culture.

PIYUSH KANTI MAHAPATRA

THE NATH CULT OF BENGAL

The Nath Cult is an ancient religious cult in India. The religious scriptures, literature and traditional accounts of the Nath cult are available all over India and also in Nepal and Tibet. There are many monasteries of the Nath Siddhas all over India It is a popular but obscure religious cult in India. The religious scriptures are the yogi texts ascribed to the Nath Siddhas and the literature consists of the legends and myths described in long narrative poems and ballads. The Nath gurus are called Nath Siddhas because they attained the supreme realisation and became *siddha* or ripe and purified. They are also called Nath Yogi because the process of the ultimate realisation is the method of yoga.

The Nath cult is very popular in Bengal. The people of the Nath sect reside all over Bengal. It is established as a religious sect and the people belonging to the sect constitute a considerable population of Bengal. The Nath cult, as such, in Bengal as well as in India having almost the same doctrinal principle and religious structure cannot be strictly considered as a folk cult. But the religious practices, process leading to ultimate realisation, theology, cosmogony and cosmology of the Nath cult influenced the folk people of Bengal and the religious impact gave rise to folk literature and religious faith among the people. It can be considered as a folk cult to that extent. Two basic elements of the Nath cult, *Guruvada* or the theory of dependence on the preceptor and the yogi practices got their places in the religious faith of the folk people of Bengal because these are the basic elements also in certain folk religions of Bengal.

The Nath literature of Bengal is an exposition of the theology, religious practices and yogic systems of the cult described in narrative ballads. The themes of the ballads are based on the story of the pseudo-historical or legendary figure of a prince and the story of Gorakshanath, the greatest Siddha of the cult. There are also many songs associated with the cult. In this literature the power of yoga and the nature of the ultimate realisation have been described.

The people adherent to the Nath cult use the surname 'Nath'. In Bengal the people of the sect adherent to the Nath cult are called the

Yogi sect which has been transformed into Yogi caste within the Hindu fold. Basically the Naths are Saivaite. The literary records, legends and religious traditions approve it. They believe that Siva is the original instructor of the cult and they have originated from Siva. The Yogis of Bengal conceive that they belong to the lineage of Siva (*Siva-gotra*). They also believe that Gorakshanath, the greatest Siddha reorganised the Nath cult but Siva is the *Adi-Nath* or the origin of the cult. There are three categories of the Yogis of Bengal, Yogi, Jat-Yogi and Sannyasi-Yogi.[1] Most of the Yogis were weavers and sometimes cultivators. The Jat-Yogis were snake-charmers and were of the nomadic type. The Sannyasi-Yogis were Saivaite and followers of Gorakshanath.

The folk people of Bengal who belong to the sect adherent to the Nath cult are known as Yogis (the folk pronounciation is Yugi) as a rather loose term. The folk people of this sect reside in lower Bengal. Although they are within the Hindu fold they maintain their distinctive features of religious and social rites and rituals. They accept only Siva of the Hindu pantheon. But their Siva is not identical with the Siva of Brahmanical scriptures. They do not worship Siva strictly according to the Sanskrit scriptures. They conceive that Siva is the Ultimate Reality before the creation and Siva is the first (*Adi*) Siddha. Gorakshnath is the greatest Siddha and he is above all human limitations. The people of this Yogi sect and also the Muslims of the lower strata of society sing the songs of the young Gopicandra, a legendary figure of Bengal who left his kingdom, four younger wives and all worldly allurements only at the age of eighteen under the inspiration of his mother Maynamati. They also sing the story of Gorakshanath, the greatest Siddha, who conquered all passions, worldly allurements and even who was not vanquished by the holy mother *Parvati* and who redeemed his preceptor Minanath, a victim of passions. The heart-breaking story of Gopicandra and the miraculous and eventful story of Gorakshanath are very popular in Bengal. They sing these songs in accompaniment with a musical instrument known as *Gopi-Yantra* (or *Gupi-yantra*) which can be compared with *ektara,* the musical instrument of the Bauls. The instrument is constructed with the shell of a gourd fitted with forked bamboo pieces and a single string attached from one end to another.

The stories of Gopicandra and Gorakshanath in their different forms were widely popular for centuries in the lower strata of society who were converted Muslims particularly, preserved these stories and maintained the tradition of the cult. The people of the upper strata of society in Bengal accepted the Brahmanical and Puranic traditions, but those people kept themselves away from these traditions and preserved the ritualistic pattern under the particular religious fold. In that level

both the Hindu and Muslim communities came closer and there had been a sort of socio-religious effinity among themselves. In their cultural life two traditions also got assimilated. The tradition of Siva as well as the Nath tradition in which the yogic practices are accepted as the only way to attain ultimate realisation were preserved in the folk religious faith. This tradition of the Yogi sect was influenced by the tradition of mystic Sufi-ism of the Muslims. In this way the practices of yoga were elevated to the mystic plane. The whole procedure of yoga and the ultimate realisation became a mystic realisation which can be only realised through austere practices and under strict instruction of the preceptor. This tradition perhaps, inspired the Muslims to compose songs associated with the Nath cult and related traditions.

In the story of Gopicandra (popularly knows as Gopicand) it is stated how the young prince who was destined to live only eighteen years in this world become immortal through the austere yogic practice, which is the ultimate realisation in the Nath cult, leaving behind all kinds of worldly pleasures and happiness at the instance of his mother. The story runs in the following way. Manikcandra was a benevolent king of Bengal. During his reign the subjects were in peace and prosperity. But unfortunately due to the maladministration and tyranny of one of his ministers his subjects were oppressed and had to face all kinds of sufferings. To get rid of this condition they joined together. and performed mystic religious rites so that the king might die immediately. Their effort became fruitful. Knowing that the king would die within a very short period as a result of the malignant mystic rites, the queen Maynamati who was a disciple of Gorakshnath requested the king to learn *Mahajnana,* the great ultimate mystic knowledge which is attainable through yogic practices, from her but the king refused to accept it and as a result he fell into the cluches of death. Maynamati understood that it would not be possible for her to keep the king alive in the world. She saw in her yogic meditation that the messenger of Yama, the king of Death came near the person of the king to take his life. She bribed many messengers, but one messenger was successful to take the life of the king. Maynamati became angry and furious. She went to the kingdom of Yama through her mystic powers and rebuked and tortured his officers. The messenger with the life of Manikcandra tried to escape but became unsuccessful. There was a calamity in the kingdom of Yama. Then there was a compromise between Yama and Maynamati with the help of Gorakshnath, the preceptor of Maynamati. The term was that the king would die but Maynamati would get a son. She became *sati* with her husband and went to be burnt with the body of her husband. But fire could not burn Maynamati for her mystic power attained through yogic practices. She came back and in due

time gave birth to a son. The son was named Gopicandra. She came to learn that the span of the life of her son would be only eighteen years. She was not happy at this and it was arranged that the son would be immortal if he would perform the yogic practices as a disciple of Hadi-Siddha. Maynamati accepted it.

Gopicandra was brought up. He married four girls. In due time he was crowned and enjoyed all kinds of worldly pleasures with the queen and abundant wealth. The years passed on and the queen-mother Maynamati felt that her son had been plunged into worldly enjoyment and in this way he would die at the age of eighteen. Maynamati asked Gopicandra to be the disciple of Hadi-Siddha to learn and perform the secret yogic rites so that he might be able to defy death and be immortal. The young king refused to obey his mother firmly and indignantly. The queen-mother insisted repeatedly but the young king plunged in worldly enjoyment, paid no heed to his mother and even he suspected that there might be an illicit relation between his mother and Hadi-Siddha. Maynamati was shocked and annoyed but to make her son immortal she tried further.

Gopicandra became convinced to some extent but he was very reluctant to leave his wives and enjoyment. When he met his wives at this stage they instigated him against his mother. The young king being tutored by the queens asked his mother to demonstrate her mystic power and attainment of yogic realisation. She could endure all kinds of tests. She was thrown into fire, but fire could not burn her. She was drowned into water enclosed within a bag but Mother Ganges came forward to rescue her. She crossed a bridge made of hair. She walked on the edge of a razor. She lived inside a pot of boiling oil which was constantly boiling for seven days. She could stand all kinds of such rigorous, painstaking and fatal tests, at the mercy of her preceptor, Gorakshanath who initiated her in the mystic yogic cult and declared that Maynamati would be able to stand all these tests and she would never die. Gopicandra was convinced about his mother's yogic attainments but still he asked his mother some mystic questions and told that if she was able to answer all these questions properly, he would take the vow to Hadi-Siddha. The mystic questions were—"which are the four banks and which is the pond? Of which tree I am the branch and the fruit where of? Who cooks in the house and who eats the food? With whom I lie down and who sleeps? The sky moves, the earth moves, the air and water moves, the fire moves and everything perceptible moves, then what is immovable? Where are the Ganges and the places for pilgrimage? Where are the religious rituals and rites and where is the ultimate realisation? Where is the fishing stick and where is the fishing thread? Where is the knot of the fishing stick and where is the

float of a fishing line (*fatna*) ? Wherefrom the thirst comes whenever a man is thirsty ? When there is no wind why the leaves move ? Where one can find in a tree the fruit of two trees."

Gopicandra asked these types of mystic questions and his mother became glad to hear these questions. She could understand that the mind of her son was being illumined with true knowledge. She replied with pleasure that the questions were very good and the worldly enjoyments could not be the end of everything. The initiated mind was able to understand the true knowledge. The mother gave the answers one by one. She replied that, "The pond is the creation and banks are the earth, water, fire and air. You are the branch of the tree of mind and fruit of the tree of the body of your mother. Creation is the manifestation of the creative force and on the creation the mother conceives her child. The father and the mother both are responsible for the birth of the child. The tree is the mind from which expectation comes. The fruit is the human entity which comes to the world. You cook your food for growth of your own body and your ownself eats it. You lie down with your person so long you are alive and you would sleep after your death. Everything moves in this perceptible world but one's fate is immovable and unchangeable. The holy Ganges and the places for pilgrimage are in your own body. All the rites and rituals are in your body and the ultimate realisation is in your cerebrum region. The fishing stick is the central nerve *Susumna* and the fishing thread is the vital wind. The knot of the fishing stick is at the *Muladhara* and your eyes are the float of a fishing line. When these would sink you would die. Thirst and hunger are the natural physiological phenomena. When there is no wind the eye-lids move. There is the cause of movement in everything created but only your fate is immovable."

Gopicandra became pleased to know the answers of his mother and was also convinced to take the vow but he had the hesitation to be a disciple of Hadi-Siddha and to acept him as his preceptor because he was a man of very low profession and Gopicandra was a king. So the king requested his mother to make him convinced about the worthiness of Hadi-Siddha to be his preceptor. At the request of Maynamati Hadi-Siddha demonstrated his mystic power. He was buried alive for a long time. The Siddha performed many miraculous feats. The king was fully convinced that Hadi-Siddha was immortal and he had complete control over the kingdom of Yama. He had conquered the time and space and he attained ultimate knowledge.

The ultimate aim of the human being is to be immortal through austere and mystic yogic practices and thus to acquire the supra-natural power to conquer time and space and to do whatever he likes. This is possible only through yogic practices and complete control over body and

mind. Maynamati asked his son to follow these practices. If he would indulge in the worldly enjoyments he would die at the age of eighteen as destined. But if he would perform the rites he would be immortal and Yama would have no command over his life. Therefore she asked his son to accept Hadi-Siddha as his preceptor and to perform the rites. She told that in this way he would be able to defy death and conquer time. She told also that one could be immortal by the practices of yogic rites and by realising ultimate mystic knowledge. This is possible by making the flow of life turn towards immortality from its natural flow towards death. Everything in the creation is liable to decay and dissolution. Only the human life could be turned in the reverse order through yoga as the current of tide-wave could be turned back in the opposite direction. Maynamati was immortal as her preceptor Gorakasha-nath initiated her in mystic yogic rites and she attained the ultimate realisation. She knew that when the creation will be destroyed and there would be total dissolution, there would be no sun, moon and the universe, she would face no dissolution because she was immortal by realising the ultimate knowledge.

Gopicandra was fully convinced and he ultimately became the disciple of Hadi-Siddha and left behind the beautiful queens, all the wealth the enjoyment and pleasure only at the age of eighteen. No worldly allurement could be able to attract him in the material world. He left behind everything and went out in the quest of immortality. He got his head shaved and ears pierced through and took the *Jhuli,* a bag of cloth to hold everything of a mendicant and *Kantha,* a wrapper made of stitchedcloth. Before the proper initiation the preceptor put his disciple under rigorous trials and tested him in many ways. He was sold to a prostitute named Hira and he served her as a slave because he did not agree to be a victim to her gross desire. He endured all kinds of trials in his yogi-life for twelve years and finally the preceptor Hadi-Siddha communicated to him the ultimate mystic knowledge and he became Siddha. The king being a yogi performed the intricate rituals of the body and the yogic rites to attain mystic knowledge. He attained the miraculous yogic powers. He got full control over the sun and the moon. He controlled the vital wind and the vital nerves. The king, thus became the yogi. Gopicandra, then, returned home but could not be recognised by the queens. When his identification was known, he was welcomed by everyone and led a happy life.

In the story the role of the mother, Maynamati appears to be cruel, heartless and inhuman. But she was not such a cruel mother. She had full motherly affection like an ordinary mother. She lost her husband at an early age. Though she was able to keep her husband alive but the king did not pay heed to his queen and died early like a mortal human

being. She got the boon to get a son and Gopicandra was her only son. She was very much aggrieved that there was none to call her mother except her only son whom she insisted on to be a yogi and to leave everything at such a tender age. All she did for her only son and for her motherly affection. She knew that her son would die at the age of eighteen and if she allowed him to enjoy the worldly pleasure he would die at so tender age. So as an affectionate mother she urged her son to be initiated and to attain the ultimate mystic realisation through the intricate process of yoga, so that he could be able to defy death and become immortal.

It would be revealed in the story of Gopicandra that the quest for immortality is the ultimate aim of the human being. One should leave behind all the worldly attractions and enjoyments of mortal life to realise the ultimate mystic knowledge, to conquer time and space, to defy death and to become immortal. The basic aim of the Nath-yogis is to escape death. The mortal body has two entities, the gross physical entity and the life or the metaphysical entity. At the time of death the life leaves the mortal body which is subject to decay and destruction for its material composition and the behaviour of sensual organs. Death may be escaped if the body becomes restrengthened and revitalised through the process of yoga and full command over mind and body, or it is possible if the spiritual entity is held in a celestial form. Death is an inevitable occurrence of the time. If the time can be conquered, death can be escaped and man can be immortal.

The story of Gorakshanath (known as Gorksha-vijay) is a detailed exposition of the life-history of Gorakshanath the greatest Nath Yogi, who attained perfect ultimate realisation and mystic wisdom. He had the complete yogic knowledge and full command over body and mind. He was never attracted by any sort of worldly attraction and even Gouri the consort of Siva was not able to allure him by any means. The story of Gorakshanath is the narration of the greatest achievement of miraculous and mystic powers through yoga, The story runs in the following way. Siva, the *Adi Nath* or the original Nath came out of the mouth of the primordial lord in the form of Yogi at the time of creation. Then the other Siddhas were born. They were Minanath, Gorakshanath, Hadipha and Kanupha. Gouri, the mother of the world was also born. Siva accepted Gouri as his wife at the advice of the Lord and came down to the earth with her. The Siddhas followed them. Minanath and Hadipha became the disciples of Siva and Gouri. Gorakshanath and Kanupha became the disciples of Minanath and Hadipha respectively. The Siddhas began to practise the intricate process of austere yoga.

Gouri asked Siva to tell her the supreme truth (*param tattva*). She asked many questions, such as what was the nature of the creation?

Everyone dies and takes rebirth but why Siva is immortal? Siva told her that this was *Mahajnana,* the ultimate mystic knowledge and it should not be disclosed to any one. The Supreme truth should be discussed in a lonely place. So Siva and his consort Gouri went to the *Kshiroda* sea. There was a small house on the water slightly raised on the surface of water. Siva began to discuss there all the secret Supreme truth or ultimate knowledge. During the period of discussion Gouri fell asleep. Minanath was there at that time in the form of a fish in the water beneath the house. He heard everything what Siva told to Gouri. Siva told her the *Mahajnana* or the ultimate mystic knowledge. Gouri could not know it because she was asleep. Minanath responded in such a manner in the time of discussion that Siva thought that Gouri paid full attention to his discussion. In this way Minanath acquired the *Mahajnana.* Siva, afterwards, came to know the fact and cursed Minanath that he would forget the *Mahajnana,* what he attained from Siva. One who would know the *Mahajnana* would be able to change, strengthen and to vitalise the mortal body by making it Siddha or *pakka,* perfect and ripe and thus would be able to be immortal. The purified and perfect body is called *Siva-tanu* or Siva-body. The sadhaka would be able to identify himself with Siva and this is the state of ultimate realisation.

The Siddhas, in the world, continued to perform the austere procedure of yoga to attain ultimate realisation. Gouri asked Siva that the Siddhas should leave the process of yoga and should lead the life of a mortal man. Siva told her that the Siddhas were not like ordinary human beings. They had attained the purified bodies and no worldly allurement would be able to attract them. They had conquered all worldly passions. Gouri became surprised and told Siva that she would put them to test to know their achievements, because she was confident that the Siddhas would not be able to stand the test. Siva agreed and Gouri took the form of a beautiful girl. She proposed each of the Siddhas to meet her. All the Siddhas, except Gorakshanath, were charmed to see the beauty of the girl and felt passions to meet her. All these three Siddhas got everything what they aspired for. They were victims of worldly desires, left the right path of Yogi and were destined to do some other work for their sins. Minanath went to the land of *Kadali* where he enjoyed worldly pleasures in company of hundreds of beautiful girls and was plunged in enormous play. Hadipha went to the country of Maynamati and took the profession of a sweeper. Kanupha went to the city of Dahuka.

Gorakshanath did not yield to the proposal of Gouri. She left no stone unturned to induce him. She even adopted vilest means to seduce Gorakshanath. But all were in vain. He was so strong that he could

stand all the tests of Gouri. While all the Siddhas desired to get Gouri as their consort, Gorakshanath approached her as his mother. Gouri was defeated and to annoy Gorakshanath entered in his body in the form of a fly. Gorakshanath started yoga by closing the tenth door (*dasama dwara*) and Gouri became a captive in his body. At the request of Gouri he made her free. Gouri became very much angry and to take revenge gave boon to a girl that she would get Gorakshanath as her husband. It was destined and Gorakshanath married the girl, but he addressed the girl as his mother and wanted to suck her breast in form of a baby. The girl got angry and complained. Gorakshanath told her the story of Gouri that to deceive both of them she gave the boon. He told that his body had been dried up by yoga and he was like a flower without fragrance. If she would like to get a child she might wash the linen of him and might drink the water. Gouri could not be able to mislead Gorakshanath in any way.

Minanath had been leading a shameful life of erotic play in the land of *Kadali,* the land of all women. Gorakshanath came to know it from Kanupha that his preceptor was in such a sad condition. He took the form of a Yogi and proceeded to the land of *Kadali* flying in the air to redeem his preceptor. He knew that he would not be able to enter the land of *Kadali,* the country of all women with a body of masculine form. He took the form of a girl dancer and entered the court of Minanath. He was charmed to see the beauty of the young girl-dancer and expressed his lust. Gorakshanath told him that he was his daughter-in-law and how would be his queen. In course of his dance Gorakshanath gave his identification in enigmatic way. Minanath did not believe it. To make his confidence, Gorakshanath danced in the air and on a plate placing it on water. Minanath was convinced but he hesitated to leave the enjoyments. Gorakshanath rebuked him in enigmatic words so that the women present would not be able to follow them. Gorakshnath told him that he was a Siddha and the preceptor of Gorakshanath, and how it had been possible for him to forget the yoga-life and to take such a shameful life of a mortal. It was very sad that the preceptor kept open the doors of his senses and thieves entered through these doors. The preceptor himself made his boat of the body sink down in the water of worldly enjoyments. The rope of restrain was torn and the boat sunk down. Still there was time to come back and Gorakshanath urged him not to lead the life of a mortal and to be immortal through the process of yoga. Minanath replied that the *Adi Siddha* Siva lived with two women, Ganga and Gouri, then what was the harm to lead the present life ? Gorakshanath told that Siva was the ultimate reality and above everything.

Gorakshanath tried to convince his preceptor. He told that if a

man dies after leading a mortal life, the yoga sadhana would not help him. There is no use of oil when the lamp is extinguished. Before the death like a mortal one should perform the yoga sadhana to become immortal. He constantly persuaded Minanath to leave the country of *Kadali* and to perform yoga sadhana. He advised through the dance and songs to perform the *Kaya-sadhana* or the ritual of the body. Through the *Kaya-sadhana* man would be immortal. He told to control the body, to have full command over the sense-organs, to control time with the help of the nerve *Sankhini*. Minanath replied that he had no yogic strength to perform the ritual. But Gorakshanath persuaded further. He urged Minanath to control the nerves *Ida* and *Pingala* and the two courses of vital wind and to make them flow through *Susumna* to have full command over sun and the moon, and to make the *Maharasa* flow in the reverse order from *Muladhara* to *Sahasrara* through the six plexuses by way of the *Bankanal*, the curved duct. When through the *Sankhini* nerve the *Maharasa* would reach *Sahasrara* the sadhaka would close down the tenth door and would get eternal bliss which would lead to the ultimate realisation. At last Minanath came to his senses, could recollect his past and left the land of *Kadali* with Gorakshanath through the air. Gorakshanath cursed the women of *Kadali* to become bats. Minanath, then, performed the full procedure of auster yogic practices.

It would be revealed in the story of Gorakshanath that the ultimate attainment of man is immortality. It is possible through auster practices of yoga and *Kayasadhana*, the ritual of the body. Man should quest for immortality which comes through mystic 'Yogic Wisdom'. While the body becomes purified and perfect through *Kayasadhana* the yogi would be able to conquer time, and death would not touch him and even he could be able to perform miraculous deeds having complete control over the body and the mind. The story of the decline of Minnath and his amorous play with the women of *Kadali* signifies that worldly pleasure and gross enjoyments lead a man to death and destruction. The sense organs and the worldly pleasures are all there but man should control the sense organs and should be above the worldly enjoyments. These are the snares of life. The questions and helplessness of Minanath signify man's quest for immortality and his state of affairs by which he is entrapped. Ultimately man's quest for immortality wins and man can attain it through the auster practices of yogic sadhana.

Besides these stories there are many songs associated with the Nath cult. In these stories it is indicated that the worldly enjoyments are very short-living. These allure man and cause death and destruction. If man indulges in worldly pleasures he would not be able to attain realisation. The ultimate realisation can be attained through the practices of yoga. Man, thus, would be able to conquer time and death.

These songs are found almost all over Bengal among the Yogis and Muslims of lower strata. These are known as *Yugir git,* the songs of the Yogis. In South-western Bengal there are *pats* displaying the folk paintings relating to the songs which are known as *Yugir pat.* In these *pats* there are the pictures showing how man indulges in the worldly enjoyments and invite death and how these people are being punished in the kingdom of Yama. The pictures also show the yogic physiology of man showing the plexuses. nerves etc. and how the ritual of the body or *kaya-sadhana* is performed and the like. The theme of the songs of the Yogis is the worldly enjoyments of man and how man indulges in these pleasure and invites death and also the importance of yoga by which man can escape death and become immortal.

In this connection a reference may be made to the folk deity of Bengal, *Trinath,* a trinity of Naths. Although the conception is of three Naths at one place, but in the tradition *Trinath* is regarded as singly deity. A ceremony is held with this deity popularly known as *Trinather mela,* an assembly of the three Naths. There are many folk songs describing myths of *Trinath* and the utility of worshipping *Trinath* as an benevolent deity who protects people from all sorts of calamities and bestows on prosperity. In worshipping *Trinath* three pipes of *ganja* are offered to the deity.

Gorakshanath, particularly, has been deified in Bengal. There are many popular tales in Bengal associated with Gorakshanath. One tale associated with a custom in East Bengal is known as the "paying off the debt of Goraksha'. The details are as follows: "Goraksh is here depicted as the cattle-god and Manik-pir is his disciple. The ceremony consists in offering milk-made sweetmeats to Goraksh and Manik. A song is sung in this connection, in which we find that Manik-pir, the *Fakir* (or the mendicant), comes to the house of Kalu-ghosh with his usual cry of *Vam, Vam* (which is the general custom with the yogi-mendicants) ; at the sound of *Vam, Vam* Kalu-ghosh's mother understands that the *Fakir* has come to beg for something,—and in consultation with the daughter of Beku Banu she offers the *Fakir* five pice (in the name of five *Fakir,* or rather the five *Pirs* of the Muslims). Manik refuses to accept cash payment and asks for milk-curd ; but out of her foolishness Kalu's mother deceives the Fakir and disappoints him. As a result thereof all the cows, calves and even the milk-maid of Kalu-ghosh die within a very short time. Kalu's mother realises her folly solicits the mercy of the *Fakir,*—and the *Fakir* takes pity on her, strikes his stick against the ground with the usual sound of *Vam, Vam* and everything becomes all right instantaneously."[2] Gorakshnath has been conceived as the god of the cow in some places of North Bengal. There are many songs relating to Gorakshanath and these are sung in the

annual festival. Gorakshanath is also worshipped as a deity in some parts of Bengal.

The whole literature associated with the Nath faith, the narrative ballads, the songs, the *patua* songs, the tales and the folk beliefs are living in the folk people of Bengal, particularly among the Yogis and Muslims. The People of the Yogi sect are adherent to the Nath cult with its distinctive character comprising local faiths and ritualistic patterns. There has been an assimilation of faiths, rites and rituals of other folk cults of Bengal in the Nath cult also. The Nath cult, as a folk cult, has its distinctive features, which is not strictly identical with the Nath cult of Indian tradition.

II

In the literature associated with the Nath cult of Bengal there is no systematic account of the religious system. The narrative ballads are the descriptions of myths and legends and the songs describe the evils of the worldly enjoyments and the right path of yogic practices. The religious scriptures of this cult are not found. The religious system of the cult is available in stray materials in literature and verbal accounts. There are two obvious reasons which would justify the non-availability of the detailed account of the cult. First, the method of sadhana in the cult is based on intricate yogic process which is kept secret to the uninitiated. One who is not initiated would not be able to perform the austere practices of yogic sadhana and the ultimate mystic wisdom cannot be attained by him. Secondly, the ultimate realisation is a mystic realisation, which should be performed under strict instruction of the preceptor, being initiated by him. It is founded on *Guruvada*. Without mercy of the Guru and proper initiation one would not be able to attain the ultimate mystic knowledge and ultimate realisation.

The Nath cult is essentially based on the cult of yoga and *kaya-sadhana* is the process. The sadhaka must have full knowledge of the yogic physiology, full control over the sense organs, full command on the vital wind, which can be acquired by long and painstaking practices and complete control over the body so as to guide the functions of the body according to his will. While the body is purified and perfect, it is called *kaya-siddhi,* the perfection of the body. Then the real sadhana would begin. The sadhana is to pull back the *Maharasa,* the quintessence of the body, which has a natural downward tendency, in the reverse order in the upwards direction from *Muladhara* to *Sahasrara* through the six plexuses by awakening the *Kundalini* and to unite the sun and the moon. The mind would, then, be illumined with mystic knowledge and ultimate realisation would be attained. The ultimate

realisation, according to Nath cult, is not *Moksha* or *Nirvana*, or only the identification with the Supreme Being, but to escape death and become immortal. The quest for immortality is the basic principle of the Nath sadhana. The ultimate realisation implies the conquest to time and thus escaping death and to live in eternal spiritual existence.

The Preceptor:

The preceptor has an essential role in Nath sadhana. He is the instructor of the intricate sadhana and also the spiritual guide. The Nath sadhana is so intricate and mystic that the sadhana cannot be performed without the advice of the preceptor. Without initiation the ultimate realisation cannot be attained. Before initiation the preceptor tests his disciple in different ways to prove his fitness and worthiness to perform the austere practices. Even the Siddhas had their preceptors. Siva is the Adi-Siddha and the Supreme Being. He is the preceptor of Minanath and Haripha. Gorakshanath and Kanupha were the disciples of Minanath and Hadipha respectively. It is described in the Nath literature that Maynamati was the disciple of Gorakshanath and acquired *Mahajnana* from him and Gopicandra was the disciple of Hadipha, Both the literary and the religious sources indicate the importance of the preceptor.

In the Nath sadhana the preceptor is the ideal, the guide, the adviser and the instructor. It is described that the preceptor must be siddha or purified and perfect and he should be Nath, the man who attained the Ultimate realisation and the yogic mystic wisdom. The Siddha Yogi is immortal and he only attains the qualities to guide the disciple. If the preceptor is not Siddha how he would be able to make the disciple siddha or purified? The preceptor makes the disciple proceed in different stages of sadhana. He infuses the supra-natural and mystic power to his disciple and in different stages of sadhana the preceptor identifies himself with the disciple. The ultimate realisation is the mystic realisation, so the preceptor only can make the disciple realise the mystic wisdom by guiding him in the right path.

Occultism in the Faith:

The religious faith, rites and rituals in the Nath cult are based on mystique. In the literature associated with this cult a complex of supra-naturalism and occultism can be found. The whole atmosphere in describing the story of the Naths as well as the religious system is full of mysterious activities founded on occult powers and would appear to the uninitiated as inscrutable affair. Occultism is the distinctive fea-

ture of the Nath cult which is not found in other folk cults of Bengal. It will be found that all the Naths possess the occult and supera-natural powers by which they can show any miraculous feats and they have possessed these mysterious powers by performing the austere practices of yoga. These powers can be attained by a person who is above all worldly desires, possesses a siddha or perfect body, performs the intricate process of yoga and realises the *Mahajnana,* the great ultimate mystic wisdom. The attainment of these powers through yoga is described, perhaps, to establish the authority and might of yoga by which one gets command over natural and supra-natural phenomena.

It will be revealed in the Nath legends that the Siddhas could know and understand everything by their *Mahajnana* or *Yoga-bala,* the power of yoga. They could do anything in the natural and supra-natural worlds. They could take any shape or form they liked. In the story of Gopicandra, Maynamati urged Manikcandra to learn *Mahajana* by which he would have been immortal. Maynamati could see the messenger of Yama near the person of her husband, which was a supra-natural phenomenon. Somehow the life of Manikcandra was brought to the kingdom of Yama. Knowing it Maynamati became very much angry, transformed herself into Chandi and went to the kingdom of Yama and tortured Yama mercilessly. Gopicandra tried to test the yogic power of Maynamati. But she was not burnt by fire, drowned in water and she easily walked on the bridge of hair, crossed the rivers in the boat of the husk of a corn and walked on the edge of a razor. It is described that Hadi-Siddha was buried alive and came out after long period. He went to the kingdom of Yama, the king of death, and beat him mercilessly. Yama carried out the order of Hadi-Siddha. In the story of Gorakshanath, it is described, he made Gouri a captive when she entered his body in the form of a fly. He took the form of a baby of six months. His wife became mother by drinking the water after washing the ragged linen of Gorakshnath. He travelled through the air in the land of *Kadali* and entered the capital in the form of a beautiful girl dancer. He killed Bindunath, son of Minanath and revived him. In these two ballads and other songs there are innumerable descriptions of the supernatural and occult powers of the Siddhas which they attained through austere practices of yoga and thus realising great mystic wisdom.

The Body :

In the Nath cult the *kaya* or the body is the only way and the medium to attain realisation. The Nath cult is founded on yoga and in all yogic systems the body is the medium of attaining the ultimate realisation. The process of the *Nath* sadhana is *kaya-sadhana* or the cul-

ture of the body and gradual culmination of the body. When, thus, the body is culminated it is called *kaya-siddhi*. Then the body becomes *pakka* or ripe, and *siddha* or perfect. With this purified and perfect body the yogi attains full command over the functions of the body including the mind and the sense-organs. Then the yogi proceeds towards ultimate realisation.

The human body, in the Nath cult, is considered as the body, as such, and no theological or cosmological significance is attributed to it. The body is a composition of earthly elements and it is liable to decay and destruction. If man indulges in worldly enjoyments and pleasures of the sense organs, his body will remain *apakka* or unripe and *asiddha* or impure and imperfect. This imperfect body, in course of time, will decay and man will die like a mortal. The self or the soul which is described as life will accompany the body. But if the body is made purified and perfect and the ultimate mystic wisdom is attained, the body will conquer time and the life, realising the ultimate truth, will be immortal.

The Yogis must have full knowledge of the breathing system and the yogic physiology of the body. In course of breathing the air is inhaled and exhaled. These two courses are called *prana* and *apana* and the process of these two courses is known as *recaka* and *puraka* and the control and assimilation of these two courses is called *Kumbhaka*. Through the process of Kumbhaka the yogi can make any sort of movement inside the body in any direction he likes. It is conceived that there are three and half lacs of nerves in human body. There are many knots of the nerves in the body in the vertical position. These knots are called *cakras* or plexuses. Among all the nerves the three nerves. *Ida, Pingala* and *Susumna* as vital nerves are essential in yoga. *Ida* is in the left, *Pingala* is in the right and *Susumna* is in the centre. Wind flows through *Ida* and *Pingala* and has a connection with *prana,* and *apana*. Through the process of *Kumbhaka* the impure wind of *Ida* and *Pingala* is purified and the courses of the vital wind are made to flow through *Susumna*. Then there is created a state of equillibrium in the body and the yogi performs the sadhana. In the yogic system associated with folk cults of Bengal there are nine doors of the human body, technically known as *Nabadvara*. These are two eyes, two pits of the nose, two holes of the ears, the mouth, the rectum and the genital organ. If these doors of the body of a yogi are open, the sadhana will be fruitless because through these doors the evils may enter into the body and these will be irksome to sadhana. Therefore the yogi should close down the nine doors in the process of sadhana. In Nath cult there is the tenth door, which is called *dasama-dvar*. It is in the cerebrum region and at the end of the nerve *Sankhini*. While the sun meets the moon at the

state of ultimate realisation the 'tenth door' is kept closed by the Yogi so that the two elements get the eternal unification leading to the ultimate mystic wisdom.

In Nath sadhana *Satcakrabhed* or the sadhana of the six plexuses is considered as the process of attaining the *Mahajnana,* ultimate mystic wisdom. These six plexuses are situated in the body in the vertical position from the abdomenal region to upwards in the cerebrum region. The knowledge about the location of the plexuses is very important in Nath sadhana. The lowest plexus is the *Muladhara-cakra.* All the nerves originate from the *Muladhara.* It is conceived to be located in between rectum and the male organ. There remains the Sakti, potential female creative force known as *Kundalini.* In the normal condition she remains passive and conceived to be asleep. In course of sadhana the *Kundalini* is awakened and the state of transquility is vibrated and thus fire is created which is called *Kalagni,* the solar fire of destruction. Above the *Muladhara-cakra* there is located the *Manipur-cakra* close to the navel. Above that there is *Anahata-cakra* located in the centre of the chest. The *Bisudha-cakra* is located near the throat and the *Ajna-cakra* is located at the centre of the eyebrow. The plexuses represent the knowledge of five basic elements of the creation i.e. earth, water, fire, air and ether. In the process of sadhana the yogi attains the knowledge of each of the basic elements when he crosses the plexuses one by one. At the final state he reaches the plexus of ether and realises the eternal transquillity. From *Ajna-cakra* the yogi moves to the highest plexus *Sahasrara* which is conceived to be situated in the cerebrum region. In the plexus *Sahasrara* resides Siva, the ultimate reality. The *Kundalini* or Sakti moves upwards to *Sahasrara* in process of sadhana and is united with Siva and by closing down the 'tenth door' the sadhaka makes the union eternal. Then, in that celestial transquillity the sadhaka realises the supreme knowledge, the ultimate mystic wisdom.

The Sadhana :

The Nath cult is essentially a yogic cult and it is founded on *Hatha-Yoga.* Emphasis has been given on the psycho-physiological yoga in Hatha-Yoga. The basis of *Hatha-Yoga* is the union of *Ha* and *Tha* which signify the moon and the sun respectively. The yogic process is to unite the moon and the sun and to bring them in a state of equallibrium. It is the assimilation of the two courses of the vital wind *prana* and *apana* by *recaka* and *puraka* and finally by *Kumbhaka* and through this process to purify the two vital nerves *Ida* and *Pingala* and to make the vital wind flow through *Susumna. Ida* and *Pingala* are two opposite forces with the attribute of action but they never meet. Through the

flows through *Susumna*. The unity of these two creates a state of process of *Kumbhaka* these two forces are assimilated and the vital wind equillibrium and only at this state the yogi can drink the nectar and realise the supreme bliss.

In Nath cult the basic elements of the body are conceived to be the moon and the sun. The moon represents the elements of *rasa* or *soma* or the nectar, the supra-natural liquid substance. The sun represents the element of fire. The sun is the consumer and the moon is the food. Gopicandra asked his mother, "who cooks the food and who eats it ?" He referred to the sun and the moon. The creation is made of these two basic elements. The sun and the moon are conceived to be the elements of female and male, the ovum and the seed respectively. The sun signifies change and destruction and the moon signifies creation and preservation. The sun is the potential force of Sakti or *Kundalini* residing in *Muladhara* and the moon is the element of nectar which is in conservation and tranquillity residing in *Sahasrara*. The sun is conceived also as a lotus situated near *Muladhara* with its petals bloomed upwards and the moon is also conceived as a lotus situated near *Sahasrara* with its petals bloomed downwards. The sun and the moon are regarded as Sakti and Siva, the two factors of the creation. The sun representing the fire is conceived as *Kalagni,* the fire of destruction, which can destroy everything. If the quintessence of the human body goes in the region of the sun it will be destroyed by fire and the human body, in this way, will proceed to destruction. If the quintessence is pulled upwards to the region of moon, it will not be destroyed and the body will be siddha. Therefore, the sadhana of the Naths is to unite the sun with the moon with complete control over them. Through this sadhana the body will be siddha or perfect. It is described that Hadi-Siddha made the sun and the moon his earrings.

Primarily the union of the sun and the moon is the assimilation of two courses of the vital wind, *prana* and *apana* through *Ida* and *Pingala,* the left and right vital nerves. When the two courses meet, the vital wind flows through *Susumna,* the middle nerve and thus the two opposite forces are united, and it creates a state of tranquillity. But in the Nath sadhana "The commingling of the sun and the moon has the deeper significance of transforming the material body of change into an immutable body of perfection. How can that be effected ? It can be effected by a perfect control over the destructive force of the sun and then rejuvenating the whole body with the nectar oozing from the moon. We have seen that the sun represents the principle of destruction and the moon that of creation. The yogin tries to avoid both the extremes and has recourse to a principle of eternal conservation, which can be effected only by the perfect commingling of the principle of destruction

and creation. This is what is meant by the real commingling of the sun and the moon."[3]

The human body is liable to decay and destruction if man indulges in worldly enjoyments. The body becomes older due to the effect of time on the body and it becomes fragile due to the worldly pleasure and becomes a victim of death. Moreover, one of the worldly pleasure is to meet the woman, by which man loses the very quintessence of his body and thus vitality decreases. To redeem his preceptor Gorakshanath said that the human body becomes dried up by the breath of the women and the youth comes to an end. Women are like the tigress and suck the blood of the body and ultimately the body is destroyed. The sadhana of the Naths is to protect the *Maharasa,* the quintessence of the body and by preserving that the body may be restrengthened and revitalised and may also be purified and perfect.

Kaya-sadhana is the culture of the body and the purification of the body. This purification is possible by way of yoga by which the yogi gets complete control and full command over the breathing system, the muscles, the nerves and nerve-joints, ducts and sense-organs. The process of *Hatha-Yoga* is a psycho-physiological process. The yogi must have full command over the physiological phenomenon as well as psychological affairs. Through the process of yoga such as *Asana* (postures), *Bandha* (arrest of all kinds) *Pranayama* (control over breathing), *Khemai* (restraint of all kinds) the body becomes purified and attains perfection. Through the process of *Kumbhaka* and *Pranayama* the mind becomes concentrated and then it can be directed as the yogi likes. The process of *Kaya-sadhana* must be practised for a long time. Through this continuous process of purification the body gradually becomes purified and perfect. Thus the ordinary human body which is liable to decay and destruction becomes immutable. The decaying body becomes immortal.

The sadhana of the Naths is a process of reverse order or retragression. The process signifies that the whole natural phenomenon has a tendency to move or change. It proceeds in a cycle towards its natural course. This is the natural order of the creation. The Naths, in their sadhana, attempt to change the natural course of things and pull it back towards the reverse order, which is the key to the method. The sadhana of the reverse order is indicated in the natural plane as well as supranatural plane. The physiological or biological phenomenon has always a downward tendency. In the process of sadhana the *Maharasa* or quintessence of the body having a tremendous downward tendency is arrested and pulled back in the reverse order and made it move to the upward direction. The human body which is subject to decay and destruction due to the inevitable effect of time (*kala*) is made immutable

through yogic practices, which can defy time and thus becomes immortal. Before the creation there was one entity, the Supreme Reality, the all-pervading One who was motionless, changeless and formless. Creation is the change and manifestation of the Supreme Being. The natural process of the creation is the evolution from motionless formless and changeless state to the state of motion, form and change and manifestation. The sadhana of the Naths is a sadhana of the reverse order, in the sense, that it attempts to turn back the cosmic manifestation to the state of eternal tranquillity, the state before creation. This process is practised in the Nath sadhana. In the process of sadhana the yogi awakens Sakti or *Kundalini* at *Muladhara,* the potential creative force symbolised as the sun with the attributes of motion, form and change and make it move in the upward direction towards *Sahasrara,* the region of eternal tranquillity to make it united with Siva, the changeless, motionless and formless Ultimate Being.

The ultimate attainment in the Nath cult is to realise *Mahajnana,* the great ultimate mystic wisdom. When the *Mahajnana* will be realised the yogi will be able to escape decay and death and will become immortal with the body in perfection. Immortality signifies conquest over time (*kala*) and death. In the ultimate stage of realisation the yogi attains liberation while living (*Jivan-mukti*). The ultimate liberation is the freedom of all worldly bondage, space, time and all natural phenomena. Thus the yogi keeps himself far above the principles of the material world. It will be found in the story of Gopicandra that Maynamati attained the *Mahajnana* by which she wanted to make her husband immortal. The various tests she could stand with miraculous feats. She quarrelled with the messenger of Yama and created havoc in his kingdom. Hadi-siddha also did many miraculous deeds to achieve the faith of Gopicandra. The story of Gorakshanath is full of his miraculous performances.

The process of sadhana is described in these stories. Maynamati told her son Gopicandra that his body would be immortal if he would be disciple of Hadi-Siddha. By initiation in yoga he would be able to defy death. Gorakshanath repeatedly urged his preceptor Minanath in the enigmatic way to perform *kaya-sadhana* and to perform the yoga of the reverse order. He told that the inimical passions should be the servants of *Khemai.* It meant that all the inimical passions should be controlled. *Khemai* means the restraint and control of all sorts. It has been personified and it is described in the legends that *Khemai* is the best watchman which can arrest all sorts of evils, inimical passions and thus be a protector of the wealth of the body.

In the process of sadhana the body primarily should be culminated and when the body will be siddha or purified and perfect the yogi will

assimilate the two courses of the vital wind through the middle nerve *Susumna*. This is the state of concentration in tranquillity. Then the yogi will awaken the *Kundalini* or sakti at the plexus of *Muladhara*. There will be a tremendous movement and change and a fire will be created there. At this stage the *Maharasa* or quintessence of the body in its purified form known as *soma* will be moved and it will get a tendency to move downward. The yogi will calmly make it move in the upward direction so that it may not be burnt by the fire of *Muladhara*. The *Maharasa* will cross the different plexuses in the upward direction and ultimately it will be deposited near *Sahasrara*, the place of the moon in form of nectar. The yogi will realise the eternal bliss. The sakti or the sun, which is awakened in *Muladhara* will be directed upwards to *Manipur cakra*, from Manipur cakra to *Anahata cakra*, from Anahata cakra to *Bisuddha cakra*, and from Bisuddha cakra to *Ajnacakra*. As the sakti will be moved through different plexuses it will lose its attributes and it will reach a state of equillibrium. Siva, the Ultimate Reality resides near the plexus of *Sahasrara* in eternal tranquillity. It is the seat of the moon wherefrom the nectar oozes eternally. The moon is placed at the zenith of the spinal column. When sakti is united with Siva, it loses all the potential creative phenomena and rests in eternal tranquillity. The yogi, then realises the great mystic wisdom.

Gorakshanath urged Minanath in the land of *Kadali* to perform the sadhana and when Minanath held back in indecision he told his preceptor the process of sadhana,

Satcakra bheda guru khelauk ujan//
Merumule rahibe candra na tutibe kala/
Benkanale sadha guru na kariya hela//
Ingila Pingila bujhiba bau sandhi/
Rabi sasi caliyache tare kara bandi//

* * * *

Ulatiya hauka puspa puni kara dhyayan/
Bujha bujha guru tattva Brahmajnah//
Capa tin tihadi udia jauk dhuya/
Anal jvalaha gugu sthir kara kaya//[4]

"O my preceptor, cross the six plexuses and pull the current back in the reverse process. The moon will be fixed on the zenith of the spinal column, but do not let the *kala* or nectar (the digit or attribute of the moon) set apart from the moon. Do not disregard the process, perform the sadhana through *Benkanal*, the curved duct. The sun and the moon

pass through *Ida* and *Pingala*. Keep firm command over the two courses of the vital wind through these two vital nerves and flow them through *Susumna* by assimilating them. In your yogic meditation let the lotus be placed with its petals downwards. Let the body be steady and attain the state of equillibrium. Awaken the sun in your body and through the yogic rites realise the ultimate mystic wisdom."

The quintessence of the body, in a refined form is called the *Maharasa, soma* or nectar. It is deposited in the moon. There is a curved duct starting from the place of the moon to the pelatal region below. As the duct is curved it is called *Bankanal* (curved duct). The *Maharasa* in the form of nectar passes through this curved duct. This curved duct is referred to in the Nath literature as *Sankhini* which is conceived as a serpent with its mouths at the two ends. The mouth at the lower end of *Sankhini* is called the *Dasama dvar* or the tenth door. If the nectar passes through the tenth door it will be dried up or eaten up by the sun or *Kalagni,* the fire of destruction and the body will be a victim of *kala,* the time and it will be liable to decay and destruction. The ultimate aim of the Naths is not to allow the nectar to pass through the tenth door. In the process of yogic sadhana the yogi closes up the tenth door, and he himself drinks the nectar. Thus the yogi becomes immortal and attains the great mystic wisdom.

University of Calcutta, Calcutta.

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1. Kalyani Mallick, *Nathsampradayer Itihas, Darsan O Sadhan Pranali* (in Bengali), Calcutta, University of Calcutta 1950, p. 5.
2. Obscure Religion Cults, p. 371.
3. *Ibid,* p. 239.
4. Munsi Abdul Karim *ed.,* Goraksha-Vijay Calcutta, Bangiya Sahitya Parisat, B.S. 1324, No. 64, pp. 147-48.

BOOK REVIEW

POPULAR CULTS, LEGENDS AND STORIES IN ANCIENT BENRAL, by Dr. Pradyot Kumar Maity, Crown 8vo, Pp. 50, Paper back, Rs. 3.00, 1971.

THE GODDESS BARGABHIMA: A STUDY, by Dr. P. K. Maity, Demy 8vo, Pp. 55, board binding with plate. Rs. 7.50, 1971. Both the books are published by Pradip Kumar Maity, P. O. & Vill. Barhat, Dist. Midnapur, West Bengal. To be had of Indian Publications, Calcutta-1 Punthi Pustak, Calcutta-4.

"Popular Cults, Legends and Stories in Ancient Bengal" was written by Dr. Maity sometime in 1966 to comply with the request of Dr. B. C. Sen for a projected study "The Culture of Bengal". This has not yet been published. Meantime, its author has published it as a booklet which, as per him, "is not an exhaustive study" yet, he hopes it "will help one to form some idea about certain aspects of popular religious life of Ancient Bengal." The booklet has following nine chapters—Introduction, Tree Cult, Human Fertility Cult, Agricultural Deities and Rituals, Rain Compelling Deities and Cermonies, Disease Curing Deities, Children Protecting Deities, Miscellaneous Deities, Conclusion and a bibliography. The book discusses the various issues involved and the problems to be faced in such a study. The scope and extent of the study of popular cults is increasing everyday and the book under review is an addition to that.

The next book is "decisively an outstanding contribution in the field of research. After a befitting appreciation of the great role of maritime activities as played by the ancient mariners from Tamralipta once sprawling as it is described by the Kathasaritsagara 'close to the eastern sea' it will ever be tempting to enquire into the past of Tamluk covering among others the legend-bound site and mound of the shrine dedicated to Devi Bargabhima", said P. C. Das Gupta, Director of Archaeology. West Bengal. Dr. P. K. Bhowmick of the University of Calcutta opines "The author has carefully collected information from local legends and from available documents", and the view of Dr. K. K. Ganguli of the said Univerty is, "this has appeared to me to be a very well presented treatise on the problem of the identification of the presiding deity of the temple at Tamluk." All these are known from the writings in the flaps.

In his foreword Shri Sankar Sen Gupta said "temple institution, religious complex, organisational and survival patterns are not as clearly mentioned in this study as are demanded by the social sciences like socio-anthropo-folklorological approaches of the day. Even though what have been said by Dr. Maity is thought provoking, and we are sure this not a very large work (but very useful nevertheless) will be read with profit and pleasure by students and teachers of indo-folk-anthropo-religio-historical and cultural etc. subjects". Without any comment we introduce the book to the readers. The book has also four plates.

Dr. M. Hussain

EDITORAL

In offering our sincerest Puja and Devali Greetings to our readers, subscribers, advertisers and well-wishers we present this volume to our readers after the Puja vaccation. During the Pujas we had to present in various musical festivals. It is music that accompany man everywhere : in space, in dangerous expeditions by land and sea in festivals and in leisure or in a holiday mood.

Men are born, bred and married and grow old with song. Even there are songs when they are burried. Song has always been a vital means of self expression. It has always had social import. It helps man to work and to rest. It also helps to fight and to create. Of late, one more aspect has been added to numerous functions it performs : for wide sections of youth it has become a mean of self-expression on the moral, social and cultural plane.

Take Bengla Desh, a country famous for folk song traditions. Here folksingers are singing song against the high-handedness and bureaucraetic attitude of Yaha Khan. Folksongs have brought down to us text set to music which are means of protest and struggle. It is not only the charms of ladies and the valour of rich that the people sing. The sorrows and sufferings of the people and their hard lot, ridiculed the high and mighty, cried shame on the greedy and the foolish, sang the praises of popular heroes. Folksingers of Bangla Desh are praising Mujib and the fighters for freedom and condemning Yaha and his party.

Which song will gain the most popularity ? An enchanting song or a dream world—a hymn to carefree merriment, pleasure, good fortune, the sweet life ? Or exalting brutality, cynicism amorality ? Or will vulgar, sentimental, melodramatic couplets embodying pettybourgeois ideals gain the upper hand ? Or will an altogether different kind of song win out ? Or those songs of love proclaiming the happiness, pride, joy, and genuine human freedom of which so many try to sing but few do with talent ?

Of course, song is not only a political weapon, radio, film industry, record companies etc. are exploiting it as a mean of advertisement, as mean of commerce. Thus song can also be treated as a commercial product. So songs draw bundreds of people to cabarets, and hotels and thousands to festivals. It is no wonder that in a world where everything is for sale, song, with all its attributes—melodies, singers, recordings, fans—has become a commodity—one more means for making money in this world of commerce.

We have nothing to say about this trend yet what we want to point out is this, why men in music business is exploiting the poor folk singers? Let this singers live and let live their traditional song, let it not be spoiled by the profiteers.

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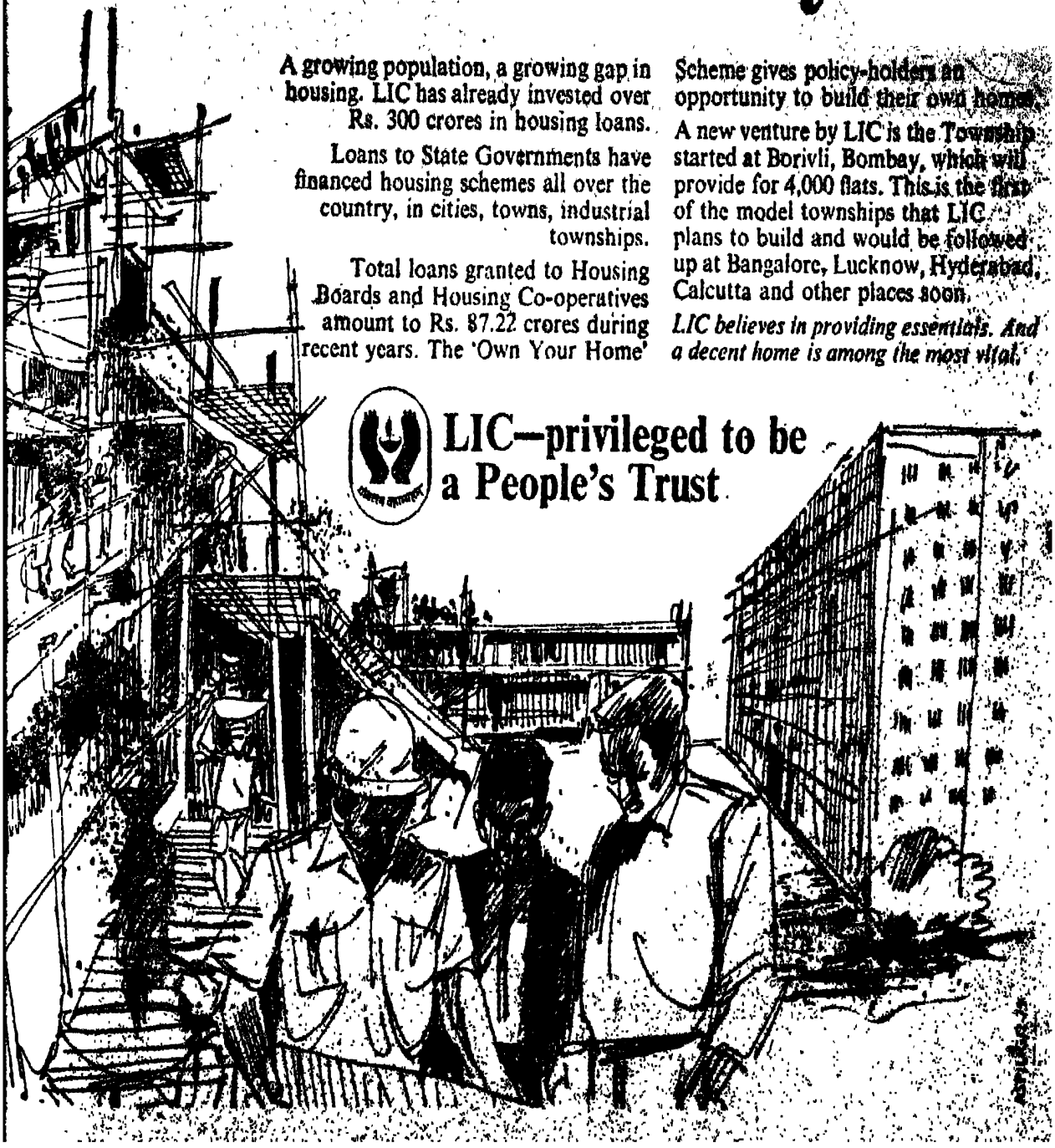
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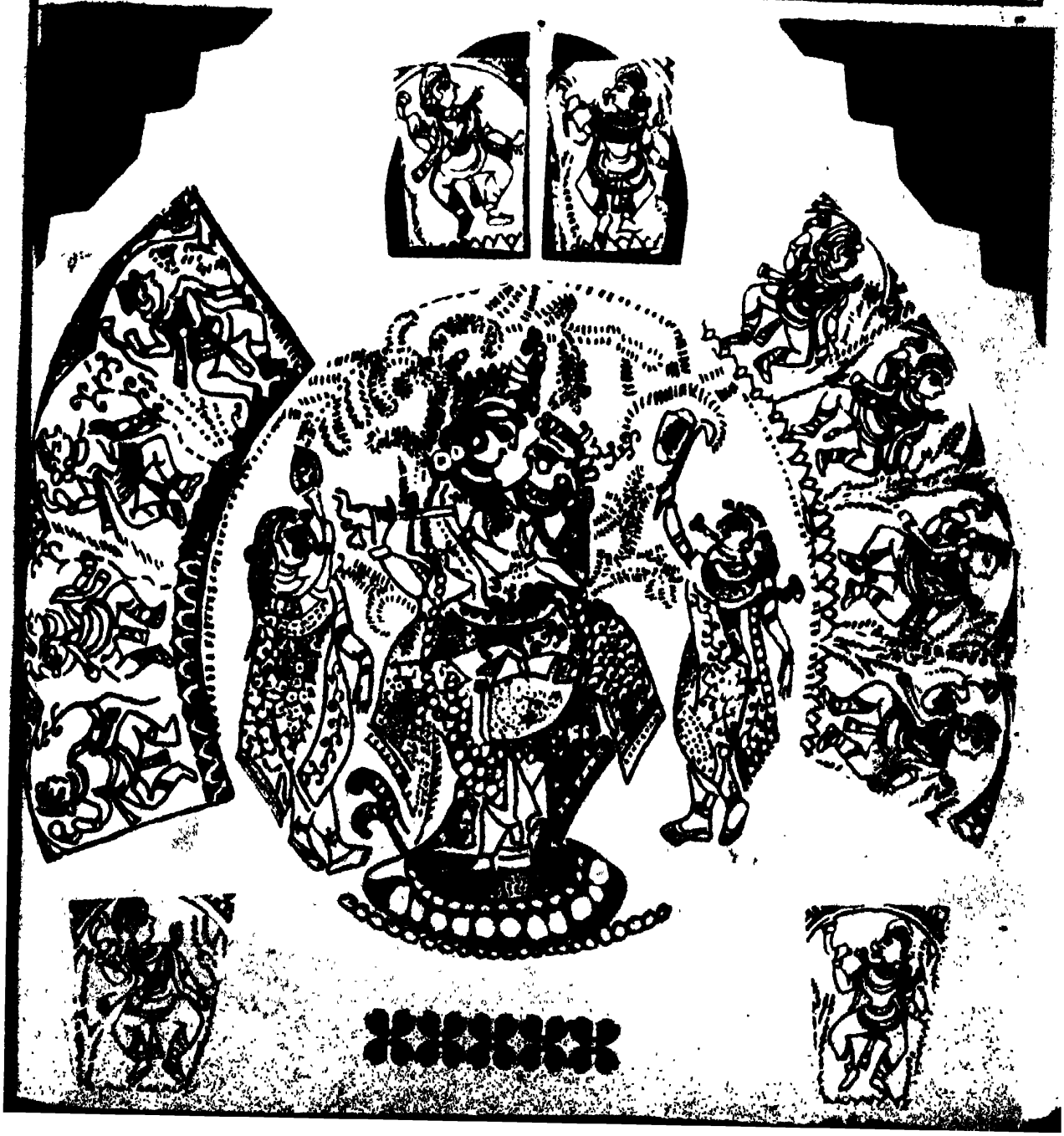
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BHOLANATH BHATTACHARYA

THE DEIFIED SAINTS OF BENGAL—A PROFILE

The role of the traditional folk deities, including village gods and deified saints, in the life of the rural community of Bengal even in the face of the increasingly ruthless onslaught of modernisation can hardly be exaggerated. Notwithstanding many an external transformation in the economic, political or even cultural directions, the folk people of rural Bengal by and large are still ruled by their traditional folk faith and customs, many of which may have been handed down from primordial society and have become almost second nature with the people. The folk deities have certain natural advantages over their sophisticated counterparts in as much as the former are much more easily and widely accessible than the latter. The rituals connected with the worship of folk deities and the prerequisites for the same are also simple and in tune with the general pattern of living of the masses. Without going into the issue of whether and in what degree the sophisticated Aryan religions like Vedic or Puranic Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism succeeded in either supplanting or assimilating the powerful folk religions of the native inhabitants, any questing observer cannot but be struck by the overwhelming pride of place still accorded to the folk deities and folk festivals by the rural people irrespective of their formal religions, which might involve either a homage to the sophisticated Aryan or mixed deities too or, as for the Muslims, is absolutely incompatible with any form of idolism.

The folk deities are homely and close to the heart of the common people, who apply to them almost by instinct in times of distress and disease. A mixed feeling of awe, devotion and oneness draws them to such divinities, often with greater force and ardour than to the sophisticated ones. This is not, however, to suggest at all that there exists or did exist any overt opposition between the two sets of religious influences in the life of the people. On the contrary, the general picture in the countryside is one of a tangled compromise and co-existence of a con-

siderable variety of beliefs, customs and practices that have more or less moulded one another through a complicated process of mutual interaction, thanks to the assimilating capacity that is peculiar to Bengal. Nonetheless, the ordinary folks have shown a marked predilection for certain modes and forms of worship, which ultimately came to be accepted as the most popular medium of religious communication. The cult of Dharma and the associated festival of Gajan are a case in point. In fact nearly all the ancient folk deities have registered a remarkable staying power, having weathered many a storm including the aggression, social as well as physical, by the newly advancing rival religions. Consequently, they have become interwoven into the very fabric of the life of the rural masses.

Nearly every village of Bengal has one or more of its own tutelary folk deities, who have for their shrine an open space beneath a tree, away from the locality. Not being rigidly marked by any structure and being subjected to the vagaries of nature, this shrine is easily capable of drawing the people at large irrespective of caste, creed or religion towards itself as a veritable abode of hope and solace.

In our present discourse we propose to discuss some familiar demigods from certain areas of West Bengal. We begin with the deified Muslim saints known as Pir Sahebs, Gazi Sahebs and Bibi Sahebas. A Pir is a Muslim preacher ; Gazi is a religious warrior, achieving sainthood in course of noble and valiant missionary campaigns ; a Bibi Saheba is a female saint. Most of these saints emerged in those twilight days when Islam was yet to consolidate its position in the interior areas of Bengal and consequently relied for its spread among the masses on the combination of such qualities of saints as missionary zeal, spiritual and occult competition, striking power, shrewdness and sagacity, and, above all, learning and generosity. Given the inertia of the rural people, the incidence of conversion directly varied in proportion primarily to the supposed or real supernatural power, suitably supplemented as and when necessary, by military strength. Incidentally, the pattern of apostasy in Bengal and nearby countries in the past also reveals the instrumentality of aggressive supernatural feats performed by the propagators of rival religions in a bid to win the common folk away from their established faith by a demonstration of the superiority of the new faith. We may recall in this connection the great predilection shown by an increasing section of the people for the magico religious rites of Buddhist Tantricism and the strategy adopted by the Buddhist Tantriks-cum-preachers sent from Bengal on a mission of resuscitating the 'saddharam' in Tibet, whereby the existing animist religion of the natives, based mostly on black magic, was systematically sought to be humbled by the demonstration of the superior supernatural might of the Buddhist Tantriks. The process of mass con-

version of the Bengalis into Islam has had an element of forcible imposition and conquest, both in a subtle or spiritual and psychic form as well as in a gross physical form, thanks to the varied enterprising zeal and competence of Pirs and Gazis.

Unlike the older creeds, the new religion could hardly adapt itself to and assimilate the existing religious faiths of Bengal. Its propagators sought to win the confidence of the people on the one hand by impressing them with their spiritual powers and on the other bring the might of the sword to the aid of the magic wand, as and when such an occasion arose. They were usually rewarded with the endowment of a sizable rent-free landholding. No wonder that the Pirs and others presented themselves in the popular mind as something of an imposing and obtrusive personality, as suggested in such popular utterance as 'who the Pir are you (to claim such a privilage)'.

The deified Muslim saints played an important role in the religious life of the folk people in the Mid-Age following the Turkish aggression. Whatever their initial pugnaciousness in the context of the clash of Islam, the religion of the conquerers, with the existing religion of the Bengalis, these saints as a class mellowed down in course of time in popular estimation into an universally benefactory guardian spirit, graceful to Hindus and Muslims alike. This qualitative change may be explained in terms of a transition of the saints into demigods or folk deities. It is an immanent truth about the spiritual life of the folk people of Bengal that once a deity comes to be widely accepted as an object of veneration by them, it stays on to become too deeply rooted in the life of the community to be ousted altogether by the apathy or even aggressiveness of the disapproving sophisticated religions. Commemorative festivals in honour of the demigod then begin to be held at regular intervals, and the wonderful tales of the begin miraculous power of the deity gradually spread from place to place to attract an ever larger number of vow-makers who seek fulfilment of their innermost wishes or the warding off of general or special evil and disease by the grace of a spiritual force that is both accessible and ready to confer the intended grace on the faithful and the surrendering.

The deity eventually comes to command a following even beyond the barriers of caste, creed or even formal religion so that an originally folk deity like Dharma Thakur came to be worshipped by even Muslims, let alone the Brahmins and other caste Hindus. Similarly, all sections of Hindus worship the deified Muslim saints side by side with their own village or household deities with equal fervour. The tales connected with the spread of the worship of folk deities, as contained the Mangal Kavyas, Panchalis and the similar other devotional literatures, the Brata-Kathas, are one in emphasizing on the one hand the

disasters visiting upon one who dares challenge or slight the deity, and, on the other, the boundless grace and benefaction showered on one who is or turns into an ardent follower. Though these tales are aimed at glorifying the deity by underlining the tremendous supernatural powers of the deity which can be brought to bear on the lives of individuals in either a benignant or a malignant form with equal efficacy, they also point to a twilight period of militancy and strife over the issue of the acceptance of the deity by the people at large. The culmination of the story in the rewarding surrender of the initially unbelieving and the haughty similarly indicates an ultimately happy adjustment with those who initially putforth a stiff resistance to the spread of the faith.

The Pirs and the Gazis, who have long since become a part and parcel of the religious lives of the masses, have probably had to go through a similar process of initial strife before they could overcome the resistance of the Hindus and the Buddhists.

This phase of strife is prominently noticeable in such cases as those of Pir Gorachand of Haroa, Pir Sah Janguli and his sister Banbibi in Sunderban area of lower Bengal, all of whom came into conflict with established demigods such as Kalu Rai and Dakshin Rai, or other Hindu divinities over spiritual dominance. But the point that needs to be emphasized is that ultimately all these Muslim saints and missionary warriors came to be accepted and revered by all the folk people including Hindus. In fact the permanent rehabilitation of most of the Muslim saints, like any other individual deified by the folk people, necessarily involved their reduction into tutelary spirits enshrined undereath trees in the company of other such folk deities with a Hindu or Buddhist background who have withstood the spell of destruction of temples and monasteries at the hands of aggressors. These plebian shrines under the shade of tree assume a solemn character by dint of assorted religious articles like a broken household image or a shapeless stone, symbolic earthen votive dolls and images, offerings of flowers and leaves daubed with vermillion. In this environment barriers of religion are obliterated by the fundamental identity of purpose in the visit to the shrine of people professing different religious beliefs.

These deities are believed to be presiding over agriculture or livestock or goblins and spirits, their glory marked by the supernatural characteristic of the Middle Ages. They are offered weekly services in addition to annual festivals on the occasion of which a fair is also held. Fluctuations in the economic conditions of the local people are reflected in the material care received by the deity. Many a Pir and Gazi has in this manner secured a decorated permanent structure as their shrine, barring behind the humble seat beneath the tree.

Nearly every district or region of Bengal where Islam came to strike

its roots among the common people can boast of an array of Muslim saints, some of them enjoying a greater following than the others but all of them worshipped and applied to by the afflicted from both the Muslim and Hindu community. To-day their original role as aggressive propagators of Islam is but a matter of legendary history. They are deified religious leaders and adventurists of a bygone age whose legendary glory deriving from their liberally beneficial aspects is what continued to draw a crowd of an ever faithful section of the masses to their Dargas or shrines for solace and redress.

This qualitative change with the passage of time in the social role of the Muslim saints, which, incidentally, made for their wide acceptance and sustenance through ages, symbolizes a fundamental compromise and adjustment on the social plane at some point in history between the Muslims and the Hindus, the conquerers (including the native converts) and the conquered, whereby the once militant preachers of the former community eventually came to be worshipped by the latter with no less fervent a devotion than shown to Hindu deities, and even to rise to the level of a permanent landmark in the world of folk tradition, folk beliefs and folk customs of a region. In conformity with the traditional mode of folk worship of Bengal, the practice of making vows and offering *manat* at the Dargas of Pirs together with the partaking of the magically potent water of the Darga is introduced and transcends the barriers of caste, creed and formal religion, no Hindu devotee would flinch from these practices even at times marked by the strongest communal tension on the surface. In the attitude of the devotees resorting to the demigods the usual communal feelings are conspicuous by their absence. No stigma attaches to even such a shrine as the Darga of Pandua which was built by converting a temple. Its association with revolting memories of the aggressive phase of Islam hardly counts in the Hindu pilgrim's appraisal of the spiritual merits of the shrine which signifies to him an essentially holy place, readily responsive to the earnest prayer of the devoted, a centre, so to say, for the dispensation of divine grace without any discrimination on grounds of professed religious faith. Similarly, an equivalent measure of tolerance, faith and reverence marks the attitude of the Muslims towards the shrines of those folk deities who are non-Islamic in origin.

The wide and sustained prevalence of the worship of Muslim saints among the Hindus and the similar respect shown by the Muslims to the Hindu folk deities accordingly constitute a veritable challenge to the contention of some modern historians that there never really existed any harmonious adjustment between the two communities.

It will perhaps be neither necessary nor practicable to draw up an exhaustive list of the Hindu-Muslim saints of rural Bengal who have in

course of time been exalted to the rank of demigods or folk deities. The present author was forunate in visiting quite a few Dargas of Muslim saints in various villages. If his experience is any guide, there are very few villages with a concentration of Muslim population which do not have one or more such guardian saints of their own and the local saint is invariably extolled more than his or her counterparts elsewhere by the villagers. It is accordingly futile to attempt a cataloguing of the saints in order of their prestige, rank or importance in the religious life of the people. It is more the saintly class as a whole, constituting, as it does, a notable feature of the religious and social life of the rural community, than any of its particular member which should attract our attention. The following is however an incomplete list of some of the more famous saints from various districts of West Bengal which should by no means be taken for any representative set let alone an exhaustive list : Jaran Bibi, Ekin Pir, Dhakar Syeed Pir, Kwaj Pir, Chel Pir, Bibi Fatima, Kader Jilani Pir, Pir Nasir Khan, Mubarak Gazi, Pagla Pir, Pir Panaullah, Bhangar Sultan Saheb, Syed Mortuja Saheb, Gazi Moslemuddin, Karim Sah, Data Pir, Mustaram Aulia, Bhola Pir, Dewan Pir, Farid Sahab, Madar Saheb, Syed Hussain, Shah Alam, Machhalli Pir, Hazrat Pir, Jaffar Khan Gazi, Malek-ul-Gaus, Tantul Pir, Kata Pir, Jangal Pir, Saheed Pir, Ek Rasulhauq Pir, Mirmohmmad Fakir, Pir Saheb, Manik Pir, Gora Pir, Bada Pir, Fatima Bibi, Nur Kutab Alam, Gazi Mian, Kotowali Sahab, Gayesuddin Pir, Gholam Ali Pir, Sabdua Dewan Pir, Shab Sultan Pir, Badakhan Pir, Khan Pir, Syed Pir Saheb, Pir Gadai, Darvesh Gora, Panai Pir, Pir Baharram, Barakhan Gazi, Pir Panjatan, Dahnes Mand, Pir Khakkar Saheb, Majish Saheb, Badar Saheb, Pagla Pir, Bala Pir, Makdum Pir, Kutub Sah Pir, Khwaja Pir, Buda Pir, Jatha Pir, Syed Sadi Mir Saheb, Sikandar Shah, Zendu Pir, Pir Gorachand, Syed Karam Ali, Korban Saheb, Bibi Nuaz, Mian Pir, Thokkar Saheb, Bada Pir, Bhola Giri, Lalan Fakir, Kangal Harinath, Hansadev Maharaj, Jagabandhu, Bijoykrishna, Ramprosad, Bamadeva, Raghunandan, Pranabanand, Birchandra Yogananda, Srinivas, Acharya Harsit, Upendramohan, Gadahar Pandi, Gopal Bhatta, Kunja Goswami, Narottam, Gangahari Shyamadas Acharya, Probhasini Ma, Kuladananda Brahmachari, Lokenath Baba, Hari Takur, Haridas, Kali Bramachari, Kanai Thakur, Sridhar, Nagar Purusottam, Gour Das, Nityananda, Dhanajay, Mahesh Pandit, Tota Ram, Shanker Some Baba, Ganganarayan, Parikshit and others.

II

The Pir and Gazi Sahebs of the Middle Age in the uncertain and troubled period following the Turkish aggression of Bengal made it a point to reinforce the political and military conquest by inspiring the

confidence and commanding the respect of the general masses including both Hindus and Muslims, with the help of not only their benevolent supernatural powers but also sincere gestures of generosity and a demonstration of learning and culture. That they were largely successful in their efforts is still evident from the abundance and liveliness of the *Urus* festivals which are held almost everyday throughout the winter at some place or other in the countryside of Bengal where the folk people participate with unabated fervour. The Bengali year opens with a number of such festivals in the month of Vaisakha led by the fair of Mastaram in Murshidabad, Ek Dil Pir in 24 parganas, Pir Saheb in Nadia. These are followed by the fair of Madar Saheb, Kata Pir, Pir Mabarak Gazi. After an interval coinciding the agricultural busy season, the series of *Urus is resumed.*

Local legends centering deified saints

It may be of interest to relate the local legends associated with some of the saints, together with an account of the fairs and festivals held on the occasion of the 'Urus' or birth anniversary of the saints. Mastaram Aulia is the guardian saint of village Daserchowk in Murshidabad district. The place is connected with Berhampore, the district town by road. The shrine of the saint which is locally known as Mastaram's *Danra* or connecting irrigation canal, nestles under the shadow of a banyan tree. A fair is held every Tuesday in the Bengali month of Vaisakha right on the *Danra*, which is attended by thousands of votaries, both Hindu and Muslim offering various gifts for the fulfilment of their vow or 'manat'. Very often the visitor from all corners come with the sole object of a fervent and solemn resolve to participate the saint by making a vow and offering gifts in order to seek his enormously potent blessings.

The common people of this locality earnestly believe that a vow made before the saint is unfailingly rewarded by the grace of the holy spirit, be it for the removal of sterility or for the cure of any difficult disease. The legends concerning the saint speak of his remarkable occult power. Once upon a time this region had been turned into a marshy land when the river Bhagirathi changed its course. Mastaram selected a plot of dry land intervening two swamps, ideally suited as it was on account of its desolate character for performing his prayers and meditations. There was, however, no peace in his store. The local bands of professionals belonging to various sects and creeds made it a point to tease him often out of jealousy and mischievousness. The virluence of prosecution soon became too much even for an impassive

saint like Mastaram who had no other alternative than to disappear for good. So one fine morning the villagers found to their utter surprise a lovely garden on one side of the *Danra* overlooking the marsh. By a stroke of magic the two swamps had again become joined together overcoming the sizable gap between them. But Mastaram the perpetrator of this wonderfully eloquent mirracle, was nowhere to be found and the frantic search by the repentant villagers merely proved to be in vain. They were, however, individually consoled by the saint, visiting them in dream, by a promise of fulfilment of vows made on the site of *Danra* consecrated by the saint's meditations, where his living presence, in spirit though not in person, would serve to protect, inspire and benefact the adherents for generations to come.

Pir Karim Shah

Hailing from Gujarat, this saint settled at Mianpara of Bhagabangola in the district of Murshidabad. He was an unusual Muslim saint who adopted the Hindu incarnation 'Rama' for his object of worship and the name of Rama for his mystical incantation. He used to be engrossed round the clock in deep meditation and incantation of Rama. Even today his name is inextricably associated with the worship of Rama Whenever at dead of night the villagers are awakened by the clatter of a wooden foot fall, they exclaim at once—'Pir Shah Ram nam'. Despite his hingular adherence to the Hindu god Rama, the Pir endeared himself to Muslims and Hindus alike. His tomb at the outskirt of Mianpara is treated as holy shrine for offering *manat* by devotees professing all sorts of faiths. The Pir's catholicity of mind seems still to be reflected in the variety of the manner in which the gifts are offered by the votaries—the Hindus offer sweetmeat and incant the name of Lord Hari while the Muslims say their Namaj and sacrifice fowls beside them.

Ismail Gazi

The burial ground of Pir Ismail Gazi displays a rather unassuming earthen tomb situated in the non-descript rustic surroundings of Lokapur near Jaipur on the way from Bankura to Kotulpur. But this modest spot assumes a completely different outlook when thousands of pilgrims assemble here to celebrate the *Urus* of Pir Ismail Gazi. The effusive enthusiasm of the devotees is a clear index of the tremendously widespread influence of the Gazi in the past which the passage of time has little succeeded in wearing out. Indeed Pir-Gazi Ismail unmistakably occupies the foremost position among all the saints of Bankura as reflected in popular faith and practice.

There are various legends about the exploits of this warrior-saint. Some say that, in course of his religious campaign, the Gazi come to encounter stiff resistance from the Hindu king of Garh Mandaran. A fierce fight ensued between the two. A strange episode was observed after sometime—the Gazi had been beheaded by his adversary but was still going on fighting valiantly on horseback. The indomitable warrior was finally laid to rest in his present ground at Lokapur which meanwhile had been drenched with the blood of the saint and was thus consecrated for ever. According to another story Ismail had returned to Bengal having conquered Orissa when his enemies, acting as talebearers, antagonised Hussain Shah, the Nabab of Gaur, against the victorious Gazi with the disquieting report that the latter was bent on establishing an independent kingdom of his own at Garh Mandaran.

Jealous of the increasing military strength of this potential rival, Hussain Shah had him brought to his court and beheaded for this supposedly lofty ambition. Strangely enough, however, the beheaded body of the warrior returned to Garh Mandaran on horseback where it was buried. Late Rakhaldas Banerjee once remarked that the body of Ismail Gazi in buried at Mandaran while his head was in a grave at Pirganj in the district of Rangpur. All these stories seem to indicate that warhorse of the Gazi had possibly ran towards Garh Mandaran with the beheaded body of its master slinging across its back. The fateful life of Ismail Gazi had caught the fancy of the Sixteenth Century Bengali poet Ruparam Chakravarty who mentions the saint with special reverence in his devotional literature of the Dharma Mangala as the foremost among the Pirs and a redoubtable warrior too who advanced victoriously foiling depredation by ferocious animals like tigers and wild buffaloes.

Korban Saheb

This patron saint of Mallabhum in the present district of Bankura was a contemporary of Mallaking Bir Hambir. The king,it is said, used to receive conflicting reports about the Fakir. At the outset the people in generally were not favourably disposed to this stranger, whom they took for charlatan with suspicious intention. It was, however, not long before the Fakir was held in estimation by the common people, humbled and gratified as they were by the miraculous curative feats of the saint. The Efficacy of the benevolent supernatural power of Korban Saheb gradually won the unstinted admiration of the king himself though keeping aloof, who was much impressed by eye-witness accounts about the Fakir riding a tiger. The reports also spoke the Fakir's power to grant any wish of a devotee surrendering to him.

King Hambir is said to have solicited the grace of the saint for blessing him with a male offspring. The royal supplication granted, the king expressed his gratitude by settling the Fakir permanently at Vishnupur, the capital of the Malla king.

The fame of Korban Saheb spread far and wide. Emperor Shah Alam exempted in 1721 A.D. the *Pirottar* land dedicated to Korban Saheb from payment of rent as a token of his reverence for the Pir. Chaitanya Singh, the then Malla king, followed suit in 1753 A.D. On his demise Korban Saheb had been buried in his own residence. Chaitanya Singh built a mausoleum to mark his respect for divine soul. The *Pirottar* land ultimately came to measure 314 bighas or about 105 acres.

It is more than three centuries since Korban Saheb left this world. But thousands of Hindus and Muslims from the ordinary walks of life are still inspired by the legendary tales of the wonderful benefactory powers of the saint. They visit his *Mazar* or burial ground every Thursday evening at Korbantalla locality of Vishnupur in order to offer *manat* out of the conviction that this ever powerful and benevolent demigod will grant them their wishes as surely and competently as in his lifetime.

Pir Beharam Sekka

Hajrat Hazi Beharam Sekka, hailing from Turkestan belonged to Bayet Sect. His chequered career was marked by alternating honour and humiliation, respect and conspiracy, humble position and royal patronage, culminating in the attainment of sainthood at Burdwan in course of the amazingly brief span of three days he spent there, the closing days of his life that brought him crowning glory for ever. This wonderful Fakir was a deeply pious and benevolent soul. A Hazi of Mecca and Madina, he took upon himself the extremely virtuous but humble obligation of carrying water in the streets of Mecca and Najaf with a view to quenching the thirst of every wayfaring pilgrim. His piety earned him the esteem of Emperor Akbar when Beharam visited Delhi. The holy man was received in the Imperial Court with due respect and was taken into confidence by Akbar, who was noted for his predilection for religious persons. The former water-carrier was, however, ill-suited for court-life. The machinations by the jealous courtiers like Abul Fazl and Faizi led the pious man leave Delhi out of disgust. He came to Burdwan and met Jaipal, a famous Hindu hermit. The exchange of spiritual thoughts between the two fellow-travellers took, however, an unexpected turn. Unassuming as he was, Behram unwittingly made a tremendous impression on his new acquaintance on account of his

superior miraculous power and was acknowledged by the latter as the master. Jaipal surrendered not only himself but also all his material belongings to this western saint and resided in one corner of his garden which was now dedicated to Behram Sekka. The Saint however died after three days and was buried in the garden. The Emperor was so grieved by this news that he ordered the revenues of certain villages to be dedicated to the memory of the Pir. The tank and garden were repaired and an allowance for daily charity was ensured. It is largely owing to the continuance, in one form or another of this financial endowment that the shrine of Pir Behram is one of the best maintained. People of all communities offer their *manat* to the saint who came and saw and conquered Burdwan in an instantaneous spiritual encounter.

Ataullah Darvesh

A large fair, locally known as 'Fakrer Mela' is held every winter at village Dhaldighi in the district of West Dinajpur. The fair is named after Fakir Syed Karam Ali and has been occupying a predominant position among the fairs of North Bengal for more than a century. Hindus and Muslims from various points of India participate in this festival of *Urus,* making offerings in their respective individual ways. The fair held on the occasion is especially noted for the dealing in livestock. Besides animals and birds, the wares include utensils and agricultural implements.

Karam Ali was a follower of Maulana Ataullah Darvesh. The legend has it that once upon a time the two queens, one fair and the other dark in complexion, of a Hindu vassal king (named Bana, according to some) had two large tanks excavated which were named Dhaldighi or white tank and Kaladighi or black tank respectively after the queens. In conformity with the Hindu cannon, the tanks were excavated in a North to South direction. The Kaladighi was filled with water but the other tank remained dry for some inexplicable reason.

It was at this juncture that Maulana Ataullah Darvesh happened to visit this place in course of his itinerary. He sought the permission of the king to give a trial of his miraculous powers for removing this deficiency. With the consent of the king, the saint exercised his powers to change the direction of the tank altogether from North-South to East-West as a result of which the tank became full to the brim. This legend possibly owes it origin to a practical measure adopted at the instance of the saint for tapping the underground water level by expanding the tank on the Eastern and Western sides, the span of which ultimately came to

exceed the previous length of the tank measured from the Northern to the Southern end.

The local people were very much impressed with the miracle performed by the Darvesh and readily became his disciple irrespective of their religious creeds. The saint passed the rest of his life at this place and was buried on the bank of the Dhaldighi. Syed Karam Ali, probably one of the seven Sahebas or attendants of the Darvesh, settled on the right bank of the Dhaldighi long after the demise of the Darvesh. He too was gifted with supernatural powers. Hindus and Muslims of nearby places soon became his disciples. His descendants, known as Fakirs, conduct the fair.

[*To be continued*]

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I. THANKAPPAN NAIR

ORIGIN OF POISONOUS AND NON-POISONOUS SNAKES*

Once upon a time there were two men named ABOTANI and ABOTASI. Both of them lived in the same village. They were quite opposite in character. Abotani was simple, truthful, polite, intelligent and honest. But Apotasi was selfish, cruel and a liar. So the people of the village liked Abotani and hated Apotasi. The villagers decided to be guided by Abotani in all the village activities.

Abotani was loved and respected by all, whereas Apotasi was hated even the members of his family. He had no peace of mind. Gradually Apotasi became very jealous of Abotani and made a plot to kill him.

One day Apotasi proposed to Abotani to go for fishing. They went to a river and caught a huge quantity of fish. Then Apotasi asked Abotani to collect the leaves and fuel from the jungle. So Abotani went to the jungle. Meanwhile Apotasi divided the fish between him and Abotani. He mixed poison with Abotani's share of fish. Then he put his and Abotani's share into two different bamboo pipes and began to boil them before Abotani arrived.

After a while Abotani came back with leaves and bamboos. He saw a fly lying dead near the place where his fishes were washed. Moreover, while boiling the fish, Apotasi was holding his own bamboo pipe quite apart from Abotani's. So a suspicion arose in his mind. Suddenly a strong wind blew and as a result smoke completely binded Apotasi and the bamboo pipe containing fish fell from his hand. Abotani took this opportunity and changed the pipe with that of Apotasi who did not notice this change of pipe.

In confusion, Apotasi ate the fish from the bamboo pipe in which he himself had mixed poison. So he began to collapse, but before dying he asked Abotani to call all the wild animals there. The animals came. Apotasi told them that he had much poison in his stomach. He asked them to take some poison from his saliva to fight against their enemies. No animal wanted to take poison. But some snakes came forward and took some poison from his saliva.

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* This Abor (Adi) folktale was narrated to the author by Mr. Pratik Potom, an Abor youth, reading for B. A. at Shillong in 1960. This has been recently verified.

After few days a snake bit a man to prove the worth of his poison. The man died and the villagers buried him. The very snake met Abotani next day and asked him about the condition of the man it had bitten. Abotani wanted to play a trick on the snake. He replied that the man was quite well and was drinking rice beer. The snake was very disappointed to hear that its poison had no effect and vomitted out all its poison. Some of his fellow snakes also vomitted out theirs. But some snakes did not.

So now-a-days we find that some snakes have poison while others have not.

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WOMEN IN INDIAN FOLKLORE Edited with introduction by Sankar Sen Gupta: Foreword: Smt. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India. It is an anthology that consists of 27 articles from regional scholars of India. Reviewing the book "The Searchlight", Patna writes—"A very interesting insight into the social status and position of women can be gained from the folklore which recorded contemporary practices and aspirations of the people in the past. Sankar Sen Gupta, the energetic young leader of the Indian Folklore Society of Calcutta, has rendered a great service to all by bringing together within the compass of a single volume the folklore relating to the social status and position of women in various linguistic and religious groups in India" The *"Hindu"*, Madras says "Women depicted here belonging to the early part of 20th century or the later part of the 19th century, enriched with traditions and customs of thousands of years. The work will be of great use to researchers." Crown quarto size, more than 400 pages, Rs. 45.00 or $ 9.00

A STUDY OF WOMEN OF BENGAL, by Sankar Sen Gupta

Here women as depicted in ancient and oral traditional literature, position of women in marriage and as pictured in the matrimonial advertisements, socio-economic position and status of working women of married and unmarried groups, the role women in the freedom movement and their subsequent political life etc. are discussed efficiently. Reviewing the book "Andhra Jyoti" Vijawada writes—It shows the admirable skill of the author in shifting the large material which he collected and in presenting it to his readers effectively. All in all, it is a fine achievement and if Sen Gupta makes it the first of a series of such studies, it would go a long way to enhance his reputation and stabilize it" ...*The Mail*, Madras writes "This is a very revealing and scholarly book based on critical studies and analysis, rich in source material detailed field enquiry and research reports. A pioneering work indeed."

The author is awarded with Rabindra Smriti Prize in 1970-71 for the book. Crown quarter size, more than 400 pages with photos, Rs. 50 or $ 9.50

INDIAN PUBLICATIONS, 3, British Indian Street, Cal.-1 (India)

NOTES AND NEWS

Millions of book people from different parts of Bangladesh have migrated to India as refugeesowing to inhuman to rfure of the Militaryjunta of Pakistan. They deserve all possible help and assistance from us. We request our readers to help the suffering humainly.

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This is the address of Prof. P. Chandarvaker in Rajkot in a Folk Culture Conference.

The word 'folklore' is a combination of two words Folk and Lore. The Roman tongues adopted the term Folklore while the Teutonic countries preferred to the German Volkskunde. When the word Folk is being written by the Anglo-Saxon tongues, the spelling of the word differs slightly. The spelling of the word is FOLK in English but in the Anglo-Sexon tongue it is folc, meaning a large group of people. The meaning of the word folk is also the same as folk or folc. In Sanskrit, we have a word, *loka* which carries the same meaning as folk, folc and volk. Thus a large group of people art known as folk, volk, folc or *laka* in different tongues of the world. In Rigveda, folks are stated as having one thousand heads etc.

Now let us consider the meaning of the word "Lore". The word Lore has sprung up in English from an Anglo-Saxon word Lar, which means a thing which may be learnt or studied. Sometimes it means learning of arts. The folklore means learning of arts of different groups of people who are meant for study. But now the word folklore carries a scientific meaning. It has also achieved connotative value since 1846.

In 1851, the first book appeared in Folklore with its title, "The Dialect and folk-lore of Northamptonshire" by Thomas Sternberg. So in five years time of the coinage of the word, the term became acceptable by scholars of popular literature and popular antiquities, and rapidly acquired a following. The word now suggests "the oral traditions channeled across the centuries through human mouths".

Mr. Jonas Balys writes: "Folklore comprises traditional creations of peoples, primitive and civilized. These are achieved by using sounds and words in metric form and prose, and include also folk beliefs or superstitions, customs and performances, dances and plays. Moreover, folklore is not a science about a folk, but the traditional folk science and folk poetry."

Views of Mr. Theodor H. Gaster on Folklore should also be taken into consideration here. He says: "Folklore is that part of a people's culture which is preserved consciously or unconsciously, in beliefs and practices, customs, and observances of general currency; in myths, legends, and tales of common acceptance; and in arts and crafts which

express the temper and genius of a group rather than of an individual. Because it is a repository of popular traditions and an integral element of the popular climate', folklore serves as a constant source and frame of reference for more formal literature and art; but it is distinct there form in that it is essentially of the people, by the people and for the people."

Mr. C. F. Potter has defined it thus: "Folklore is a lively fossil which refuses to die".

Dr. A. H. Krappe, a renowned English folklorist, has defined: 'Folklore is an historical science, historical, because it seeks to throw light on mean's past; a science because it endeavours to attain this goal, not by speculation or deduction from some a priori principle, but by the inductive method used in all scientific research."

"The science of folklore is that branch of human knowledge that collects, classifies, and studies in a scientific manner the materials of folklore in order to interpret the life and culture of peoples across the ages. It is one of the social sciences that studies and interprets the history of civilization. Folklore perpetuates the patterns of culture, and through its study we can often explain the motifs and the meaning of culture. The science of folklore, therefore, contributes in a great measure to the history and interpretation of human life."

"The study of folklore consists in the collection, classification, and interpretation of these traditional material classification involves interpretation to some extent. Interpretation seeks to discover the origin, meaning, use and history of these materials, to state and explain their dissemination, and to describe their stylistic pecularities."

From all these definitions we may be in a position to say that folklore deals with the past, because it is a lively fossil. It is also historical science of mankind, which deals with tradition, old beliefs and superstitions seen in the human culture and civilizations, which may vary from country to country, and so it is only right that the study of folklore should follow the contours of a particular civilization."

Prof. Alan Dundes has progessively defined folk-lore, and states that "Definitions of folklore based upon the folk rather than the lore are more rare but no more satisfactory. There are still folklorists who mistakenly identify the folk with peasant society or rural groups. If one were to accept this narrow conception of folk, then by definition one would have to conclude that city dwellers are not folk and hence city dwellers could have no folklore. An equally fallacious view is that folklore was produced by a folk in the hoary past and that folklore still extant today consists solely of fragmentary survival. According to this incorrect view, the folk of to-day produce no new folklore; rather, contemporary folk are forgetting more and more folklore and soon folklore

will have died out completely." He finally comes to the conclusion that every group has its own folklore. To him, "even a military unit or a college community is a folk".

Yet he questions, what is folklore ? He writes that folklore includes myths, legends, folk tales, jokes, proverbs, riddles, chants, charms, blessings, curses, oaths, insults, retorts, taunts, teases, toasts, tongue-twisters and greetings and leave taking formulas. He also includes folk costume, folk-dance, folk drama, folk art, folk belief, folk medicine, folk instrumental music, folk songs, folk speech e.g. slang, folk similes, folk metaphors, and name e.g., nicknames. Folk poetry ranges from oral epics to autograph-book verse, epitaphs, latrinalia (writings on the walls of public bath rooms) limericks ball dancing rhymes, jump-rope rhymes, finger and toe rhymes, dandling rhymes, counting out rhymes and nursery rhymes. The list of folklore forms also contains games, gestures, symbols, prayers, practical jokes, folk etymologies, food recipes, quilt and embroidery designs ; house, barn and fence types ; street vendor's cries, and even the traditional conventional sounds used to summon animals or to give them commands.

In the context of the above let us deal with the folklore of Saurashtra.

The land of Saurashtra is an ancient land having different colours. It has its own multi-culture dating back to the glorious days of Lord Krishna. When Yadavs with Abhir came to Saurashtra, here were Kabas residing in Shamkhodwar and around Kabas had their culture. The race must be strong, stout, verile and sturdy.

These Kabas were the true owners of the land and they must have been conquered by mighty Yadavs. These Kabas, to-day are known as Waghers in Okhamandal, who are very rich in folklore. Different branches of folklore of these people in the district of Okhamandal which was visited by the contributor in October, 1968 to collect folk-songs, folk tales, and folk arts of Waghers. It has been observed that the most of the broder areas have remained virgin from the impact of modern industrial civilization. No encouragement was given by the rulers of Saurashtra to industrialize the land. There was no facility for higher education in the land except two towns namely Bhavnagar and Junagadh. Being the land of peasants oral traditions, folk-beliefs, folk-customs, folk rituals, folk gods and goddesses are bound in plenty Saurashtra.

We should also take into consideration that now-a-days education in Saurashtra is spreading. Consequently a boy or a girl born in a village, these days will leave all folk-elements aside and will try to sanskritize himself or herself.

We are not used to take folklore as one of the national activities of our life. As a result of it, the educated masses, connive at it and disregard it which has resulted into decay. Even though a section of the

people of Saurashtra are getting conscious of her folklore and folk culture. In the University of Saurashtra, serious and timely attention has been paid its study and collection. A teacher has been appointed to guide for scientific study of folklore and folk-literature of Saurashtra. Four lecturers are working upon the folklore there.

Enchrochment of film music and rhythms are having its impact on the village-folk. Film tunes are becoming, now-a-days, popular with village folk. Because of higher education, we are leaving aside our old customs and religious beliefs.

In Saurashtra, there are certain pockets in the inner most corners of the land where folk traditions still survive. The forests of Gir, the Barada Hills and the hills of Panchal and Aloch are full of the tribal and folk people who have not seen the ray of modern culture and civilization of industrial world. They follow age old traditions, religions, customs etc. As for example, the Rabaries of the Barada Hills. They recite Saraju prayers for their Mammai Mata. Saraju is a prayer cry. The words recited in a Saraju are Ha and Ri. Those persons, who know Samgan that was recited in the Vedic days were Rishis. The Samgan of Rishis is being preserved by Rabaris of the Barada Hills in Saraju which have become a matter of study, for the scholars of Indian Music. Besides, we may also call the attention of the readers to certain traditional customs of the tribes who have settled in Saurashtra, Mers abound in the Barada Hills and the Ghed tract of the old Porbandar State. Married ladies of Mers, even though their husbands are alive, put on black coloured costumes. They do not adorn their foreheads with Kumkum marks and they do not put on any bangles on their hands. What are the folk beliefs when they are used to practice these things. In our enquiry to the Mers of the Barada Hills, elderly persons of the community replies in connection with Kumkum mark in foreheads and bangles on hands, that when Ra Khengar of Junagadh fought against Siddhraj Jaysing of Sidhpur Patna, Mers fought against the army of Sidhpur siding Ra Khengar of Junagadh. It was a furious fight between two rulers. Ra Khengar was defeated by treacherous tricks of Sidhraj and slain by the army of Sidhraj. Ladies of Mers lamented the unnatural death of Ra Khengar in those days. After the death of Ra Khengar, his queen Ranakdevi was captured and was forced to marry Sidhraj, but she was not ready to accept the proposal of Sidhraj. She burnt herself practising Sati. Since those days, Mer ladies have continued in putting black cloths and nobody from royal house of Khengar came forward to appeal to remove these clothes and to put on ordinary cloths of daily habits. The same has happened with Kumkum mark on the foreheads and bangles on hands.

But these practices of putting our black bordered clothes, removing bangles from hands and not mark forehead with Kumkum is getting out of fashion among educated young ladies of the Mers.

There are some folk legends and beliefs which can be noted and may not be seen with human eyes. Kathis of Saurashtra pay highest respect to horses so much so that they eat grains which are half eaten by horses and mares. To an average Kathi it is a normal practice, because it is believed that Kathis have come from the Sun god and his wife Sarayu who transformed herself into a mare. The Sun god had an intercourse with her and she begot children, who were supposed to be the forefathers of Kathis. And so Kathis pay the highest respect to horses and mares. This legend has its link in the Rig Vedic story. Further, it is said that one of the grandsons of Lord Krishna, Anirudha, married Okha, who was the daughter of Banasur and who was well-versed in dances, taught folk dances to Yadav and Ahir maids of Saurashtra. In Porbandar one can observe odd things on sea-coast, one sees some rags on a small rock of Chaupati of Porbandar. Why do sailors put torn clothes and rags here on the top of this rock? They believe that if they put their torn and worn clothes on the top of the rock, the god of rock, in return, will give them new clothes.

It is a simple belief, a folk belief, but to a folklorist, it is an interesting subject of study.

—P. Chandervaker

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Indian Folklore Society requests its members and well-wishers to render all possible help and assistance to the members of Mukti Bahini and to the refugees of Bangladesh. All helps may be directed to the Governor of West Bengal, Calcutta or to Bangladesh Mission office at Calcutta. Bloods will be accepted at all Blood Banks of the country.

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A Sevenday folk art exhibition will be held at Calcutta in the premises of the Indian Folklore Society, 3, British Indian Street, Calcutta-1, First Floor December 23 to 29, 1971. The exhibition will be devoted to *Pata* Paintings the Midnapur district of Bengal.

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The annual meeting of the Indian Folklore Society will be held on December 30, 1971 at the Premises of the Indian Folklore Society, 3, British Indian Street, Calcutta-1 at 4 P.M. Besides official business the meeting will also consider things to be done for the people of Bangladesh in response to the call of tht Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

THE WISDOM THAT WENT FROM THE EAST

[The name of the sender of the following is not given]

The sun rises in the east. Wisdom too comes from the same quarter from the hoary past.

The sages of the east have for nothing in the world agreed to leave children out of account whenever they have decided to enrich it with their wisdom.

Eastern tales are meant primarily for children. As the child grows old he realises that the tales that delighted him have lessons for young and old, for the whole of mankind.

The Brahman of *The Panchatantra* who built castles in the air could only become the laughing-stock of all and sundry. He hung his jar which was full of barley-meal and started counting the number of rupees he would make if favoured by chance, a famine came. As a rich man he would have a son that his wife would perhaps not find time to attend to. He would then kick her, and lo! as he let fly the kick the jar tumbled down.

Benfey, the German Sanskrit scholar, Stanley Rice and Arthur W. Ryder have translated Vishnu Sharma's famous collection of stories. It is a well-known fact that these stories have been current among the Indian populace for at least five thousand years, probably longer.

The Brahman's Dream is among the most popular of the stories. We find it in Rabelais.*

When Vishnu Sharma had been translated into Old French the Brahman's wife had been replaced by his child. It is the latter that was to receive the kick.

The story had travelled to the other parts of Asia earlier. In the Arabian Nights the barber's brother gives the Vizier's daughter the worst beating she had ever had so that all the vessels in his tiny shop go to pieces.

The Asian versions had not lost their relish in 1918. Marmaduke Pickthall whose admirable translation of the Holy Quran has a wide

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*There was present at that time an old gentleman well experienced in the wars, a stern soldier, and who had been in many great hazards, named Echephron, who, hearing this discourse, said: "I'm afraid all this enterprise will be like the farce of the pitcher of milk."……

circle of readers, gave an Asian version of it in his *Oriental Encounters.* The story, as related by the modern writer, shown how imagination works in the East. The Brahman has not become a milkmaid as in Lafontaine. Nor does the child have a kick. Instead he falls from a tree :

"The man came," Pickthall tells us, "into this village of the Maronites, and, being thirsty, looked in at a doorway. He saw the village priest and all his family engaged in stuffing a fat sheep with mulberry leaves. The sheep was tethered half-way up the steps which led on to the housetop. The priest and his wife, together with their eldest girl, sat on the ground below, amid a heap of mulberry boughs; and all the other children sat, one on every step, passing up the leaves, when ready, to the second daughter, whose business was to force the sheep to go on eating. This they would do until the sheep, too full to stand, fell over on its side, when they would slaughter it for their supply of fat throughout the coming year.

"So busy were they in this occupation that they did not see the stranger in the doorway until he shouted : 'Peace upon this house,' and asked then for a drink of water kindly. Even then the priest did not disturb himself, but, saying 'Itfaddal' : pointed to a pitcher standing by the wall. The guest looked into it and found it dry.

'No water here,' he said.

'Oh,' sighed the priest, 'to-day we are so thirsty with this work that we have emptied it, and so busy that the children have forgotten to refill it. Rise, O Nesibeh, take the pitcher on thy head, and hasten to the spring and bring back water for our guest.'

"The girl Nesibeh, who was fourteen years of age, rose up obediently, shaking off the mulberry leaves and caterpillars from her clothing. Taking up the pitcher, she went out through the village to the spring, which gushed out of the rock beneath a spreading near tree.

"There were so many people getting water at the moment that she could not push her way among them, so sat down to wait her turn, choosing a shady spot. She was a thoughtful girl, and, as she sat there waiting, she was saying in her soul :

"O soul, I am a big girl now. A year or two and mother will unite me to a proper husband. The next year I shall have a little son. Again a year or two, he will be big enough to run about ; and his father will make for him a pair of small red shoes, and he will come down to this pleasant spring, as children do, to splash the water. Being a bold lad, he will climb that tree.'

"And then, as she beheld one great bough overhanging like a stretched-out arm, and realised how dangerous it was for climbing children, she thought :

"He will fall down and break his neck.'

"At once she burst out weeping inconsolably, making so great a din that all the people who had come for water flocked around her, asking: 'O Nesibeh, what has hurt thee ?' And between her sobs, she told them:

" 'I'm a big girl, now.'

" 'That is so, O beloved !'

" 'A year or two, and mother will provide me with a husband."

" 'It is likely.'

" 'Another year, and I shall have a little son."

" 'If God wills !' signed the multitude, with pious fervour.

" 'Again a year or two, he will be big enough to run about, and his father will make for him a pair of small red shoes. And he will come down to the spring with other children, and will climb the tree. And—oh !—you see that big bough overhanging. There he will slip and fall and break his neck.' Ah, woe !'

"At that the people cried: 'O cruel fate !' and many of them rent their clothes. They all sank down upon the ground around Nesibeh, rocking themselves to and fro and wailing:

" 'Ah, my little neighbour. My poor, dear little neighbour.' Ah, would that thou hadst lived to bury me, my little neighbour ! '*

"Meanwhile the stranger waiting for the water grew impatient, and he once more ventured to interrupt the work of sheep-stuffing with a remark that the young girl was long returning with her pitcher. The priest said: 'That is true,' and sent his second daughter to expedite the first. This girl went running to the spring, and found the population of the village sitting weeping on the ground around her sister. She asked the matter. They replied: 'A great calamity.' Thy sister—poor distracted mother !—will inform thee of its nature.' She ran up to Nesibeh, who moaned out: 'I am a big girl now. A year or two, our mother will provide me with a husband. The next year I shall have a little son. Again a year or two he will be old enough to run about. His father will make for him a pair of small red shoes. He comes down to the spring to play in childish wise. He climbs that tree, and from that overhanging branch he falls and breaks his neck.'

"At this sad news the second girl forgot her errand. She threw her skirt over her head and started shrieking: 'Alas, my little nephew. My poor, dear little nephew. Would God that thou hadst lived to bury me, my little nephew !' And she too sat down upon the ground to hug her sorrow with the rest.

"The priest said: 'That one too is long in coming; I will send

*"Ya takbar jarak, ya jari"—a very common cry of grief in Syria.

another child; but thou must take her place upon the steps, O stranger, or else the work of stuffing will be much delayed.'

"The stranger did as he was asked, while child after child was sent, till he alone was left to do the work of carrying the fresh leaves up from the ground and stuffing them into the sheep. Still none returned.

"The priest's wife went herself, remarking that her husband and the stranger were able by themselves to carry on the work. They did so a long while, yet no one came.

"At last the priest rose, saying: 'I myself will go and beat them for this long delay. Do thou, O stranger, feed the sheep meanwhile. Cease not to carry up the leaves and stuff him with them, lest all the good work done be lost through negligence.'

"In anger the priest strode out through the village to the spring. But all his wrath was changed into amazement when he saw the crowd of people sitting on the ground, convulsed with grief, around the members of his family.

"He went up to his wife and asked the matter.

"She moaned: 'I cannot speak of it. Ask poor Nesibeh!'

"He then turned to his eldest daughter, who, half-chocked by sobs, explained:

" 'I am a big girl now.'

" 'That is so, O my daughter'

" 'A year or two, and you and mother will provide me with a husband.'

" 'That is possible.'

" 'Another year, and I shall have a little son!'

" 'In sh' Allah!' said her father piously.

" 'Again a year or two, and my son runs about. His father makes for him a pair of small red shoes. He came down to the spring to play with other children, and from that overhanging bough how shall I tell it?—he fell and broke his darling neck!' Nesibeh hid her face again and wailed aloud.

"The priest, cut to the heart by the appalling news, tore his cassock up from foot to waist, and threw the ends over his face, vociferating:

"Woe, my little grandson.' My darling little grandson.' Oh, would that thou hadst lived to bury me, my little grandson?' And he too sank upon the ground, immersed in grief.

"At last the stranger wearied of the work of stripping off the mulberry leaves and carrying them up the staircase to the tethered sheep. He found his thirst increased by such exertions."

"Did he in truth do that, with no one looking?" said Rashid. "He must have been as big a fool as all the others."

"He was, but in a different way," said Suleyman.

"He walked down to the spring, and saw the congregation seated underneath the pear tree, shrieking like sinners at the Judgment Day. Among them sat the priest, with feathers hidden in his torn black petticoat. He ventured to approach the man and put a question. The priest unveiled his face a moment and was going to speak, but recollection of his sorrow overcame him. Hiding his face again, he wailed :

"Alas, my little grandson! My pretty little grandson! Ah, would that thou hadst lived to bury me, my little grandson!'

"A woman sitting near plucked at the stranger's sleeve and said :

" 'You see that girl. She will be soon full-grown. A year or two, and she will certainly be married. Another year, and she will have a little son. Her little son grows big enough to run about. His father made for him a pair of small red shoes. He came down the spring to play with other children. You see that pear tree? On a day like this—a pleasant afternoon—he clambered up it, and from that bough, which overhangs the fountain, he fell and broke his little neck upon those stones. Alas, our little neighbour! Oh, would that thou hadst lived to bury us, our little neighbour!' And every one began to rock and wail anew.

"The stranger stood and looked upon then for a moment, then he shouted : "Tfu 'aleykum!"* and spat upon the ground."

The stranger spitting spitefully on the ground in an amusing commentary that the reader treasures highly. Nor are the repetitions boring. They add to the beauty of the delicious story.

It was Max Muller's belief that La Fontaine† did not have the story from Pilpay's work done into French. The story, he argues, was found in 'Contes et Nouvelles of Bonaventure des Periers' "published in the 16th century, a book which we know that La Fontaine was well acquainted with." Rabelais, too, alluded to the milk-maid.** The Brahman had no doubt been converted into a maid before La Fontaine's advent. Max Muller errs when he supposes that the French fabulist did not read the Indian story, that he "must have met with his model elsewhere."

*Something like "Pooh-pooh to you!" but more insulting.

† Max Muller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol IV.

**We all know the milk maid Perrette, lightly stepping from her village to the town, carrying the milk-pail on her head, and in her day-dreams selling her milk for a good sum, then buying a hundred eggs, then selling the chickens, then buying a pig, fattening it selling it again and buying a cow with a calf. The calf frolics about and kicks up his legs—so does Perrette, and, alas! the pail falls down, the milk is spilt, her riches gone, and she only hopes when she comes home that she may escape a flogging from her husband.

The truth is that there were two French translations of Vishnu Sharma's book. La Fontaine had read both. One of the editors of his complete works has annotated this fable and has gone so far as to reproduce the Indian story. As the reader will see, it is in Old French. Instead of *avait*, for example, we have avoit.*

*Pilpay raconte qu'un santon avoit une cruche d'huile a vendre ; de son produit il dort acheter des brebis ; celles-ci auront des agneaus qui formeront un troupeau. Avee un troupeau bien entretenu, on peut a la longue, acheter une maison ; mais il faut se marier. Comme il n'y a point de bonheur sans compensation, le santon sera pere d'un fils opiniatre et desobeissant. II lui porte un coup de pied dans un moment de colere, et il casse sa cruche d'huile.
de colere, et il casse sa cruche d'huile.

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TRILOCHAN PANDE

THEMES OF INDIAN FOLKSONGS

The folksongs of India can be compared on a national basis as they express almost similar sentiments. From Kashmir in the North right upto Andhra Pradesh in the South and from Gujerat in the West upto Bengal and Assam in the East, there exist, undoubtedly, a great diversity from geographical and economic point of views, but the fountain of all folksongs current in these parts is almost the same. After a comparative study of these folksongs a great unity of fundamental ideas seems to underlie their apparent difference. We may find the same song prevalent in a variety of forms and yet at the same time so many songs may indicate a common origin.

Indian folksongs present a true picture of the Indian culture. Pre-eminently a country of village, the cities and towns of India are not of much importance to us from the folkloristic point of view The folklore consists mainly of folksongs composed and sung in more than one hundred major widely-spoken dialects and our traditions, customs and manners from ancient times are well-reflected through them. If a folksong is taken to be the very pulse of a nation then the Indian folksongs will prove a good example of this fact.

In the common life of Indian people auspicious objects like the conch shell, the bell, waters of holy rivers, the green grass, mango-leaves, branches of the banana tree are referred to as a necessity in celebrating a function, whether it be a birth or a wedding or anything else. Hence such objects always find mention in folksongs. A brahmin priest is always present to perform the actual ceremony, married women sing ceremonial songs, a pitcher filled with holy waters is placed near-about and an earthen lamp emits a dim-soft glow and faintly illumines the surroundings. Songs sung on such occasions are full of the feelings of fratennity and they show the readiness of gods and goddess to help human beings. The songs of the 'Manasa Devi' in Bengal, 'Durga, Kali' in Uttar Pradesh, the 'Koat Kangra Devi' in Punjab and of 'Gangour Devi' in Rajasthan present much similarity of their aims and objects.

The name of the river Ganges is so popular in the Indian folklore that the people all over the country call their various rivers by this name and this name has ever crossed the bounds of India. In folksongs belonging to Uttar Pradesh there are numerous references to the

Ganges and her slow and majestic queenly gait. In a Jhumar song, an oath sworn by her side has been considered the supreme test to prove the chastity of a woman. She has been called the mother Ganges, as just like a mother she looks after the needs and requirements of the people. She is usually worshipped by issueless women for her special powers, that transform barrenness into fecundity. A woman requests the Ganges either to bestow upon her a son, or to give her a watery death-bed as a place of eternal sleep which is preferable to the dishonoured life of a barren woman.

The river Yamuna is called the sister of the Ganges as both of them descend from the vast Himalayan ranges and flow majestically through the Northern planes for the good of the people. Newly married couples offer prayers to them. In a melodious song known as the 'Sohar', a certain woman leads the life of an ascetic at the confluence of these two rivers. The Ganges enquires about her troubles—whether the father-in-law and the mother-in-law are cruel to her or her husband has gone far away to remote lands. She replies that none of these troubles exists, but there is no child to call her mother, and that is why she wants to put an end to her miserable life. The river grants her a boon that after nine months she will beget a son.[1]

The folksongs are one as regards the description of ancient religious stories of India, the socalled 'Pauranic' ones, together with their characters who are generally same throughout the country. The local colour however, lends distinctiveness to them from region but their essential characteristics do not change.

Ancient epic figures, though superhuman or demi-gods, behave like ordinary men and women in their day-to-day life. Their divinity, in fact, merges into humanity through becoming a theme of these very songs. Now these figures do not lead us to the heaven but make us concentrate our attention on our daily affairs. Gods too stand side with the common man ; hence folksongs are always more appealing to the human mind than cultivated ones composed in higher order of minute details. Every legendary figure of the Indian History bears a testimony to this fact.

Rama and Lakshman, the immortal characters of the famous epic Ramayan, lead the life of Indian villagers. Rama ploughs field with his own hands whereas Sita, his wife, cooks food for him. This is a scene to be witnessed every day in our villages. Urmila, the wife of Lakshman leads the hard life of a typical woman of the village by grinding the flour. Getting tired of it as her hands become powerless to move the stone, she begins to weep. In a song of Andhra Pradesh her continuous sleep for fourteen long years has been vividly narrated. She is so much cautious about her chastity that once she even rebukes her own

husband Lakshman for neglecting his duty by deserting his brother, when he appears to her in a dream.

The forest-life of these two brothers remain an attractive subject for our folk-singers. In folk-songs of Orissa, Rama appears as a simple gentle-natured farmer who is too rich and too poor at the same time. He is rich, lamps of gold shine forth in his house ; and he is poor ; for he finds himself unable to purchase new cloths for his wife. At one place Lakshman brings green mangoes to make the sauce, and Sita prepares it, mixing sugar with it. Rama enters the scene in the meantime and licks the plate clean. As a result, Lakshman remain hungry for the whole day. In Gujerat Rama waits for Sita, not in a garden full of flowers as the poet Valmiki mentions him in the epic, but at a pond he waits, and he suffers the pangs of thirst. Sita loses her heart at the first sight. In the tribal regions of India, inhabitated by the Mundas, the Kols, the Santhal and other peoples, a similar picture unveils itself to the reader where Sita tends her grazing cattle under a wild fig tree when all of a sudden, the heathen Ravan takes her away with him to his city which can only be reached by crossing an immense ocean. Jambant a monkey chief, fears to cross even the boundary of village as Ravan's abode Lanka is known to be full of perils. He says he will not go to that place which is full of demons. Ravan is their king and these people never worship the gods. They devour up men, monkeys, horses, goats, buffaloes and oxen whatever they can lay their head upon. Hearing this all the monkeys are frightened into silence.[2]

We find that the Indian folk-singers have actually made Rama and Lakshman member of their own households. Rama stands everywhere for a husband and Sita stands for a wife.

Radha and Krishna are other figures very popular in these songs. The 'Ras Lila' and the 'Holi' festivals are mainly associated with them. These are the times of joy and pleasure when the nature too becomes lovely and assumes a festive appearance and seasonal changes gradually take place. Accordingly people also enjoy the changing aspects of the nature. Radha and Krishna are the embodiments of eternal love ; hence they are particularly chosen for songs befitting these festivals.

In the 'Baramasi' songs, wherein the main features of all seasons are briefly described, and the 'Jhula' songs, when women enjoy swinging by a rope to the accompaniment of music, during the rainy season these two figures of Radha and Krishna again dominate the scene. Radha was the daughter of a milk-man while Krishna was an incarnation of God, though destined to become the head of the milk-men community. As described in the Munda songs, Krishna's crown flashes in the gloom, while his beloved 'Gopies' dance to the tune of his flute like the clusture of twinkling stars round the moon.

From Gujerat to Bengal, songs connected with Krishna teach us how to lead the life full of pleasures, forgetting all sorrows of past and present and the future years. In the Malayalam region there is a saying that if you want vigour and strength, chose Rama as your ideal and if you want to please women then go to Sri Krishna for that.

We can not afford to miss out holy lord Shiva and Parvati in these folksongs. In the Puranas, in the Epics and in the later Works, Lord Shiva appears at times in a frenzy, determined to destroy the whole universe, and at times he send boons to his followers and others without discrimination. No one, even the highest God Vishnu dares to displease him. But in folksongs he stand on an altogether different grounds. Here he also behaves like an ordinary man and so does Parvati, his counterpart. In a song from Gujerat, he is said to wash the dirty clothes of his house himself when Parvati goes near a pond to fetch water in a pitcher.

From the Mithila Region we have special type of songs known as the 'Na chari', devoted wholly to Lord Shiva. It is somewhat difficult to conceive him as a bridegroom as he remains always halfnacked with snakes twined around his body like garlands, and possessing a bull as his only property on the earth. He is younger than Parvati in age, yet he comes to wed her. His bull popularly known as the 'Nandi', licks up all the intoxicating hemp, kept strictly for his use.

As such legendary figures of religion and mythology unite the far situated regions of North and South which are different from other points of views. Folksongs provide a definite meeting-ground for various people, and are in fact the greatest unifying factor, linking all in the bond of fellowship.

Unity of purpose may be taken as another characteristic of these songs connected with various types of domestic rituals, fasts, and other religious performances. Village women all over India observe fast in order to realize the fulfilments, through the blessings of the Gods, of their cherished desires. Songs connected with the worship of the 'Shasthi Mata' or with the Sun in Uttar Pradesh, and particularly songs of 'Bhairab' and 'Hanuman' in Rajasthan, may be mentioned in this respect. The worship of domestic deities, though it varies from family to family, may also be taken as a good example of this fact. We find as a main feature that the rites and rituals of men are not described in detail in these songs, only those related to women-folk get greater importance.

The birth of a male child is considered more auspicious than the birth of a female one. He is compared to 'Kamdev' the Indian god of beauty and love. The grandfather of the house distributes sweets with open hands on this day and elderly persons of the household give

money and clothes etc. to the poor. Even mid-wives, servants, barbers and sweepers are not forgotten. They get their due share. In India the rituals are closely connected with such folksong from ancient times and strangely enough we find that everybody's reward is fixed, as described in these folksongs, according to one's work and social status.

In the marriage songs of Northern India, the would-be mother-in-law with coconut fruits and the mother of the bridegroom with a tray full of jewels, welcome him. Father like Dasharath, mother like Kaushalya and sister like Subhadra come to attend the function. Folksongs of the Nimar region describe how the feet of guests are washed with either milk or scented water, and sandal paste is put on their fore-head. Mothers sisters—all are mentioned and heaped with expectations of good fortune, and receive the blessings of long life for their husbands. A marriage song illustrates well these points ; at a very beginning, a certain woman, after worshipping 'Ganesh' i.e. Elephant God, says that her house is full of joy to-day.[3]

Several songs arise from similar environaments and therefore express similar feelings. Social, political, economic and other conditions help in their composition and therefore, songs relate to famine, hunger, poverty, national awakening, the spinning wheel, new development scheme and the Bhoodan movement etc. are current all over India.

A Bhojpuri song contains the description of economic depression. Some singers lament that we have even forgotten the most attractive 'Viraha' composition due to hunger and our love has also come to an end. In Mithila, a certain farmer complaints to Lord Shiva that his extreme poverty, and the torture of the village-zamindar does not allow him to sleep even in his own house, in the night.

Another song, composed during the British regime in the Bundela region, is a good example of this fact of poverty wherein a woman pathetically draws a picture of her acute position which is embarassing. While weeping she says that the rent paid by a tenant is increasing day by-day and the coarse crop like 'Jowar' costs now too much ; my clothes have been sold ; my husband's dress has been snatched off ; the district officials are coming for a decree and other persons of the locality are laughing at us.[4]

The struggle for Home-Rule become naturally a favourite topic with our folk-singers. From all corners of this land the sound of the constant-moving spinning wheel is heard, filling the hearts of people with fresh vigour. If the Andhra singer has much faith in it for uprooting the poverty the singer of Orissa takes an inordinate delight in its richness as it is made of gold and studded with diamonds. Even in remote corners of Kumaon and Garhwal, the border region of the Himalayas, the 'Charkha' i.e. the spinning wheel is not unknown.

Many Freedom fighters also occupy their due place in these songs. In many of these songs, composed nearabout the Oudh region of Northern India, the memory of Rana Beni Madhav is cherished. Raja Kunwar Singh was a more influential person. Once his arm was broken in a fight, but he cut it off without any hesitation and swam across the river with one hand. The heroine of the First War of Independence of 1857, Queen Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, still fascinates the hearts of our youngmen when her deeds are sung to the bearing of drums.

Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru are the most popular figures among our national leaders. The former has rightly been called the Father of the Nation, a title which he rightly deserves and the other is called affectionaly 'Chacha Nehru' by our children. Songs connected with Gandhi's life are sung far and wide.

In one song from Punjab Gandhi has been compared with the rising sun. According to a Tamil song he is a sage, while in a song from Malayalam he is exolted with reference to the rural uplift. He brings a law-book in his hand from the west, as described in a song of the Santhal people, and with a 'Khadi' cap on his head, he comes forward to make India Free. In a song from Garhwal region it is said that Mahatma Gandhi is very fortunate as he loves his country utmost. He drinks the milk of a goat and puts on the 'Khadi' dress. He made 15th of August as beginning a new epoch of our freedom. This is freedom for us all and an opportunity for our allround advancement.[5]

These folk-songs are steeped with the spirit of patriotism and so celebrate the heroes who have sacrificed everything for the sake of their country. Nehru is one such popular person and folk-singers have been at pains to applaud and to make him a national hero. Surrounded by wealth since birth he did not remain attached to it for long, and left it all for the greater glory of his country. He sacrificed everything he had, when the deep groans of the oppressed humanity reached his cars and disturbed his spirit. His life is a lesson in patriotism and sacrifice.

Indian folk-songs pay highest tribute to the motherland. The song may belong to Tamilnad or to Punjab, Gujerat or to Mithila, Rajasthan or to Braj, but its contents remain one in this respect. The motherland attracts the whole world with her rich beauty, but she is not a del-cate belle-she is powerful too. She feeds her sons with her milk like a mother and nurtures them. Hence a singer of Rajasthan prefers to remain at home, quietly passing away on her lap. Folk-singers of Kumaon sincerely wish the prosperity.

The description of some natural objects viz. the moon and the sun, is also similar in some respects. The sun and the moon are usually mentioned as being inseparable from each other. In some songs they

shine like two lighted lamps. In others they are taken to be real brothers; in some songs they become brother and sister while in others they are eternal father and mother.

When a bride departs from her father and mother, she compares her son to a flying bird who takes upto wings all of a sudden, leaving all in perplexity as to her destination. Many of such songs are current in all parts of India without exceptions.

Further, we may even compare the harvest songs, the seasonal songs, the ceremonial songs etc. of various regions. For example, songs relating to the spring season are found similar everywhere. The Munda people call them 'Jadur' songs by name, whereas the people of Kumaon and Garhwal give them another name i.e. the 'Chaitu' songs in their speech. The 'Malar and the 'Sawan' are seasonal songs which can be heard all over Bihar, Punjab and Rajasthan.

The labour songs are popular in North as well as in South India, sung mainly with the help of musical instruments, known as the 'Dholak' and the 'Mridanga'. In hill areas of Uttar Pradesh they are substituted by another group of songs known as the 'Hurkia Ball' which are sung slowly and slowly by village singers at the beginning of the rainy season when the rice plantation takes place.

Besides the uniformity of content, similarity of expression is also a characteristic of Indian folksongs. Itself in two way in the objects of comparison, and in the use of chosen symbols.

Folk-singers usually select the objects of comparison from their natural surroundings e.g. love flows down like a hilly stream, the face of a beloved is sweet like a mango fruit, a brave person fights like a full-grown tiger etc. The use of symbols is seen mainly when a singer wants to suggest the idea or when he does not prefer to describe it openly due to other restrictions. Thus we find the 'parrot' or the cow as oft-quoted symbols for the lover and the beloved. The cuckoo and peacock are favourite objects of reference on any auspicious occasion. Clouds and storms may be used as symbols for sexual relations and so on.

India has, therefore, produced some of the most appealing love-songs in this respect. In such a song from the peasantry of Kumaon, a son requests his father in this way—if you want to get me married, then ask for the hand of the daughter of Sunpati, the wool-trader. I saw her in a fair of Johar while she was tending the grazing sheep. Her body is frail like leaves of the 'Kainrua' and the 'Palang' (local vegetables), her face is pale and pleasing like a cucumber fruit (of local variety), she is attractive like a doll made of China-clay, her lips are thin like betal leaves, whereas her fine eyes glow like turpond full of water. she is such a beauty which I have seen nowhere in the earth.[6]

This in brief, is the nature of Indian folk-songs which are closely

connected to each other in their content and expression. However we must not ignore the various regional influences playing a significant part in forming the folklore of a particular place.

In India some regions are more close together than other regions and so are their folk-songs. The songs of Kashmir are obviously close in nature to the songs of Punjab and not to those of Bengal and Tamilnad to that extent. The songs of the Bhojpur region show greater affinity of Bihar for the same region. Even in present Uttar Pradesh, which has been the cradle of Indian culture, the Oudh region belongs to Rama, whereas Sri Krishna play a stronger role around Bhaj. Therefore, we will have to study this regional factor thoroughly while analysing and comparing the nature of these folk-songs of India.

REFERENCES :-

1. A SONG FROM THE OUDH REGION

1. Ganga Jamunwan Ke bichwan tewaiya ek tapu karai ho.
2. Ganga, apani lahar hamen detin men majdhar dubit ho.
3. Ki tohi sas-sasur dukh ki naihar duri base.
4. Tewau, ki tore Hari Pardesh kawan dukh dubau ho.
5. Ganga, na more sas-sasur dukh nahin naihar duri base.
6. Ganga, na more Hari pardesh Kokhi dukh dubab ho.
7. Jahu Tewaiya ghar apane ham na lahar debai ho.
8. Tewai, aj ke nawayen mahinwa horil tore hoihen ho.
9. Ganga, gahbari piari chareube horil jab hoihen ho.
10. Ganga, dehu Bhagirath put jagat jas gaib ho.

(At the confluence of the Ganges and Jamuna a woman is doing hard penance.

O Ganges ! If thou wert to offer thy waive, I would drown myself in the midstream.

Art thou pained at the slings of thy mother-in-law and father-in-law or is it that thy mother's place is far away ?

Hast thy husband gone to remote lands—what woe makes thee give thyself upto me ?

O Ganges ! Neither my in-laws torment me, nor my mother's place is remote.

O Ganges ! Nor my husband is in alin lands—I seek thy peaceful lap for I am issueless.

Go, O woman, go thy house, I refuse thee my waves.

O Woman ! Thou shalt have a son after nine months.

O Ganges ! I shalt present thee with a lovely yellow dhoti when son is born unto me.

O Ganges ! Bestow upon me a son like 'Bhagirath' and the world will sing thy praises).

2. A SONG OF MUNDA PEOPLE

1. Jambu bon kaji tana, hatumundi kabu sena.
2. Helare Lankapur, disuman da.

3. Asura tege dishumana, Ravan raja a raja kana.
4. Alare bonga buru do, Kako mana tinga do.
5. Horo-gari-sadom-mindi, Oromarom kera uri.
6. Helare-Soben-jeelu, boben ko jo jojoma.
7. Budu babu kaji tana, soban bir ko goso jana.
8. Hape girin jana do.

(Jambwant says—that we shall not cross the village boundary.
Lanka is a fearful country, it is the dwelling place of the demons.
(And) Ravan is their king, they do not offer prayers.
Man, monkey, horst, goat, buffalo and bull.
They eat the flesh of all these.
Budu Babu says that on hearing this
All of them were terrified.
All the monkeys became mute).

3. A SONG FROM THE NIMAR REGION

1. Ji ho aj mharo Devmandir lahlahe, aya miara ganpat rao.
2. Harkat pagran arambhio, ji ho ji mhari patsal lahlahe.
3. Aya mhara' Dashrath baap, harkat pagran arambhio.
4. Ji ho aj mhro palano lahlahe, ai mhari Kaushalya mai.
5. Harkat pagran arambhio ji ho aj mhro mandap lahlahe.
6. Aya mhara 'Rama' 'Lachman' bira harkat pagranarambhio.
7. Ji ho aj mhari Arati lahalhe, a mhari 'Subhadra' ben.
8. Harkat pagran arambhio.

(With Joy I have begun this auspicious task, O ; To-day my bridle-home rejoices.
Dasharath like father has come to my house, with joy I have begun this auspicious task.
O ! Today my cradle rejoices, Kaushalya like mother has come to house.
With joy I have begun this auspicious task O ; My mandap rejoices.
Brothers like Rama and Lakshman have come to my place, with joy I have begun this auspicious task.
O ; My Arti rejoices, Subhadra like sister has come to my house.
With joy I have begun this auspicious task).

4. A SONG FROM THE BUNDELA REGION

1. Pota lag raha maharaj ; juwaria ho gai man bhar ki.
2. Munshi ai Patwari ai ai tahsildar.
3. Hon lagi kurki juwaria ho gai man bhar ki.
4. Langa bik gayo lagara bikgayo.
5. Bik gai angiya tan ki, jawaria ho gai man bhar ki.
6. Raja ke bandhan ko sela bik gayo.
7. Fjhjiat ho gai ghar ghar ki, juwaria ho gai man bhar ki.

(O Sir ; Increased rent has to be given Jowar is being sold one rupee per maund.
Landlord's agent came, Patwari came, the Tahsildar has also come.
Goods are being seized, jowar is being sold one rupee per maund.
The langa has been sold, the langra has been sold.

The brassiere too, jowar is being sold one rupee per maund.
My husband's cloak has also been sold.
All the house has thus been put to shame, jowar is being sold one rupee per maund).

5. A SONG FROM THE GARHWAL REGION

1. Mahatama Gandhi baro bhagi cha, desh muluk ko anuragi cha.
2. Bakari ko dud wo khandu cha ; khadi ko lanu wo bandu cha.
3. Pandra August humundilaigi wo, angraijun sani bhagengi wo.
4. Ajadi hamun dilengi wo, raj kisanu dilengi wo.
5. Mahatama Gandhi baro tyagi cha, desh muluk ko anuragi cha.

(Mahatma Gandhi is favoured with fortune, he loves his country.
He drinks the milk of goat, he wears garments made of Khadi.
He gave us the 15th of August, he made the English flee the country.
He gave the rule to the peasants, he gave us independence.
Mahatma Gandhi has made a great sacrifice, he loves his country).

6. A SONG FROM THE KUMAON REGION

1. Baba lyai di che lyaido Sunapata shauka ki cheli.
2. Baba mangi di che mangi de Sunapata sauka ki cheli.
3. Beta kan dekhi cha, kan suni cha, Sunpata shauka ki cheli.
4. Baba 'Dhaula' ka kautiga dekhi, mala desha 'Johara' dekhi.
5. Baba, bakara charuna dekhi, bakari ki gwala dekhi.
6. Sunapata shauka ki cheli, Sunapata Shauka ki cheli.
7. Beta, kasi dekhi cha, kasi suni cha, sunapata shuaka ki cheli.
8. Baba, yasi cheli ni dekhi kaile, yasi cheli ni suni kaile.
9. Sunapata shauka ke cheli.....
10. 'Kainrue' ka kana jasi palangi ki dai jasi.
11. Baba, pingali kakari jasi chini ki guria jasi.
12. Sunapata shauka ki cheli.....
13. Baba, nimuan ka dana jasi, naringa ka phyasa jasi.
14. Pan jasa giza chana, ankhi jaunla tala chana.
15. Sunapata shauka ki cheli.....
16. Baba, mangi diche mangi de, Sunpata shauka ki cheli.

(O father ! If you have to do it, then bring the daughter of Sunapata Shauka for me.

Oh father ; If you have to beg, then beg Sunapati shauka for the hand of this daughter.

O Son ! Where did you see, where did you her the daughter of Sunapata Shauka ?

O father ! I saw her in the 'Dhaula' fair in the upper 'Johar'.

O father ; I saw her grazing goats, in the grazing ground.

The daughter of the Sunapati Shauka, the daughter of Sunapati Shauka.

O son ! What does she look like, what have you heard about the daughter of Sunapati Shauka ?

O father ; None has seen and none has heard about such a maiden.

The daughter of Sunapati Shauka.....

Delicate like the sting of 'Kainrua, fresh as spinach.
O father! Pale like a ripened cucumber, lovely like a doll of china clay.
The daughter of Sunapati Shauka.....
O father! She is like a ripened lemon and like a piece of orange.
Her lips are thin like betal leaves and eyes resemble a pond full of water.
The daughter of Sunapati Shauka.....
O father; If you have to beg then beg Sunapati Shauka for the hand of his daughter).

NOTES

1. Bhagirath--A prince who brought the Ganges on earth from heaven by his hard penance.
2. Budu-Babu—An imaginary folk-singer of the Munda people.
3. Dev-Mandir—A room in which small statues, made of clay or metal, are placed for daily worship.
4. Ganesh—A God, son of the Lord Shiva, with the trunk of a man and the head of an elephant. His name is mentioned at the beginning of every auspicious occasion.
5. Dasharath—A famous king of Ayodhya, father of Rama—the hero of the epic Ramayan.
6. Kaushalya—Wife of King Dasharath and mother of Rama.
7. Mandap—Place, decorated on auspicious occasions with banana leaves.
8. Rama & Lakshman--Sons of Dasharath.
9. Arti—A sort of incense burner on which are placed three or five lighted wicks, and which is moved in a circular motion.
10. Subhadra—The sister of Lord Krishna.
11. Jowar--A coarse grain.
12. Patwari—A minor ravenue official in the village.
13. Tashilder—A minor revenue officer.
14. Langa—A coloured petticoat made of thick cloth, worn on the outside by village-women.
15. Langara—A piece of cloth that covers the head.
16. Khadi—Home spun cloth prepared in India. Its use was advocated by Gandhi ji.
17. Shauka—A wool-trader of Kumaon hills.
18. Dhaula—The name of a place in the northern parts of Kumaon.
19. Johar—A part of the Pithoragarh district of the Kumaon region.
20. Kainrua--A wild local vegetable.

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INSTEAD OF EDITORIAL

Long before the struggle between the East Bengalees and the West Pakistan rulers entered the arena of politics, it had started on the cultural plane. It was the intelligentsia and the students of Bangla Desh who spearheaded this struggle.

The average Bengali Muslim had hoped in 1947 that he would be able to share the prosperity that was promised in Pakistan, the "ideal" homeland planned in accordance with the concept of "Islamic-brotherhood". After the creation of Pakistan, this hope gradually dwindled. The promised prosperity never came. The Bengalee Muslim found that the old system of exploitation was now being perpetrated by fellow Muslims or rather "the ideal Muslims" from West Pakistan. His faith in "one Islamic culture" was shaken. This made him acutely conscious of his own identity and origin.

The Bengalee Muslim gradually realised that by asking them to despise everything about Bengali culture for becoming better Muslims, the West Pakistani politicians and leaders were in fact making a calculated move for cultural subversion and a tool for exploitation.

It is this realisation which gave a social and emotional content to the new East Bengali nationalism that emerged in the years following partition of the sub-continent. A major issue around which this movement gathered momentum was the issue of the Bengali language.

As soon as they came to power, the rulers of Pakistan tried their best to wipe out this distinctive feature of uniqueness in the eastern wing. The people of East Bengal were not ready to give up their mother-tongue, which they loved and which they were proud of.

It is interesting to note that not only Bengali was the mother-tongue of almost all the inhabitants of the former East Pakistan but until Pakistan broke up, Bengali was spoken by 64.6 per cent of the total population of Pakistan. On the other hand, Urdu was spoken by only 7.2 per cent.

In fact, Urdu was actually the language of mainly the urban Muslims in North India who migrated to Pakistan. Yet, they tried to make Urdu the only state language, and impose it on East Bengal.

Two students' organisations, one "Tamaddun Majlis", and the other "The Muslim Students' League", later renamed as "The Students' League", took shape as the first non-communal Bengali students' organisations in Pakistan.

The Majlis and the League joined forces to form an Action Committee to carry on the struggle for the cause of the mother-tongue.

Soon they started a large-scale campaign for the collection of signatures to a mass-petition demanding that Bengalee should be made one of the state-languages of Pakistan. The petition was signed by thousands of Bengalees.

When on February 23, 1948, the Pakistan ,National Assembly met one of the Hindu members from East Pakistan brought forward a resolution claiming that Bengali, along with Urdu and English, should also be made one of the official languages of the Assembly.

This was rejected, and as usual, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, branded the resolution as a subversive attempt. "This is a matter of life and death for us. I strongly oppose this resolution, and hope the Assembly will reject such a resolution", he said.

"At first, I thought it is just an innocent resolution. But now I feel the main aim of the resolution is to create misunderstanding among the inhabitants of Pakistan and to put a barrier in the way of uniting all the Muslims of this country by means of a common language."

The mistake common to this as well as other similar later manoeuvres of the West Pakistani authorities was that they obstinately overlooked the aspirations of the people of East Bengal.

No sooner had the resolution been rejected than a massive protest was organised by the Action Committee, and on February 26, the students in Dacca staged a strike.

This was followed by a call for a general strike all over East Pakistan on March 11. The spontaneous response was overhelming. So far, the protest was limited mainly to students and intellectuals.

Now their demands were supported by millions of people from all walks of life. March 11, 1948, thus perhaps, laid the foundation on which the super-structure of the present liberation movement has been built.

The students of Dacca stage picketing at the gates of the Secretariat. The police made lathi-charges, fired volleys of tear gas, and arrested a number of their leaders, including Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, but this failed to put a stop to the movement. For the next four days East Bengal witnessed a series of massive demonstrations in which the students and the common people alike participated.

Finally, the then Chief Minister of East Pakistan, Khwaja Nazimuddin, was compelled to comply with the demands of the people.

He had to set free all the arrested student leaders and meet the representatives of the Action Committee.

In this conference Nazimuddin accepted their eightpoint charter. Among things, he agreed :

(1) That in the April session of the provincial legislative assembly he would table a resolution accepting Bengali as the official language of the province after English ceased to be the official language.

(2) The medium of instruction in East Pakistan would be Bengali.

The Bills, with slight amendments, were duly passed by the provincial legislature on April 6.

Thus came to an end the first phase of the language movement in East Pakistan. The success of the movement filled the Bengalees with hope and enthusiasm.

The West Pakistani clique, however, was not ready to give up. On February 7, 1949, in a meeting of the Central Education Advisory Board at Peshawar, the Minister of Education of Pakistan struck the next blow.

With a rare duplicity, he announced that Bengali should henceforth be written in Arabic script.

Once again the people of East Pakistan raised their voice of protest. All through the year in different parts of East Bengal massive demonstrations opposed this attempt of negating the resolution passed by the provincial legislature.

Finally, in December, the opposition became so strong that the East Pakistan Government tried to placate the angry feelings of the people by issuing a Press statement.

"Whether Bengali should be written in Bengali or Arabic script should be decided by the free will of the Bengali people. It will not be discussed in the meeting of the Central Advisory Board," it said. In practice, however, the attempt was continued by the Government.

From April, 1950, they opened 20 centres in differents districts of East Pakistan to teach adults how to write Bengali in Arabic script. They also appointed a committee of educationists to work out the possibilities of such a proposal.

However, when the report was submitted by this Committee, it was found that their recommendations ran contrary.

The Government kept quiet about the report. For the next year and a half no further move was made by the Central Government on the language issue.

Then, on January 26, 1952, Khwaja Nazimuddin, by this time, the Governor General of Pakistan, announced in the All-Pakistan Muslim League conference that Urdu would be the only State-language of Pakistan. Protests burst out once again in East Pakistan.

Students went on strike, on January 30 and on February 4, all over the country. The Government tried to crush the movement, but failed. One of the leading newspapers of Pakistan, the *Pakistan Observer,* was banned because of its support for the cause of the movement and its editor, Abdus Salam Khan, was arrested.

The provincial legislature was suposed to have its budget meet-

ing on February 21, but the Action Committee decided to have a protest march to the Assembly on that day.

In anticipation, the Government promulgated Section 144 prohibiting all demonstrations. But, the situation was tense by this time. Dangers and difficulties had not deterred them in the past and could not frighten them now.

The students decided to carry on with their demonstrations. The police opened fire on their peaceful procession, and among others, student leaders Rafiq Barkat, Jabbar and Shafikur lost their lives.

The whole of East Pakistan now burst out in the protest at these barbaric atrocities. The common people came forward to rally behind the cause. The Government tried to create confusion by describing the whole incident as "engineered by the Communists and Indian agents," the usual scapegoats. Hundreds of leaders of the movement were arrested, but the movement could not be suppressed.

In the 1954 election, the Muslim League suffered a terrible defeat. Out of 237 Muslim seats, they lost 228.

In 1956 the Central Government was forced to accept Bengali as one of the State languages of Pakistan. But by then the damage had been done and the Bengalee consciousness, its awareness of a distinct entity with the distinct cultural heritage had sunk deep and there was no going back. The younger leadership in Bangla Desh now became partners in the overall larger political and economic struggle to free themselves from the colonial regime of West Pakistani military rulers.

No wonder, when the West Pakistani military and police opened their campaign in March this year to destroy "the Hindu-tainted culture" of East Bengal and to teach the Bangla Desh Muslims how to be "true Musalmans", their first taget for massacre was the Dacca University students and teachers who were shot down ruthlessly. Atrocities were, then, repeated in every other university, college or town of East Bengal.

Like a Phoenix, the East Bengali spirit of nationalism did not, die when the flower of its youth was ruthlessly cut down by the West Pakistani Military Junta. Out of the ashes it is sure to born a free and independent Bangla Desh, with its basic principles of democracy, socialism, secular nationalism and the establishment of an egalitarian society, every peace loving, democratic and peoples government should help the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh without any hesitation. We also believe that the Government of India should immediately recognise Government of Bangla Desh.

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SANKAR SEN GUPTA

A STUDY ON GANESHA: A DISTINCT MEMBER OF THE DURGA FAMILY IN BENGAL

Ganesha in its present meaning is said to be a god of wisdom, prudence, learning; and lord of hosts of Siva. He is also known as the remover of obstacles, leader of troops of inferior deities, son of Siva or Parvati or has come of from the scurf of Parvati's body. He is a pot-bellied fat man having yellow or red colour. He has four hands and one-tusked elephant head. In all the four hands of his he has some instruments. He sometimes rides on a rat or attends by one as his vehicle. He is a distinct member of the Durga family.

By Durga family, we mean, goddess Durga; her husband Mahadeva, two sons—Kartikeya and Ganesha, two daughters—Lakshmi and Saraswati and one daughter-in-law, *Kalàbau* or *Nabapatrika* or the wife of Ganesha.

Although Ganesha has been included in the Durga family yet he has an indegeneous origin. He is one of the latest brahminical deities and is not found in the Ramayana and some of the Puranas and also is excluded from the original Mahabharata. He first appears in Yajnavalkya Smriti as a demon taking possession of men and hindering their success.

But now Ganesha is being worshipped by the Hindus first among all their gods goddesses. He is often seen in Saivite shrines.

A Member of the Durga family

It is a common belief that Durga comes to visit her father with her children in autumn when her Puja is held in Bengal. It is the greatest festival of the Bengalees. This festival is known as *akalbodhan* or premature rousing of Goddess Durga. As a member of the Durga family Ganesha has got a place in the *mandap* with Durga and

others. The Durga Worship in the present form in Bengal started not earlier than the 16th century which we know from the social historians of the State.

In the Puja-*mandap* Goddess Durga is seen with her two daughters—Lakshmi and Saraswati, two sons—Kartika and Ganesha together was her daughter-in-law, *Kalabau* or *Nabapatrika*. Lord Siva or Mahadeva, the husband of Goddess Durga, is absent from the scene. He observes the members of his family sitting on the middle region and thus is drawn on the *chalchitra*, a traditional type of folk painting of Bengal, which is drawn for decoration purpose.

Ganesha's wife Kalabau or Nabapatrika, according to some scholars, is none but Vanadurga or the Durga of the forest, who was worshipped by the primitive people in early days. She is also worshipped as Goddess Lakshmi. To some she is *Nabadurga* which is placed in the front of *Bel*-tree (Ficus religiosa) and is worshipped for invocation of Durga. In course of brahmanisation of many primitive or aboriginal deities, she has admitted to the higher goddess and then been given a place in the Durga family as the wife of Ganesha, with a new name, Kalabau or Nabapatrika.

In fact, Nabapatrika was a seasonal and agricultural deity first. She, even now, is made of a life-size plantain plant, and is look like a newly wedded bashful woman. Her breasts are represented by a pair of wood-apples supported by a piece of sugarcane. The leaves of the plant is twisted like a bow with the help of the fibre of the plant represents her hair. She is dressed with a red-bordered *Sari* (costume of the women-folk of Bengal). Other articles, such as *kachu* (arum) haridra (turmeric) *jab* (barley), *darimba* (pomergranate), *ashoka* (saroca-indica), and *dhanya* (paddy) are necessary for giving her a form. These articles represent different parts of her body like ear, nose, female organ, and so on and these are closely related to agriculture. Therefore scholars are of the opinion that the very structure of Nabapatrika is an example as how the adjustment took place between the primitive and brahminic cults.

Siddhidata

Along with Nabapatrika, let us look to Ganesha's head and his *vahana* or vehicle—elephant head and rat—which symbolize his power to vanquish every obstacle whether it be by traping the jungle or by entering a grannary. The partner of Ganesha, his vehicle, and head speak of his direct link with agriculture. This can also be ascertained looking at the instruments he holds in his four hands. All the four instruments that are found with him are needed by the peasants of India for agricultural operations. A host of scholars have discussed in their

respective studies as to how a number of agricultural deities or domestic gods and goddesses of the primitive or aboriginal people been associated with brahmanic or 'Greater Hindu Tradition' from the 'Lower' or non-brahminic tradition at a later date by the process of Hinduization. As soon as they got their place in the brahminic fold, they were regarded as higher gods and goddesses and began to be treated with same amount of reverence, if not more, as they had for their own gods and goddesses. In this way Ganapati or Ganesha has come to the Hindu fold and because of his tremendous popularity he was accepted as *Siddhidata* or the god of granting success or prosperity. For this quality of his, Ganesha has then come to the fold of the traders as their god of success.

It is to be remembered that perhaps during the days of the Mahabharata when Vyasa, it is said, employed Ganesha as his scribe for writing the Mahabharata, the primitive deity Ganesha has come to the fold of the people of the Greater Hindu Tradition or how can he perform his duty as a scribe of a Hindu sage? As soon as Ganesha got entry into the Hindu fold, he began to be regarded as the supreme deity of the Hindus.

Ganesha or Ganapati or the Lord of the masses is the ruler of all 'ganas' or multitude of people. He presides over the assemblage of transcendental and perceptible elements. He rules over all the aspects of Brahman, whether manifested or not. This Ganapati is also known as *Bighnesha* and *Bighnaraja* or one who removes all obstacles. There are some people who place him with the Buddhist deity *Bighnantaka*. It is interesting to remember that in the Rig Veda and other works of the Hindus Ganapati is an alias of Brihaspati or Brahmanaspati where he is a god of learning and learneds, viz., the god of elites and not a god of the masses. When Ganesha was promoted to the God of learning he became Siddhidata.

The synonym of Ganesha is Vinayaka and Vinayaka was the name of a class of demons who flourished in ancient times. "It may be that the Aryans either did not know or had a very imperfect method of writing and that when necessity arose commiting to writing the gradually accumulating storehouse of lore and legends, they borrowed a scribe from the indegenous tribe of the Vinayakas, who for his outstanding service in the cause of the preservation of Indian culture was ultimately enabled and exalted to the rank of a god" writes Sur. Presumably in this way Ganesha or Vinayaka came to the Hindu fold as a supreme God.

Kshetra Pala

In the Purana Ganapati is said to be a god of the people and because of its wide popularity among the masses it has got a setting up in the

Hindu fold. The god is well-known for his power of removing obstacles, if appeased properly, and is also known for his granting success. It is believed that if any work is done by propitiating this god that is bound to be successful and for this quality of his, Ganapati has been accepted not only by the Hindus at large but also by the Jainas and the Buddhists, in their own ways. He is propitiated by all at the beginning of every undertaking whether it be a journey, the building of a house, writing a book —or even a letter. He, as has been said above, at the dictation of Vyasa, wrote the Mahabharata, even though no *pauranic* image of this god is available. The earlier image of Ganesha discovered in India is identified as an image of the Gupta period, although his *dhyanmantra* or divine contemplation is as old as *jajnyakiupanishad* or more than two thousand and five hundred years old. Therefore, it can be supposed that Ganesha or Ganapati has come to the Hindu fold not earlier than the Gupta period. Prior to that, he was the presiding deity of agriculture, or in other words, he was a Kshetrapala with half-animal-half-man form.

There were, it is known to everybody, some *Yakshas* or demi-gods entrusted with the care of treasures who had half-animal-half-man figures. Might be Ganesha has his early relation with the Yakshas. Kshetrapala appearas to be a Saivaite deity. In one place he is called as the son of Siva *(Sambhu tanaya);* in other place, he is said to be an incarnation of Siva. This Siva is not Maheswara, he is Mahadeva or a domestic god of the folk people of Bengal.

It should not be forgotten here that the pre-Aryan peoples of the Indus Valley worshipped mother goddess cult which originated from the worship of Mother Earth—in the sense of the personification of the vegetative force in the earth. Now agriculture being the leading pursuit in the civilization that developed in Euphrates-Tigris and the Indus Valley, it is natural that the chief deity worshipped in the various political centres of the earliest periods of history of these countries should be the personification of the power of vegetation. The conception of such a power rests on the analogy suggested by the process of procreation, which may briefly be described as the commingling of the male and female principles. Later when agriculture came to be practised, the transference of the idea of feminine fertility to an earth goddess was obvious enough. For, to the primitive man the plants have as much a 'soul' as the human beings. That being the case the primitive man applied the same method of stimulating fertility in woman as to the fertilization of the soil. Thus for the performance of the magical operation, images of the nude mother goddess, as was found at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, came into being. Along with the mother goddess the pre-Aryan people worshipped three-faced male deity which may be identified as (i) Yogisvara or Mahayogi

(ii) Pasupati and (iii) Trimukha. They reached the high-water mark of their powers and popularity in the periods of Brahmanas. It appears as if there was in ancient India side by side with popular feminine deities numerous male divinities as well, all or many of which gathered round the nucleus of the Vedic *Rudragni* to give rise to the later cult of Siva. In later Siva there are many traces of the conceptions commonly associated with vegetation spirits and his phallic cult is condemned by the Rigveda but which doubtless remained as popular among the aborigines as it now is among Siva worshippers throughout India. It seems that by the time of the Ramayana Siva had already been exalted to the rank of a Supreme deity but even then he himself is known as a peasant. He is also the presiding deity of the agriculture. All these mean that either as a peasant or as a deity he is closely related to agriculture. As Siva is the oldest deity of agriculture it is supposed that the other agricultural deities like Kshetrapala and Ganesha are either related with Siva or have enmity with him for obvious reason. In Hinduism Siva-Sakti are worshipped not only in anthropomorphic forms, but also in the symbolic form of Linga and Yoni. The existence of the cult of Linga and Yoni in the Indus Valley is attested by the realistic representations of the phallus as ringstones. The Linga cult in India is older than chalcholithic period of Mahenjadaro. Phallus plays a considerable part in the religious and magical ideology of the pre and non-Aryan people of India. The cult of Linga became enbedded in brahmanism in the Epic period. It seems to have been well established in Hinduism in the 2nd century B.C. The development of Saktism gave a great fillip to the propagation of the cult. Throughout the Tantric literature we have injuction that all religious merit will go in vain if one does not worship linga.

Let us return to Kshetrapala who is depicted as a supreme deity of agriculture and who rules over the entire corn field and hence he must have some relation with linga cults. It is well-known that the word 'plough' for *langala* was borrowed from Austro Asiatic word *linga* (meaning penis). When *langula* was introduced in Sanskrit vocabulary it came to mean both plough and penis. In the Sutra and Mahabharata a form of *langula* is found to mean both penis and tail (of animal). From 'penis' one can pass to the sense of 'plough' and 'tail'. This is evident from the coital act and the act of ploughing by which one digs up the earth for depositing the seed. From this it would appear that phallus had an important role in agrarian community and they have developed the idea of phallus worship in their own way. Thus there came Siva, Kshetrapala and others. Worship is offerred to them in all important agricultural rites and rituals with a view to safeguard the place of worship and consequently the whole performance. The one who takes

resource to a plot of land without worshipping Kshetrapala is supposed to be oppossed by serious obstacles.

This deity is again known as *dvarapala* or door-keeper. All these qualities of the Kshetrapala are found with the Ganesha which can also be had in different pauranic stories. In a brief study we will discuss this point here. First we will see how he has been identified with the Durga family in Bengal.

Durga worship in Bengal

It is said that the Durga Puja started in Bengal following Ramchandra's out of season invocation of Durga *(akalbodhan).* In order to get Devi's blessings for winning in his battle with Ravana, the demon king, Ramchandra invoked her. This puja has an astronomical origin according to a host of scholars.

In Indian astronomy and astrology the twelve months of the year represent the names of twelve signs of zodiac, and each month is named after the sign of which the sun is supposed to be during the month. Thus the Bengali month *Baisakh* is *Mesha* or the ram ; and *Jyostha* is *Brisha* or the bull. Similarly *Aswin,* in which month the Durga festival is held, is *Kanya* or virgin following on the back of *Bhadra* or *Bhadrapada* or the lion. The image worshipped in the Durga Puja is a virgin lady on the back of a lion. But Durga is not indeed supposed to be a virgin, she is fabled as a married goddess ; the wife of Siva and the mother of Ganesha. However, what may be contended for is not that the present worship is that of a virgin, but at the original institution of the festival, the worship was that of a virgin ; in fact, of the constellation virgo. The image actually worshipped even now is that of a young female, and Durga, as thereby represented, is popularly described as *Sarosi,* or in her sixteenth years. Just as it is possible that the obsolete deity *Madana,* the god of love, gave place to the popular Krishna, that is to say, from *Madanotsab* to *Dol* or *Holiutsab,* so it is possible that the constellation gave place to an almost equally popular deity.

Similarly has come to us *Lakshmi,* the goddess of wealth and prosperity. The ancient from of *Lakshmi* is *a-Lakshmi.* It is for this, *a-Lakshmi* is invoked first in the worship of *Lakshmi* on she is elder and then the worship of Lakshmi is held. She was an agricultural deity and was propitiated for good harvest. Our *Lakshmi* retains this character and further she gets the authority on wealth in which she presides over. Our wealth is agriculture, and so, she is invoked at least four times a year, and is getting daily worship in every Hindu household. Among the four festivals of *Lakshmi,* she is first worshipped in the month of *Agrahayana*

(November-December) just before the winter harvest commences. Next worship of her is held in the month of *Pous* (December-January) when the winter crop has been or has nearly been gathered in. Third worship is made in the month of *Choitra* (March-April) before the first rains are expected, and fourth worship is held in *Bhadra* (August-September) just as early crop has been gathered in. These facts are calculated and lead to the inferance that festivals in honour of *Lakshmi* were originally and purely an agricultural festivals. Now Lakshmi's place in the Durga-*mandap* along with Ganesha, her brother, also bear testimony to Durga's relation with agriculture. Besides, the synonym of Durga, as *Annapurna, Shakambhari* etc. too place her within the agricultural world. We will further clarify this point taking Ganesha as the centre of our study.

It will be necessary here to look at the Kartick who is the brother of Ganesha and is also seen in the *Durga-mandap,* as is said before. Kartick too has its astronomical origin. The name of the god, as well as the month in which he is worshipped, is derived from the star Kartika. Kartick is fabled in the Puranas as the son, born or adopted of Uma or Durga, the sister of twenty seven *Nakshatras* or stars. May it not be that he was probably fabled as the son at first, and not as sister of the stars, but one of those stars themselves, that from which he derives his name, and mythology coming after astronomy, transferred its membership to its favourite god ? If so, it can be said that Kartick must have originally signified nothing more than a festival in honour of star *Kritika,* then it probably led to the supposition of a god who represented Kartika. Lastly, Kartika came to be known as the son of Uma, the sister of Kritika and then got his place in Durga-*mandap* .If there by any truth in the foregoing supposition, the Hindu festivals may, in regard to their origin, be classified, according to Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay, as follows: (i) solastitial festival, (ii) Astral festival, (ii) Seasonal festival (iv) Agricultural festival, (iv) Mythological festival and (v) festivals which apparently owe their origin to dread of some physical agent of mischief The origin of Ganesha may be had in this division of Hindu festival.

Even though, it can be said that in the whole range of the Hindu festivals, it is impossible to trace a historical origin. Indeed, historical festivals can scarcely be expected to be found among a nation devoid of historical associations. Keeping in view of these characteristics of the Hindu deities and festivals, which have taken their present characters from assimilation and dissimilation process, we will further explain why we consider Ganapati or Ganesha as an agricultural deity, and will also see how in the process if sanskritisation he was upgraded as the god of success of everything.

We have already discussed Ganesha's relation with Kshetrapala, the

agricultural deity. Why the common people, in course of time, accepted him as the god of success in stead of the god of agriculture is not very clear to us. But it happened. Thus the urges connected with the worship of Ganesha had in their origin no necessary connection with brahmanic religion. Let us examine this point by putting the birth stories of Ganesha.

Birth Stories

According to *Skandapurana*, Ganesha was ignorant of the fact that Siva was his father, nor could the latter recognise Ganesha as his son. So each of them tried to establish their own supremacy and naturally hostile to the other. At last in a fight between the two, that is to say, Siva and Ganesha, Siva beheaded Ganesha. Unable to bear the loss of her son, Parvati disclosed their relationship and prayed to Siva that the life of her beloved son be brought back at any cost. Being thus insisted on, Siva secured head of an elephant and attached it to the trunk when Ganesha was alive again.

In *Sivapurana* almost the same story with slight variation is found. Here the fight took place with living dolls. Siva often went out for hunting leaving Parvati in a desolate house. On one of the occasion *Parvati* devised an ingenious method of guarding herself. She took up a lump of clay, made a doll and initiated life into it. The doll was then engaged at the gate to guard her. He was ordered not to allow anybody to enter the house and as a faithful *dvarapala* or door-keeper, he stopped Siva even, when he was about to enter Parvati's chamber. This led a fight between Siva and Ganesha and in this fight Siva beheaded the doll or Ganesha and then he managed to secure the head of an elephant to get back the life of the beheaded one.

What is supposed from these and other stories is that, Siva and Ganesha were once gods of two different societies, each unknown to other, and a good deal of struggle had to overcome when the god of one required to be accepted by the other. The enmity ended with the settlement that a relation of father and son be established between two gods. Here one finds a process as to how two powerful gods came in understanding with one another and began to live peacefully. This point may further be substantiated with a large number of myths and legends found in Pauranic literature. The legend of Ganesha is available in the *Lingapurana, Brahmabaibartapurna, Brihadharmapurana, Varahapurana, Matsyapurana, Agnipurana, Vamanapurna*, and *Garurapurani*. But one wonders that in their stories of depicting Ganesha, they differ on more points than they agree upon.

According to one myth, Ganesha's proud mother showed him to Siva whose glance burnt the child's head to ashes. Lord Brahma advised her to replace it with the first head she could come across. As soon as she found an elephant, she managed to cut off its head and got its head for placking with the body of Ganesha. Thus Ganesha came to life. Now she was grieved looking at the half-animal-half-man form of Ganesha. All her sorrows ended when it was learnt that her son will have to be worshipped first prior to worship of any other god or goddess. This is no doubt, a brahmanic interpolation for admitting an agricultural deity in their pantheon.

In another story it is said that during one of the twilight periods along with the sages a number of unworthy people had obtained access to heaven by visiting the shrines of Somnath, with the result that heaven was full of bursting while the hells were empty. With Indra, as their spokesman, the gods asked Siva for his help in rectifying this situation. On his advice they approached Parvati, who by rubbing her body produced a being with four arms and an elephant's head. This being would induce in men a desire for riches so strong that they would never think of spending their time in pilgrimage. Thereby they would miss the chance of going to heaven that way.

Another story relates that Siva was approached many gods and sages; who had been reflecting on the fact that there was no obstacle to the performance of good or bad deeds; they wished Siva to create for them a being who would oppose the commision of sins. Siva pondered for sometimes on how he could help in this matter and then turned his face to Parvati. As he looked at her, a radient youth of great beauty had endowed with the qualities of Siva sprang from his dazzling countennance. All the heavenly hosts were amazed and captivated by his beauty. But Parvati was angried and jealous of her husband's son. She cursed him to be ugly to have a pot-belly and to have an elephant's head. Siva countered this curse by declaring that the being whom he had thus created should be called Ganesha, son of Siva, leader of Siva's hosts; and that any success and failure should derive from him. Further, he should be invoked first on all occasion of invocation and those who did not do so would doom to failure.

Another version of this myth ascribes Ganesha's deformity not to Parvati's curse, but to Siva's crime of killing the sun; though he had restored the sun to life. Kasyapa had pronounced a curse whereby Siva's son was in the habit of surprising Parvati by making her secret visit. It has already been said in a similar story that as she disliked this habit she, one day, scarped the scurf from her body, and mixed it with oils and oinments, formed into a man's figure. Then she gave it life by sprinkling

it with water from the Ganges. She then named this figure as Ganesha and set it outside her room to guard her from any undesirable person or from frequent visits. When Siva tried to enter to the chamber of Parvati he too, being annoyed to door-keeper, cut off Ganesha's head. Parvati was so overcome with grief when she emerged to find her son dead. To satisfy Parvati, Siva sent out messangers to seek another head of any living being for him. The curst creature they found was an elephant, so they brought its head back which was then planted on Ganesha's shoulder and he came to life.

Ganesha's loss of one tusk is explained by the legend in which Parasuram went to visit Siva when he was sleeping then. At that time Ganesha was door-keeper of Siva and naturally he opposed Paraurama's entrance. Parasurama being angried threw his axe at him. Recognizing the axe, which was his father's, Ganesha permitted it to severe one of his tusks. Since then he is one tusked. This Rama is not Ramchandra of Auyodhya, he was Parasurama, who killed his mother Renuka being so asked by his father. He also wanted to de-Kshatrise the world for which he attacked them not less than twenty one times *(Parasuramah Prithibing Nihkshatriyan Akorat)*.

It is said in Brahmavaibartapurana that Krishna was reborn as Ganesha. This Ganesha was a babe of exquisite beauty. But the beautiful head fell off at the sinister look of Sani or Saturn and ultimately it was replaced by the head of Oiravat, Indra's elephant. It is stated in Varaha, Matsya and Skanda Puranas that Ganesha was never a headless being Some say, he was born out of the laughter of Mahadeva.

The Brothers

In the Markandeyapurana, Kartikeya and Ganesha are two brothers, of whom Kartikeya is the elder. Both of them wanted to marry but who will marry first? Siva settled the dispute by saying "Whoever of you can return home earlier after visiting all the holy places of the world will have the privilege of marrying first." Kartikeya set up at once on a tour round the world, mounted on the suppersonic peacock. But Ganesha, who seemed to be bewildered for a while, hit upon a tricky plan. He walked seven times round his parents and submitted his claim for marriage. Siva asked him to explain his claim, replied Ganesha, "Parents are said to represent all the holy places in the world, and hence I have fulfilled the terms by rounding them seven times". The parents could not argue with him in a better way and they arranged his marriage with Kalabau. In this way Ganesha married prior to his elder brother, Kartikeya. And for this act of Ganesha Kartikeya remained a lifelong bachelor.

In another story it is said that, Ganesha has two views Siddhi and Buddhi., His brother Kartikeya and he were rivals. Once they agreed to decide their claim by winning a race in which the first complete the circut of the world should be the winner and consequently will marry first. Kartikeya set off and afer long and weary travels returned home. There he found that Ganesha was already married to the two girls. In his reply to Kartikeya as to how he got wedded, Ganesha said, that he made the whole tour of the world in the course of his deep study of the scriptures—he was so fitted for learning and logic so he had completed his tour of the world long before Kartikeya did.

Kartikeyta, who is also known as Skanda, was a devil power and was worshipped by the masses to get rid of all obstacles they face in their living. Again, in the Skandapurana, Kartikeya is said to be the god of thieves, he composes treatises on theft. He is also a beloved deity of the prostitutes. His association with thiefs and prostitutes speak of his connection not only with the evil powers but also with the men of lower strata. Even though, he has got a place, in course of time, among the brahmanic cult and was then attained the position of the commander-in-chief of the Gods *(Devasenapati* or melitia-head of the Gods and Goddesses).

The Study

We know that the rural ghosts or semi-gods have often been accepted as Kshetrapala. The Varahapurana cares to admit that Gauri, Ganesha, Siva, Kartikeya, Aditya and the Matris as Kshetrapalas or presiding deities of the cornfield. The Lakshmi and Nabapatrika, the two belong to Durga family, as a daughter and daughter-in-law of Durga, are also described as agricultural deities. We have further said as to how Vanadurga or Durga of the forest has been linked with Devi Durga or *Annapurna* and have also seen the relation of Ganesha with the above deities. These deities were, during their origin, presiding deities of agriculture. As Ganesha, at the time of his origin, was an agricultural deity, so presumably, is the reason why the head of the Ganesha is like that of an elephant; because elephant is the biggest of the animals and who is powerful enough to cause to destroy harvests. Ganesha's mounting on a rat, which animal is powerful enough to destroy crops and is considered to be an enemy to agriculture, speak that even when this god is admitted to Hindu fold, he had been permitted to retain all his old holdings which he had when he was a Kshetrapala, in order to come to an agreement with the rulers and the ruled.

In this connection we may recall, the mount of Lakshmi, by whose

grace the harvest flourish, is an owl, the famous rat eater. Incidentally, the owl is associated in the west with witchcraft. However, animals were an important element in the religious ideas of the pre-Aryan people of India. This is evident from the seals of Mahenjadaro and Harappa. Various animals like humped bull, tiger, rhinoceros, monkey, elephant, snake, owl, peacock, rat, swan, lion and other queer animals are regarded as sacred, so they are worshipped either individually or as *vahanas* of particular gods and goddesses, and in the evolution of the religious ideas the rimorphism of deities had preceeded anthropomorphism. This of deities ultimately developed into the idea of the *vahanas* of Hindu deities, in later periods. The *vahanas* are chosen with particular care considering their necessities. Thus the *vahana* of Ganesha, the rat, has its special significance.

It is not only the *vahanas* of Ganesha but also the instruments he holds in his four hands need mentioning in this connection. Ganesha holds a goad, a club, a discus, and an axe together with a plough-share in his four hands, all these implements are needed for a ploughman for agricultural operation which leave already been mentioned.

Another point. How Siva and Durga became parents of Ganesha? The secret lies in the fact that when the former two had already made their seat among the masses and were just going to be recognised by the classes in the transmuted form, our Ganesha too was very much eager for an upward move. In other word, in order to rule the masses the classes accepted Vanadurga as the Goddess Durga, a-Lakshmi as goddess Lakshmi, Maheswara as Mahadeva or Rudra or Siva so they have accepted Ganesha as the god of success giving him a lift from his old position. In so doing there have been an adjustment and readjustment.

In this process, Siva, who himself is a peasant and the husband of *annapurna* or the goddess of rice or food, and also is known as Pashupati or the lord of the beast came to be known as all powerful God Lord Siva. As Siva is accepted as an all powerful god, so Ganesha or Ganapati is accepted as the god of success in the process of brahmanisation of non-brahmanic cults. Scholars are of the opinion that Siva and Durga were first deities of the so-called lower order upgraded by the brahmin logician at a time when necessary.

Siva is the lord of beasts or *Pasupati* or a god of beastly nature or human being, he has long matted hair with snake as his costume and he lives either in the mountain or in a creamation ground. He is very poor. His mount is bull. This bull is a symbol of strength and fertility, but to the Greek, bull or the Minotaur is a symbol of evil and oppression. This bull is 'a must' in agricultural operation in Bengal even these days.

Parvati or Durga or Sakti is known as Bhagabati. Folk people consider the worship of cow as the worship of goddess Bhagabati, or in other words Bhagabati is represented as a cow or *go-bhagabati*. That she is originated from the Earth Goddess is also known by her appellation as *Annapurna, Shakambhari* and the type names. It is from this analogy also one can link Bhagabati or Durga and Mahadeva or Siva with peasantry. Likewise Ganesha, a distinct member of the family of Durga, is regarded as a presiding deity of agriculture or a Kshetrapala who brings wealth and happiness to the masses, if he is properly appeased.

In this way, these deities often took the forms of savage people like Kiratas, Villas, Savara-shavari, and others to some people. Durga festival is also known as the *savara-festival* or *savarotsab* to many. In respect of propitiation and observances of rituals, in general in their worship, Sanskritic influence of brahminical types, constitute the thematic background, and this usually appeal to the mind of the common people. This brings the different communities close to each other who participate temporarily in such festival and worship forgetting barriers of caste, rank and status. Thus in its forms of pagentry and rivalry, festivals like Durga worship binds individual and groups in a social tie.

Conclusion

Without going to further details about Ganesha let us remember that every deity has a story or history of its origin. At the primordial stage our idea was limited to perceptible obejects. So we transmitted our idea of god to the sun, the moon, the storms, the rains and the floods, and we worshipped them accordingly. With the same sort of devotion we also worshipped many birds and beasts, fishes and other animals, who could either frighten us or yield some benefit to us. Whatever obstacles did we met with, at this stage, we ascribed cause to one of the powers in Nature and thus a tendency grow to believe in ghosts and supernatural being. From this tendency there came into being many gods and goddesses with different ideas and forms.

Our common people conceive and create as many gods and goddesses as they like. According to Hindu idea there are as many as thirty-three crores of gods and goddesses and according to Swami Vivekananda every human being is a god *(jatra jib tatra siva)*. The class or the intellegentsia who are numerically negligible in comparison to the huge popuation, take up these deities for receiving mass support and have seasoned them with rhyme and reason. In course of time this resulted in the composition of a scripture where orthodox Hindusim with the Brahmin at the top, did infiltrate into a complex cultural setting. As a result, the traditional

brahminical cults have transplanted and somewhat assimilated into the matrix of primitive and regional autochthonous folk-cults.

This process and subsequent actions started long ago and still hold good. The present glorious seat of Ganesha was not built in a day or two and the process of assimilation goes for him too. This naturally retraded the growth of present society in an orthodox or conservative way, due to frequent adjustments and accommodation in their ways of living and religious performances. This indirectly generated some sort of radicalism in the socio-religious life in Bengal. Here cultivating castes and fortune-seeking people commonly dominate the society. Here are the subdued autochthonous tribal, aboriginal and other folk derivetives who are not directly within the brahminical fold or have not aeccepted their philosophy in *toto* even after living together for centuries. Non-brahminical dominance influenced the people of Bengal in general to evolve their own gods and goddesses which again have got their new forms coming into the contacts of the brahmins. It is from this process of making gods and goddesses there appeared Siva, Sakti, Ganesha and others. In a sesnse they are domestic gods to whom the common people pray for everything. Naturally therefore there would be either some sort of conservatism or radicalism among the people of Bengal and from this conservatism or radicalism Ganesha or Ganapati who was a Kshetrapala, or an aboriginal deity first, has been accepted by the brahmins as *siddhidata ganesha* and placed him as a distinct member of the Durga family. Even the most conservative Hindu accepts Ganesha as such. Side by side there is radical thought about the origin of the deity because of his forms, that is to say, half-animal-half-man body. This led one to believe that Ganesha, although has been accepted as a god of success, is a presiding deity of agriculture. It is from the process of change he has been accepted by the traders as the god of success and others as Siddhidata.*

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Sri Onkar Prasad

THE CHAU-DANCE

The Mundas of Chotanagpur are very much fond of music and dance. Each type of dance is related to festivals and ceremonies. On each festive occasion they dance in the Akhara[1] for one night and the following day. Youngmen and women deck themselves with attractive flowers and visit the Akhra. The woman dance in a row linked in pairs arm in waist or arm in arm. The men stand aside. Some of them handle the musical instruments such as Dulki, Nagra and Dumang. Boys and girls do not mix during the dance. They dance to the tune of musical instruments. The choral in music, the clapping of hands, the stamping of feet and the rhythmic movements of the body help one another in crystallising and enhancing the group emotions.

On the basis of difference in style, their dances are known by different names: the Nir-Jadur, the Or-Jadur ,the Japi, the Gena, the Jarga, the Khemta the Bin-sari, the Jhumar, the Damkach and the Paika. Besides these, their most typical dance is the Chau.

The word "Chau" is supposed to have been derived from "Chadm". Linguistically it may be shown that the surmise is correct :—

Chadm> Chaum>[2] Chau.

It seems that "Chau" was derived from Chaumand the nasal sound was dropped. It may also be pointed out that the word "Chadm" is just a veriation of "Chalika". Thus to define—**Chalik Chadmana briftam**[3]. Deceptive behaviour is said to be chalika.

The word chalika was widely known during the ancient times and "Chadm" was also used in place of it in the Eatsern Zone of the country. Perhaps "Chandam" was "Chau" proved by the currency of the word which has evolved from "Chadam". But as stated the characteristics of "Chan" can be understood only after we have known "Chalika". But before I do so. I would like point out the various opinions regarding the derivation of term.

P. C. Roy Choudhury who studied the Chau-dance of Seraikela in Bihar. shows the probability of its derivation from the Sanskrit word "Chaya[4] (shadow). He says that it is a mask dance like the Kathakali—a classical dance performed in mask.

But as explained above, "Chau" cannot be traced to "Chaya".

The "Chau-danee" of this era seems to have its origin in the past. In its

present connotation, the word "Chau" is similar to the word "Chalika" widely prevalent during the times of Bharata, Kalidasa, Singhabhupala, Dandin, and Bhoja.

Katayavema quotes a definition of Chalika which seems to be post-Malvikagnimitra of Kalidasa. It means Chalika is the expression of one's motif by means of historionic representation based on an historical incident.[5]

Even in Malvikagnimitra, Kalidasa has said that Chalita is the name of the dance.[6]

Kavyatirtha R. N. Gaidhani[7] has tried to explain that Chali or Calita is a variety of dance in which a dancer gives expression to his own feelings concealing his identity.

But chalika or chalita is not only a variety of dance. It is also the interpretation of songs of various kinds through gesture, and this is the case with the Chau-dance also.

Both the Chalika and the Chau depict love, anger and heroism. The shiva-dance of Chhau is vigorous and exhuberant. The Parvati-dance is elegant, seductive and full of graceful movements. Chalika is Tandava and Lasya put together, a dance having Vira and Shringara resa. Thus it is "Bhava-pradanh" (i.e., one in which the expression of sentiment predominates.)[8]

Chalika, mentioed by Dandin, is interpreted by Bhoja. Thus in Sabdalankara section it is said that this is Chalika in which the heroic sentiment (virarasa) and Erotic sentiment (shringararasa) dominate.[9]

Both the Chau and Chalika refer to song of religious in character. Each Chau-type has a particular set of beats and Chalika is also an aspect of instrumentation in dance-music.

The Chau-dance is widely prevalent in the Panchpargana area particularly in Seraikela and Kharaswan of the Singhbhum district, and has been adopted by the Mundas of Chotanagpur. But to-day it forms an integral part of Munda culture. This dance was also developed by the rulers of former Seraikela state as well as of Nilgiri and Mayurbhanj States (Orissa).

As we know that—

(a) the dance patterns performed on a particular occasion and in a particular time-dimension can be given a common name and can be put into a single category.

(b) the dance patterns based on the same patterns of Aharyas i.e. dresses can be given a common name and can be put into a single category.

(c) the dance patterns having similar themes can be given a common name and can be put into a single category, the Munda of Chotanagpur consider the Singra dance under the category of Chau dance. As observed in village Jojohatu,[10] the Chau-dance can be divided into two—the Chau-proper and the Singura. This Chau proper is of many types. The types may be listed as—

Chau-dance

Chau proper (with mask)	Singura (without mask)
Shiva-dance	
Parvati-dance	
Ganesh-dance	
Parashuram-dance	
Ram-Ravan yuddh-dance	
Krishna-dance	
Kali-dance	
Durga-dance	
and so on.	

The Chau-dance is performed by the Munda of this area in the month of Jyestha (i.e. June).

Before the dance commences, the villagers pray to the goddess Saraswati. They sing song is the Panchpargania dialect and dance without mask singing "Akra Vandan Kori bondi mata-saraswati". The instrument sounds—

Tah giji ngi jin (Total Beats—4)

and the dancer's posses are characterised by the beats produced.

In the meantime the main dancer is dressed with mask, ghunghru and festive garments. These materials for the Chau-dance are brought from Purulia. The mask is used to conceal the identity and sex of the dancer. It leaves sufficient scope for gestures and movements because it makes the performance quite impersonal and highlights the movements of the dancer's limbs (sarira). The singing of the relevant songs is done by a single person. Other members of the dance party play upon instruments like the Nagara and the Dholki. The dancer's poses (angika), dress and make up (aharya) reflect the theme of the song sung.

Since each beat of a particular set of a tal is responsible for a kind of a dance, the beats of each dance type collected are transcribed.

Parashuram-dance

In this type of dance, Parashuram dances with his hand-axe and his postures (glance etc.) expresses the "Raudriya" sentiment (the pitiless glance in which the eyeballs are rough, red, raised, and the eyelids are

still and the eye-brows knitted, is called Raudri (cruel) and it is used in the furious sentiment).[11]

The present tal, dictated by Sri Kande Munda, contains two cycles of performance.

Ist Cycle :— $kg (Total Beats = 36)

Rhythmic Division— 4/4/4/4/4/4/4/4/4/

Chan Khene Khene Khene
Chan Khene Khene Khene
Chan Khene Chan ——
Khenn —— Kete taki
Khenn —— Kete taki
Khenn —— tah Kiji
Naki Jin tah Kiji
Naki Jin tah taurr
Genda Gen Grinn ——

IInd Cycle : (Total Beats = 14)

Rhythmic Division— 4/4/4/2/

Chan Chanken Chanken Khinn
Chan Chanken Chanken Khinn
Chan Chanken Chanken Khinn
Tahketa Kirtak

Singra-dance :—

This type of dance is a difficult one. In it one has to bounce about 5′ or 6′ high. About twelve persons dance at a time. It is performed without mask. The beats of this dance type are given as below :—

(Total Beats = 36)

Rhythmic Division— 4/4/4/4/4/4/4/4/4/4/

Dha Kidi Naki dhin
Dhakir Kirta dho ga
Dho Kete tak dho
Kete tak dage da
Gin dadinn —— dadinn
—— ta Kurkur Kurkur
Kurkur genda Kurkur Kur
Tah Khed tah ——
Tah Khed tah ——

Thus Chau-dance is not only a mask dance but also a dance without mask. The prevalence of Chau-dance among the Munda is a proof of the cultural contact of the tribal with the non-tribals and vice versa since a very long time as it is remarkable that the stories on which this dance pattern is based has similarities with the dance like the Yakshagna[12] **(Karnatak),** Tulla[13] (Kerala), Koothu,[14] Mohini Attam[15] (Kerala) and Nakkataiya[16] (U. P.).

Notes and references

1. Akhara—A dancing field.
2. Richard Pischel :—Prakrit Bhasaonka Vyakaran translated by Dr. Hemchandra Joshi ; published by Bihar Rastrabhasa Parishad, 1958, page 397 ; Para 277.
3. V. Raghavan :—Bhoja's Shringara Prakasha Punarvasu ; Sri Krishnapuram Street, Madras-14, 1963, Ch-XX, page 556.
4. P. C. Roy Choudhury :—Inside Bihar ; in an article on chau-dance, page 284 ; July 1962, Published by Jankinath Basu, Bookland Private Ltd., 80/6. Grey Street Calcutta-6.
5. Ibid No. 3 ; Ch XX ; page 556
6. Kalidas : Malvikagnimitra, edited by Kavyatirtha R. N. Gaidhani; published by N. K. Gandhi, The Popular Book Store, Tower Road, Surat, 1950, Act I, page 4.
7. Ibid No. 6 ; See prologue (3, 10), page 14.
8. Ibid No. 3 ; ch xx ; page 566.
9. Ibid No. 3 ; ch xx ; page 556.
10. Jojohatu—a village 14 miles East from Khunti.
11. Manmohan Ghosh—The Natyashastra, Vol. I, 1967 ; published by Chinmohan Sehanavis on behalf of Manisha Granthalaya Pvt. Ltd., 4/3B, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12 India ; ch. VIII (49) ; page 156.
12. The Yakshagana—It is a dance like Kathakali. It is based on the stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. It has two types of role, namely, the Saumya (Gentle) and Baudra (fierce).
13. The Tullal—It is a dance known as the "Poor man's Kathakali".
14. The Koothu—It is a dance-form which helped in the development of the Kathakali.
15. The Mohini Attam—It is a graceful dance combining the techniques of both the Bharat Natyam and the Kathakali.
16. The Nakkatasiya—It is a mask dance based on the episodes of the Ramayana.

Shukur Ahmed

DAKHANI RIDDLES OF KURNOOL DISTRICT (ANDHRA PRADESH)

In view of the fact that Dakhani oral literature of Kurnool district (Andhra Pradesh) is neither collected, nor reduced to writing either by the linguists, or by the sociologists, the present study is of much significance, as the original contribution of its sort. This paper is an attempt in that direction through the original collection of Dakhani riddles of the district mentioned.

Grierson,[1] referred to Dakhani as ".....that form of Hindustani commonly known as Dakhani, the language of Decan or Musalmani, the language of Musalmans." This language developed after the advent of Muslims in South India. When Mohammad-bin-Tughlaq shifted the capital of his empire from Delhi to Devagiri (Daulatabad), many inhabitants of Delhi arrived here on the king's orders. Again the capital was shifted back to Delhi. Though many people returned to Delhi a considerable number of them decided to settle down in South India itself. These people used to speak different dialects of North. With the influence of the Dravidian languages, these dialects gave birth to a new common dialect which is at present known as 'Dakhani'. This nomenclature does not appear to be old, as earlier it was popular as Hindavi, Gujari and so on. This dialect assumed its present name Dakhani, after the establishment of Kutub Shahi and Adil Shahi dynasties.[2]

In Dakhani, the word 'Masla' is common for riddle. This word is an Arabic word, which means a question. This is very similar to the word, 'Paheli' of Hindi language, which is derived from Sanskrit 'Prahelika' or 'Pravalika', meaning a question.[3] After posing the riddle, the poser will question the listeners 'bujai', which must be the corrupt form of the Hindi word, 'bujhana', or to solve. As per Miss Durga Bhagawat,[4] there are two types of riddles, the ritualistic and the non-ritualistic or recreative. In the Dakhani of the area under study only the latter type of riddles are prevalent.

The Dakhani riddles of Kurnool district can be classified into two broad categories—those in which reference is made to the animate objects and the other to the inanimate ones. It does not mean that the riddles referred to animate objects should necessarily have answers relating to living beings alone as Maranda,[5] beautifully explains—"Which commonsense in all the languages maintains that people are totally distinct from trees, riddles in perhaps all languages compare trees to people and people to trees."

Satya Prakash Arya[6] has pointed out that sociologically, most of the riddles refer to human relationship and reflect upon social behaviour. This is true of

Dakhani riddles of Kurnool district also, of which a few examples are given below.

Category I

माँ गोरी, बच्चे काले — [इलायची]

Mother is fair but the children are black. (Cardamom)

माँ का देख्याय, भान का देख्याय, दुसर्‌याँ का देखयाय, अडोस पडोस का देख्याय अपनी जोरू का देख्याय ॥ [विधवापन]

Mother's he has seen, sister's he has seen, of all others' he has seen, he has witnessed this of several other ladies of the locality, but not of his own wife, what is it. (Widowhood)

Similarly we come across, many such riddles, in which references are made to the animate objects.

इत्ती सरकी पोट्टी, इत्ता सरका पेट, पेट पो पडे उसके माठी, खागइ सारा खेत ॥ — [दीमक]

Such a little girl, a little food is enough to satisfy her hunger, let her hunger go to dogs, she has eaten away the entire field. (White ants)

घर के बडे नंगे खोड्ये ॥ — [छत के खंथे]

The elders of the family stand naked. (Pillars supporting the roof)

इत्ती सरकी पोट्टी घर सोव फिर को आको मूले मे वैठनिए ॥ —[झाड़]

Such a little girl. she goes round the entire house and ultimately sits in a corner. . (Broom)

तू जाता था, मैं वुलाती थी, तू द्रालता था, मै रोती थी। [चुड़ी वेचनेवाला]

You were going, I was calling, you were putting and I was weeping. (Bangle seller)

इत्ती सरकी पोट्टी कू साडियाँ पो साडियाँ ॥ — [प्याज]

Such a little girl wrapped in several sarees. (Onion)

इत्ता सरका पोट्टा घर संभालता। — [ताला]

Such a small fellow, protects the house. (Lock)

इत्ते सरके पोट्टे कू काटों का ताज ॥ — [बैगन]

Such a small fellow, wearing a crown of thorns. (Brinjal)

काला घोढ़ा, लाल लगाम, एक भइ चटनाए दुसरा भइ उतरनाए —[चपातियाँ पकाना]

A black horse with red reins, one brother gets up the other gets down. (Baking of Chapaties)

बाशा की वेटी खश खश में लोटी, पीठ पो कषीदा, पेट में चोटी ॥ [खरबूजा]

The daughter of a King rolls on poppy seeds, with embroidery on her back and lock of hair in her stomach. (Melon)

घोट्यॉं में घीटा, बडों का लहू पीना। [मच्छर]

The smallest of the small, sucks the blood of the elders. (Mosquito)

उजली मुर्गी उजाला हुएतो, सूप में सी घूड में कू कूदतिए -- [राख या भस्म]

The white hen jumps from the winnow into the dustbin at dawn. (Ash)

Category II

A few Dakhani riddles of this district which refer to inanimate objects are quoted below :

एक पिटारे में बारा खाने, बारा खान्यॉं में बत्तीस दाने ॥ — [सीता फल]

A box of twelve shelves, in which there are thirty two beads. (Pomegrante)

मइरु की थैली में हा हा के बींज ॥ — [मिर्च]

In the bag of velvet there are seeds causing burning sensation. (Chillies)

एक शाशे में दो रंग। — [अंडा]

Two colours in one bottle. (Egg)

चाबने चने, पीने शरबत, बकरी कू चारा। — [तरबूज]

Channa for chewing, sherbet for drinking and food for the goat. (Water melon)

पहाड़ पो चिंचे, कोइ नैं गिनते। — [तारों भरा आकाश]

Numerous tamarind seeds all over the hill, which cannot be counted by anyone. (Sky with stars)

एक सिल हजार बिल। — [चारपाई]

One slap of stone with thousand holes. (Cot)

Besides these two categories of riddles referred to above, there are certain riddles that are posed in the negative style. According to Logic, from two negative propositions, a conclusion cannot be drawn, but these riddles have only negative clauses, culminating in answers, as :

काला है कौवा नैं, डक्कॉं हैं बिच्छू नैं ; झाड़ पो चढ़नाए परिन्दा नैं — [चेंटी]

It is black but it is not a crow, it has a sting but it is not a scorpion it climbs a tree, but it is not a bird. (A black ant)

इत्ती बडी साडी थिगाए तो भिगती नैं, सूकाए तो सूकती नैं — [आकाश]

Such a big sari, which can neither be completely drenched when soaked nor can be fully dried when exposed to the sun. (Sky)

Conclusion—It is no exaggeration to say that these riddles not only have beauty and simplicity but also all the peculiarities of the Dakhani dialect from the linguistic point of view. They impart knowledge to the unsophisticated and unlettered rustics on one hand and provide amusement the other.

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Biswanath Banerjee

SARBOJONIN DURGOTSAB IN CALCUTTA : A PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE PUJAS IN 1969

According to Police report in Calcutta in 1969 there were as many as 901 community worship of the Goddess Durga, i.e. **Sarbojonin Durgapuja** in local dialect. This number was 759 in 1968. If in this way one goes back and back can find how this number has gone up over the years.

We do not know why the number of Pujas is increasing, how it is accommodating the growing pressure of secularization and modernisation and how it is adjusting as a cultural platform to the competing demands of political parties and factions. It is also not very clearly known how the puja either separates or brings together the Bengalees and the non-Bengalees, Hindus and the peoples of other religions, the rich and the poors. It is a fact that the budding bulls. Uthti Mastanas or Rockbajs, have appeared on Calcutta social life and have purturbed the mind of the saner sections. We have some vague notions regarding their role in this festival. Does the proliferation of the number of Pujas indicate weakening of social cohesion or it indicates resilience of the society ? How does the puja represents creativity at the level of mass culture ?

These were some of the questions before the social anthropologists when six of us from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Calcutta and from Anthropological Survey of India collaborated for studying few Durga Pujas in Calcutta. These included family based and traditional pujas like Sobhabazar Rajbari and others representing Sarbojonin Durgotsab of Bagbazar perfomed by old Bengali Calcuttans, Girish Park by the Hindu Mahasabha (Bengalas and non-Bengalees), Wellesly by refugee of East Pakistan (modern Bangladesh), Bengalee Christans and Moslems, Dhakuria Sarbojonin Durgotsab by the new comers in the city and Bagha Jatin colony Durgotsab by the refugees from East Pakistan (Bangladesh).

History of Durgapuja is at least 2000 years old. Informations regarding the early concept of the image of the goddess can be traced back to Rigveda. In the past Durgapuja used to be performed individually. Its extensive nature over a couple of days, elaborate rituals, different caste sevices etc. required enough money and manpower. So the worship was usually confined among the riches. An elaborate description of the Durgapuja more than a century back, in a village near Arambag, Hooghly district (W. B.) is given by Sri Jogesh Chandra Roy Vidyanidhi in his book 'Puja-Parbon' (published by Viswabharati Granthalay, 1358, B. S.) According to the old tradition, performance of

Durgapuja was a 'Status Symbol'. The history of Sarbojonin Durgapuja, however, is very recent one. It is said that a few youths of Bagbazar while attempted to witness puja uninvited in a rich man's house in the locality, were insulted. Eventually they started a puja together giving name 'Nebubagan Barwari' to it, only fifty years back in 1919/20. That puja in the later years took the name'Bagbazar Sarbojonin', the first sarbojonin puja in Calcutta. In the opinion of the present Secretary of the Puja Committee, there is a difference in the meaning of the terms 'Barwari' and 'Sarbojonin. When a few people beloning to the high caste or Bhadraloks only perform a Durgapuja together, it is a Barwari Puja but Sarbojonin Puja is performed by the high and low castes, Chotoloks and Bhadraloks or Itar-Bhadra, together.*

In each sarbojonin Durgapuja, there exists an executive committee composed of a President, a general secretary with one or two assistants, a treasurer and a few members. Normally the committee disintegrates after the Puja and resumes before the next one ; of course a few such committee are permanent and work throughout the year. The Bagbazar committee of Durgapuja was registered in 1930. Well to do men who spend a considerable money as a subscription or well reputed man in the locality whose name may be utilised during the collection of subscription are selected as the President.

The city is expanding towards south. Every year well-placed persons either in Business field or in offices come to reside at Dhakuria or at Jodhpur Park area. Some local persons may also gain money during the year. The members of the sarbojonin Durgapuja committee take note of them and try to pickup intimacy with them always with an aim to make one of them President in next Puja committee. These persons also to have some influence upon such active youths of the locality do not object to that. This also offers him a status in the locality where he is a newcomer. In Dhakuria about four Sarbojonin Durgapuja are held quite close to one another. Moreover, competition among the members of different sarbojonin Durgapuja is felt for exerting influence upon such persons. The secretary is always an active and well informed persons of the locality. The assistant secretaries and treasurer are normally his men. This happens so for a smooth team work.

*The Barwari Puja started in Chagdah, near Calcutta as early as 1790 which we know from Rev. Father James Long. Long writes—"The Baruari Puja is celebrated with great pomp here, this puja was established in 1790 by a number of Brahmans of Guptapara, who formed an association to celebrate a puja not noticed in the Shastra ; it is named *baruari*, because they chose 12 members as a committee ; they collected subscriptions in the neighbouring villiage....they celebrated the worship of Jagatdhatri Durga with such pomp, as to attract the rich to it from a distance of 100 miles around ; they procured the best singers in Bengal ; and spent the week in festivity : in consequence of the success of the first baruari, they determind to celebrate it annually ; which is done in various parts of Bengal"—Ed.

Each Puja committee tries to attract the public far beyond their locality. The activities of the executive committee is divided into several sub-committees as Pratima, Puja, Immersion or Niranjan, Pandel, Decoration, Cultural which conducts functions as Jatra and musical soiree, Bands, Mike, Exhibitions, Souvenir etc. Each of such subcommittee is composed of certain active youths fit for each section and topped by an abled member of the executive. For example, the Pratima subcommittee includes some healthy youths who are able to carry the image from idol maker's place and to immerse the Pratima in Ganges on the day of Niranjan. Many 'Mastans' of the locality remains in this section The puja section normally includes the Brahmin or innocent boys of the Para as they remain in direct contact with the image and Puja rites. The aged men and women of the Para like it. The executive committee is always aware of it. The decoration subcommittee is generally composed of the youths who have taste in arts. They find a way to express their ideas in decorating the Pandel, gate and the background of the image. The souvenir subcommittee is composed of the youths with aptitude in collection of advertisements by which the puja fund is raised. Many of budding bulls, Uthti Mastans or Roekbajs of the para are seen included in the cultural section. Throughout the day they sit before the mike where all sorts of cinema and Pop songs are played. Mike is not liked by the elders of the Para or of the executive but mike is hired to engage these youths. In the Bagbazar Sarbojonin, sacred Chandi hymns are recited in the mike. There it is possible for two reasons : first, the executive committee is composed entirely of the elders, secondly, they bear the tradition of the oldest Sarbojonin. Still the executive express their anxieties about the future of this tradition. A few youths were questioned as "Why you retain old pattern in the image of the goddess and why you play only Chandi hymns in the mike not the Pop songs ? They replied "Neither we are Bangals (an abusive term used by the West Bengalees for the inhabitants of Old East Bengal) nor we are the refugees of that locality (south Calcutta) who have come here recently. So we do not make the Pratima like cinema stars. We are ashamed of playing Pop songs and dancing twists wearing Chonga Pants (Pants of short width) before the elders, we have a separate **Izzat** (prestige) of our own."

The locility is pretty old where the people have been living from a few generations For that certain form of Para kinship has grown which might refrain the youngs from behaving indecently before the elders. In many places, the local clubs unite and work together at the sarbojonin Durgapuja. In Bagbazar sarbojonin Durgapuja 18 such clubs of the para joined together during the puja where they worked together. In this way, the boys, the Uthti Mastans who are seen gossiping and teasing the girls particularly at the street corners of every para along with their Dadas (elders) are included into the Puja committee and bear different responsibilities. But everywhere they are seen very much busy with their given jobs during the Puja days rendering their

sincere services towards the success of the puja as a whole. The youths of the cultural subcommittee, who are seen during the day before the mike, act as volunteers in the evening during the puja days. They told, while interviwed, they get romance in that job. In Bagbazar, the sarbojonin puja committee has its own volunteers of both sexes. In Girish Park, the volunteers are frequently recruited by advertising notices. This year (1969), the notice was served in the following words—"Volunteers are wanted for the Hindu Mahasabha Sarbojonin Puja". Hindu Mahasabha is a Political party.

In Bagbazar and also in Girish Park, the executive committee is composed of the elders only. There the youths have no entrance. This has helped to retain the old fashions in the puja i.e. in decoration and Pratima etc. or the tradition in other word. In the executive committee of the sarbojonin Durgotsab of South Calcutta, in most places is dominated by the youths which have permitted the workers to implement their ideas and naturally they reflect the contemporary events and atmosphere. It is not that always ultramodern themes predominate there. Some times old ideas also come back, for example, this year, in many Puja pandels, decoration and Pratima in South Calcutta, traditional or **Sabek** forms were noticed.

Presence of supporters of different political parties from Congress to C. P. I. (ML) in the respective executive committee is common. Each of them try to work hard along with others to make the puja a success. In some puja committees, consciousness of the supporters of particuler political parties were felt at the time of distribution of the portfolios. In the past also, the data revealed that, there are instances of useing the Durgapuja as a platform of political publicity. In 1945 the Girish Park Sarbojonin started by the Hindu Mahasabha when Dr. Shyama Prosad Mookerji, the then lead of the Hindu Mahasabha and the founderer of Bharatiya Jan Sangh was president more than once. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was in the executive committee of Bagbazar sarbojonin Puja for sometime.

Monetary aspects of this puja shows that expenditure in the sarbojonin Durgapujas records minimum Rs. 3000/- to the extent of Rs. 37000/- with a normal expenditure of Rs 3 to 5 thousands. A considerable part of the total Budget is spent in decorations and the cultural functions. In the sarbojonin Durgapuja of Uma Das Lane (Wellesly, W.D-55) 1968, one of the members of the executive committee in support of many general members filed a case against the President (1968) for the defulation of the puja fund. The member who filed the case got support of the councillor of the ward (55), who is a member of Forward Block Party and the accused President was, however, supported by Congress. The members own the case and arranged the Puja of 1969 forming a new executive committee under a new president. On the first day of Puja (Saptami) the defeated president came to the puja pandel and asked for apology to the winning party and participated in Puja.

The non-Bengalees and non-Hindus too participate in the sarbojonin Durga Puja. In Collins Street (ward no 55) and Trikon Park (at the crossing Ripon Street & Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Road) sarbojonin Durgapujas are performed. Most of the people of this locality are the Anglo-Christians and Mohamedans. Bengalee refugees are few in number. In both the places the pujas were started by the Bengalee Refugees since 1949 where native Christians and Moslems even pay subscription. They also participate in the cultural functions of the Puja. The Anglo and Non-Bengalee Christians refrain from direct participation but mind not paying subscription. Near the puja Pandel, there is a Masjid in the Trikon park. The Puja-committee never beat Drums during the Namaz hours. This is taboo in Muslim culture. There are Bengalee Christian in the executive committee of the Sarbojonin Puja of Collins Street. Two thousands heads of Harizans (caste—chamar) live at Uma Das Lane, Wellesly. They have been performing Sabojonin Durgapuja among themselves paying subscription of Rs. 2.00 each since 1952 There are places in South Calcutta where the South Indians i.e. Tamils, Malayalis, Kanndis or Telugus, pay regular subscription in this puja, take Prasad and participate in the function. In 1969, the Chinese residents of Tangra (East Calcutta), performed a Sarbojonin Puja among themselves.

Area for collecting subscription in each localities are fixed ; boundaries of which are however, known by the collectors of respective Sarbojonin Puja committees. Many persons send regular subscription from outside Calcutta.

In Wellesly the fruit-sellers provide fruit for the puja. They earn some money during the occasion and happily pay subscription for the puja. Similar is the case for the Muslim Tailors of the locality. During the puja they get huge orders from their Hindu neighbours. The decorators, electric firms get contract for the puja pandels, mike, and electric decorations. The Panshopwalas, grocers of the locality who are commonly the inhabitants of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh earn some money during the Pujas, the cloth marchents earn a lot during the Puja. All of them await for the Puja days and pay subscriptions unhesitatingly. The Bengalee merchants believe that the payment of subscription will fetch blessings of the goddess in the form of more sale. The Kumars or the Image-makers earn for the year at the Durgapuja. Expert Dhakis (Drums) from different parts of Calcutta and Muffasil areas assemble at Bowbazar and Sealdah area during the puja. The persons from different executive committees visit the place and select one or more after hearing their skill, in suitable terms. The Dhakis belong to a very poor community. During the puja days they get better food and earn money. They also admit that during the pujas their merit is judged and they get appreciation of the audiance of the city which satisfy them. In the evening during the Puja days, the dhakis with Medals or Curency Notes of Rs. 5/- and Rs. 10/- pinned with the shirt, near breast are sseen beating the drums and dancing before the image.

They know that if they can impress the authority they may be called for the next year. Jatras are held in many puja pandels at night. The olds along a group of youths like it very much. Youths are more attracted by the Musical soirees. The vocal and musical artists during the pujadays gain money through their appointments in the musical soirees and by selling disces specially recorded for the puja. On the Niranjan Day (Immersion) many of the workers and other youths take Modak, a kind of Narcotic which is sold by the Kaviraj. The Bandparty, owners of the Trucks, Hazakwallas, get contacts during Puja particulary in the date of immersion. Those who play Band, normally Mohamedans, are very poor. Puja is an occasion for them which fetch money, provide an opportunity to appear before the public which at least temporarily heals the pains of poverty.

On the date of immersion the Bengalees greets (**Kolakuli**)each other forgetting all the hitches at the past during the year. This day among the peoples of West Bengal there is a custom of drinking Siddhi, a kind of narcotic, among both males and females which is absent among those who came from East Pakistan. Prasad of the puja is distributed among all assembled people irrespective of rich and poor and caste order. Similarly men and women of all classes offer Anjali every day during the Puja days. Almost in all sarbojonin pujas the poors are fed on the last day which is known as **Kangalibhojan.** In Bagbazar the fund is more and they offer prizes to the best students of the year of the locality. Many puja committee donated to many welfare institutions as Ramkrishna Mission or Bharat sevasram or Defence fund of the country etc. Some youths are in the habit of making explosives and crackers. Some sherp sounds heard from the procession following the image on the date of immersions remined that the occasion is used even by them for showing their skill. A few oldmen of the same locality complained of drinking and free mixing of both sexes duing the pujadays. In a locality of south Calcutta as many as four sarbojonin Durgapuja are held in a very small area. The members of the executive committee believe that though the committee suffers from the short of fund due to number of pujas at a very close proximity, there would be more pujas in future to facilitate abled men and talented persons, as population is increasing each year.

Inspite of various changes the puja has maintained its essential spirit that fosters unity and amity amongest different groups of people. What was true of the rural worship in the past is also true of these sarbojonin Durgapujas in modern times. What was once completely rural has become urban according to the necessities of time. No wonder that there must be some changes in the nature of the performances in its city settings. In the village, the Pujas was caste based—a matter conducted at the patronage of one individual. In the urban area these pujas have become a matter of joy for the whole community Even now it exerts tremendous impact on different commercial communities of

recent urban growth as decorators, fruit-sellers, people dealing with public address system, and mikewallas etc. After all these puja break the spell of boredom inevitable in city life and create a temporary charm giving the youngsters a platform to express their creative urges. It will never do to decive ourselves by thinking that these pujas do away with all the differences that exists between rich and poor. In fact, beside the pomp and gaiety of the rich the poor looks poorer. Still the universal sweep of mirth and merriment acts like an anodyne making them forget their pain even for a while. In any case, though secularisation has been the order of the day we see that these pujas are not going to be affected by that. Participation of the non-Hindus and the members of political parties confirm this. What has been built along a special line of tradition and has given our community an occasion for annual cooperation to youths a scope of self expression, a scope for commercial stimulation, is something that we can not do without.

Acknowledgements

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Dept. of Anthropology, University of Calcutta.

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Tarak Deb Bharati

EASTERN INDIAN HANDICRAFTS : A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

EASTERN India comprises Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura, Nagaland, Arunachal, Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal. The handicrafts of this region are mainly of wood, metal, basketry, clay dolls and toys, textiles, folk paintings etc. It is not always true that the craftsmen here are always patronised by the kings and the upper strata of society. The products were predominantly utilitarean in character meant mostly for the rural communities and for beautifying their homes and surroundings. In modern times, the universal application of industrialisation forced the traditional crafts to slide down from its norms and forms to a great extent. Of course this region also bequeathed a rich legacy in arts and crafts that can be seen mainly in several museums in India. At present specially the Government of India is trying to revive the traditional handicrafts of India through regional offices of All India Handicrafts Board located at Calcutta, the regional head quarter and other centres in Assam, Tripura, Orissa, Bihar etc. It is well-known that art is not Government's business. The Government is not a judge of arts and crafts. What a Government can do is nothing but being patron of the craftsmen and their crafts in various ways like the nobles and kings did in earlier age. There are numeerous varieties of Indian handicrafts and the knowledge of its past history reached us to-day in a better way. Here it is not possible to compile detailed information regarding such a vast subject. It is an attempt to throw some special light on the popular handicrafts of this region which are still available in the market.

Assam, Meghalaya : Metalware and metallurgy of Assam is worth mentioning at the very beginning. The most important metalwares of Assam were made of iron (Loh) and steel (Tikha). The workers of iron guild generally collected iron dust from the river sands after every monsoon. Iron-ore is also available from the Garos, Khasis, Kacharis and the Loh-Nagas. Jaypur and Sibsagar were the main centres of iron production.

Use of gold was known to Assam for long. They use gold not only for the coinage but objects of various kinds like lamp, lampstand, small boxes and even mats were woven from the thin strips of gold. Gold vessels were sometimes set with jewels. Silver was extracted out of the Rupmati from the slopes of the Garo-Khasi hills. Apart from utensils, silver wires were used for inlay work and embroidery, icon, dolls and toys making. The brass and bell-metal industry of Assam is now gaining popularity day by day. The artisans of Sarthebari are so expert in making metalwares that one

of their craftsman, named Sri Hareswar Deka was awarded the national award in 1966 by the Government of India.

The traditional textiles of this area are presented in the form of Assamese mekhala, blouse piece, sari, sari borders with primitive designs of miri, fish, spears and temples. Here also available the Lushai satchil, the tyndong and textiles of Khasi and Naga tribes. Considerable productions, however, are being made by the Assam co-operative cottage industries association, Shillong.

Manipur : Meithei or the people of Manipur are generally of Mongolian origin inhabited between Burma and Assam. Tribal population of this area is the outcome of the Nagas and the Kukis. Vaishnava culture has greatly influenced the arts and crafts of Manipur. It is mainly famous for the textiles, dolls, toys, brasswares and basketry. Every home is a small production unit. As for example, the textile pieces are generally made in several parts by separate families. One family produces the border, another designs the same, the third has become specialised in making the main body and so on. Apart from the quality of weaving, Manipur textiles are famous for their exquisite embrodery designs. Actually the textiles specially woven by the women folk of Manipur are called niha, mekhala, chadar, dhoti, lashingphee, bedsheet etc. and almost all of them are decorated with colourful geometric and floral embroidered designs. The common design here is the bottle design enriched with golden colour of the local silk extracted from the fruits of the simul tree.

For the dolls and toys craftmen of Manipur based on vaishnava rasa theme. The dancing girl in rasa dress are made exclusively of cloth with their flowing skirts and long dark hairs. It is easily available in the emporiums with a very cheap price. Another important cottage industries of Manipur is the basket usually made of flexible creepers, beads, grass and palm and date leaves. The principal technique is either woven or coiled. The woven type is of a definite pattern of warp and weft. The warp string is more or less fixed while the weft crosses and recrosses it singly or in pairs and thus formed any patterns like chequer, twilled, wicket or twined work each in several varieties. Coloured ornamentation is generally done on them by employing materials of national colours in addition of beads, glass, thin papers and cawries and thus the objects become beautiful to look at.

Tripura : Tripur, a small state situated to the eastern most corner of India, is very much rich in forest resources Uses of this forest resources have been practised in this region right from the construction of houses to many household products. The craftsmen have chosen the bamboo and cane of the local forest as the medium of expressing their feeling of beauty and creative urges. The cane and bamboo products of Tripura have their grace of simplicity and sophistication. The tribal people of Tripura as well as the expert craftsmen brought by the Maharajas of Tripura from neighbouring countries (now in Bangladesh) are very much fond of making chair, mora, padestal lamp, market-

ing basket, asthtray, file tray, waste paper box, toys and figures. The textile industry of Tripura is another important example of eastern Indian handicrafts done in the same style of Manipur and Assam. The famous riha which is still worn by the Tipri women across their breasts like a choli was probably first made by the order of queen Jayanta-Rajkumari in 13th century A.D. and then gradually became the practice of common tribal people. Wrapper, bedsheet, bed cover, hand bag etc. are other examples of Tripura handicrafts. After the partition of Bengal the refugees from East Bengal came to settle there and thus greatly influenced the local handicrafts.

Nagaland : The name implied that it is inhabited by the nagas, a tribe famous for their chivalry, totems and taboos. The textiles produced by the nagas are characterised by their primitive design, quality and colour. They generally use maroon and black colours and their works are stylised with abstract figures, human figures and animals. The tongkhul naga chadar, a kind of wraper may be said to be the best piece of textile so far they made. With colourful designs of various motifs symbolising animals, butterflies, the stars, flowers and other geometrical designs. The nagas are famous for their primitive wood and bamboo carvings. The tobacoo pipe, beer mug, bows and arrows, the shield etc. are made in simple as well as in bright colours. Both naga men and women are very much fond of jewellery which are generally made of brass. Most of them are of spiral designs and suggest a great influence of cane work. The cult of the totem is an important feature in the naga culture. The totems have conditioned not only the life and thought of the people but also have influenced their arts and crafts.

Arunachal : The frontier areas of north east India actually inhabited by the hilly peoples whose main works are woodcarvings, textiles, jewellery, carpets, and tankha paintings. The crafts of this region are closely related with Assam. Like everything else about them, their handicrafts show verve and vigour Brilliant colours and striking contrasts are characteristic of their hand-spun and hand-woven fabrics. Artistic leather goods with traditional motif is another example of the art of the people of Arunachal Pradesh, which was previously known as NEFA.

Orissa : There are abundant examples of attractive and intricate handicrafts in Orissa. She is rich in natural resources like wood, stone and the thick forest. The forest of Orissa is the abode of many wild animals like elephant, bison, tiger, lion, deer etc. in limited number. The craftsmen of Orissa lived in a group and maintain a certain traditional and aesthetic taste. The craftsmen of Orissa have been greatly influenced by the neighbouring States like West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and adivasi culture of the adjoining regions.

Orissa abounds in stone and soapstone that skilful sculptors collect from nature and carve on them with accuracy and precision as we see in the ancient temple architecture of Bhubaneswar, Puri, Konarak etc. Maharanas of Puri

are the traditional stone carvers. The tools used are chisel, hammers, files of different shapes and sizes. The form generally given first then shapes and decorations. Nayika and mother and child are most common in this craft of stone and soap carvings. The process and theme of woodcarvings are similar to that of stone carvings. The women are as proficient as the men in the art and technique of the typical pata chitras of Raghurajpur near Puri. The tailor artists of Pipli have become specialised in giving gorgeous look to his applique works of chandoas (ceiling hangings), umbrellas on cloth where animal motif and geometric designs took prominent places.

In various parts of Orissa, quite a number of craftsmen are engaged in metal industries. Among them bell-metal articles of Bhajnagar, dhokra brass works of Mayurbhanj and copper sheet objects of Puri are worthy of mention. Filigree work is totally restricted on silver and rarely on gold. It is the art of ornamentation by filling the desired designs with very thin wires soldered on the main body at the secured points of the object. The craftsmen made hairpins, eartops, atardans and other jewellery both for tribal and urban peoples. Apart from dolls and toys, Orissan katki and sambalpur tasar textiles are famous all over the country.

Bihar : Various combinations of local conditions, availability of raw materials may be conductive to the development of particular craft or group of crafts in a given region. Again the handicrafts have long been treasured through the channel of ceremonial purposes. Bihar is no exception in the above arguments. From the excavation made at the historical sites like Rajgir, Nalanda, Vaisali, Pataliputra and Vikramsila it has been found that the art of pottery making was highly developed during the Maurya and Sunga periods The potters of today have got their inspiration from the old specimen and thereby able to meet the varied social and religios needs of the country. In Chotonagpur, Patna and parts of north Bihar, we find the toy makers and wood carvers of traditional style engaged in making small figures of animals and birds with light wood coated with bright colours so specially yellow. The 'tupudana' woodendolls of Ranchi have their own style of eyes and face

Brass and bell-metal is one of the most ancient crafts existing in Bihar. The images, utensils, iron pillars and other utility articles are a few of the metalwares, which are being made in Bihar specially under the directions of the Institute of Industrial Design, Patna. The craftsmen of Patna city have brought laquareqare to a new level of perfection by fashioning both figures and other objects of beauty with attractive oriental designs and places like Bhagalpur, Ranchi, Gaya and Darbhanga have become famous in this craft. Magadh is famous for jewellery apart from the tribal folk ornament of this region. The stone work of Bihar is made after the old tradition of sculptures and the famous centres are Gaya, Sasaram Ghatsila and Patharkatti.

Bihar has recently become very famous for her sikki grass work. It is an

ancient craft done specially by the women of Mithila and is based on the social custom prevelent among the rural population of Mithila. Most of the families have some women members engaged in the craft of kasida embroidery in their leisure hours. Recently the folk paintings of Mithila better known as Madhubani paintings have gained much reputation in EXPO—'70 held at Japan. In every creative work Bihar has the influence of religion. Alongwith Rama and Krishna, the Maithils have also been worship if lord Siva and Sakti and thus become a great centre (mahapitha) of tantra.

West Bengal : The contribution of Bengal handicrafts towards the national economy has been widely recognised and the Government of West Bengal as well as Central Government have taken up the policy of liberal assistance to the craftsmen in various ways.

Dhokra metal casting is the best popular craft of the district of Bankura, Burdwan and Midnapur. It is done after the cire perdue or lost wax process. Figures of birds and animals like horses, elephants, peococks, deer, fishes, lamps, bowls, caskets in primitive simplicity are some of the widely popular handicrafts of Dhokra artisans. These are very popular in home and abroad.

The other well developed objects are made of brass and bell-metal. The tradition of distinctive design and high craftsmanship still persist in our day though it has been suffered much due to change in fashion and custom. Objects of kitchen utensils, kettle, decorative pieces are the few of the brass and bell metal utensils of today and the custom of offering dowry at the time of marriage ceremony is still exist in Bengal. Khagra, Nabadwip, Vishnupur, Midnapur are a few of the famous metalware centres in West Bengal. The tradition and craftsmanship of past centuries have influenced the contemporary jewellery of Bengal. It is articles of exquisite beauty designed in minute details out of gold, silver, shell, ivory and brass. Under the director of West Bengal Directorate of Industries here evolved pith dolls and toys of novel designs which are now liked for their colour, softness and loveliness. Wood carving is an ancient craft, the tradition of which comes down from hoary past. Mat weaving of Midnapur district and leather works of Santiniketan in Birbhum district are the two most specialised handicrafts of West Bengal.

Murshidabad was a very popular centre of handicrafts in Bengal during 17th and 18th century A.D. Still now Jiaganj and Khagra are the two most famous places or ivory carvings. Baluchar saris of old tradition are now become only the museum exhibits. The clay products and folk dolls, toys of Krishnagar, Joynagar-Majilpur, Bankura and Midnapur have already been exhibited in several well known sites in Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta. Household articles, terracotta products, images, model, and a host of other items constitute some of the numerous variety of the village pottery made by the Kumbhakaras of Bengal. Mask making and masked dancing are the two most interest-

ing festivals of Purulia district. Jhalda of the same district is noted for cutlery crafts.

Another phase of Bengal handicrafts is the Pata Chitras done by the village people. It is scrolled with several sections unfolded stage by stage and stories of the same narrated. Kalighat patas are to some extent sophisticated. This is a preliminary survey—and not a very comprehensive one. Endeavour will be made in future to make a comprehensive survey of the Eastern Indian handicrafts.

Craft Museum, New Delhi.

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A. Satyanarayan Murthy

A NOTE ON THE POSITION OF WOMAN AMONG THE AGENCY AREA OF ANDHRA PRADESH

Kayas have patrilineal descent. partilocal residence, partipotestal authority and the inheritence of property is through the male line. An attempt is made in this article to show the position of woman in such a strong patriarchal society.

In the Koya family the woman does not have much say in matters of policy but in all social occasions such as marriage of children, and the maintanance of house-hold affairs, she is consulted by her husband. The woman has an equal right with that of man in selecting a life partner and also in giving divorce. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that she can be manhandled by a cruel husband. There are certain restrictions for woman such as : she is not allowed to sit on the cot in the presence of her husband and other elder male members ; she should not drink liquor as the man does excepting on festive and ceremonial occasions. A woman that ill-treats her husband is looked down upon by the Koya society.

The other important point with regard to the position of the Koya woman is that she is treated as any commodity that is purchased by her husband and also by his brothers real or collateral. That is why, when a widow marries a man other than the nearest collateral brothers of her deceased husband, the later deemed compensation from him who marries her. Eventhough, it is obligatory on the part of a widow's deceased husband's brother to look after her and give her protection, but, she is accepted only as a commodity useful for household duties or else make money out of her by selling her in marriage. The institution of bride-price (**oli**) also places a woman in such a position eventhough the Koyas say as if the bride-price is only a matter of custom. Unwittingly some remarked, "after all we have purchased her by giving the bird-price."

In certain cases a widow is given a little property in the form of provisions by her sons. Generally she is completely dependent on the mercy of her children. She has no special rights on the property left behind by her deceased husband. Despite this, the Koyas give importance to the property of a woman that is given to her by her parents in the form of cattle, pigs and other ornaments. It is said that she has full rights over that property and could dispose of it as she would like, but in usual practice, husband would dominate the woman even in such affairs.

In the Koya community a woman who has borne children is respected and honoured much more than a barren woman. The Koyas believe that barren

woman can beget children by worshipping the village deities and the ancestors of the family. In case a woman does not give birth to a children even after four or five years of married life the husband is allowed to marry again preferably the sister of his wife.

With regard to the opportunities for social participation, it is observed that a Koya woman does suffer from certain taboos that prohibit her in taking active part in certain important ceremonies such as Jona Kottalu (New Maize) ceremonies, and festivals like Pandu Raju Kumarulu (Sons of King Pandu) festival and Mayalamma (Hill Goddess) festival. Besides it is a taboo for a woman to participate in any religious festival during the period of menstruation. In fact, agricultural operation—start with the woman of the house worshipping the ancestors at Peturu Gondi (place of ancestor worship) located in the house and to the village deities.

In the economic sphere, a Koya woman does undertake many responsibilities. She does work side by side with her husband in the field along with her customary domestic work. She is mostly responsible for the domestic work like house-keeping, bearing and rearing of children.

In the traditional political structure, Koya woman does not find any place. With the introduction of Panchayat Raj system, two sisters of the Koya Doli subtribe are active in political field. While one is the member of the State Legislative Council and a former Samithi President, the other is a member of the Lok-Sabha. It is interesting to note that though they hold high political position, the two ladies are treated socially inferior since they belong to untouchable Koya subtribe.

In brief we may conclude that Koya woman participates well in the economic sphere, she has equal say in selecting her life partner and to divorce. She has no much voice in the religious and political spheres. Besides, she has to observe certain taboos mentioned earlier. The active participation of Koya woman in political sphere is only a recent change. Thus we can say that a Koya woman enjoys only moderate freedom in Koya Society.

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BOOK REVIEW

PRIMITIVE RELIGION IN INDIA, by Henry H. Presler, Book no 6 of Indian Theological Liberary, published the The Senate of Serampore College and by The Christain Literature Society, Post Box 501, Park Town, Madras 3 Demy 8 vo. 349 pages, paper back, Rs. 10. 1971.

The book under review is the result of author's research and study for a number of years. In the words of the author "it is the result of reading, field work and reflection upon the religions of the masses in India. It covers a span of experience from 1937 to 1965...My approach has been through the fields of History and Religions and the Social Sciences." A persual of the work will convince any reader that it is an apt, proper and concise description of the work and everywhere the author has shown his sympathy and scholarship. The book is divided into as many as six parts with sub-sections in each part. Part one deals with the Jungles, Two Social Reactions, three Agricultural Villages, four Cities, five Alteranative to Primitive religions and six Theology and Primitive religions. Each part is masterly written with sections and sub-sections. The book treats the tribes of India ; their impersonal supernational powers, subsidiary prenomena, the cult, the individual, theories of social and cultural change, tribal reaction to civilization and many other topics. The author has also discussed religious co-existence, predominance of the primitive religious type in rural Hinduism, the interaction between urbanism and the primitive religious type and many other necessary things. Throughout the book the author has tried to correlate the evidence gleaned from the intensive study with all available facts and information.

For all the the quality of the contents of this book, one is constrained to observe that from the standards of a comprehensive text book. The present publication is capable of vast improvement in the matter of printing and low price and the students will be benefitted if it is prescribed as a text book because in this field we have little original work in India. The work sheds much interesting light on the socio-cultural life of the primitive people of the country and it is 'a must' for the students of anthropology and religion.

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We acknowledge the receipt of the following books for favour of review in this journal :

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The Cult of Teyyam and Hero Worship in Kerala, by Dr. K. K. N. Kurup

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P. Thankappan Nair

PEACOCK—NATIONAL BIRD OF INDIA

Peacock, the National Bird of India, is worshipped all over the world. How this winged specimen of Indian culture and an original inhabitant of South India came to be worshipped by followers of the major religious systems of Asia and Europe is an interesting chapter in the history of ornithology. We shall trace the origin of this worship, the comparative mythology of the peacock, and explain the beliefs connected with it.

The peacock has fired the imagination of the people all over the world. But there are few people who can account for its origin. Ornithologists simply say that the peacock is the most beautiful pheasant. That is simply putting the cart before the horse. Of course, it is the most beautiful bird and is in the natural course of evolution. The tribal people of India who are full of vigour and imagination have many a fascinating story for its origin and it is interesting to narrate some of them. Though we are reproducing the stories here, no attempt is made to give an interpretation of the true meaning of the myths in the light of the customs and practices of the tribe concerned.

The peacock is called **Mor** in Hindi, **Mayil** in Tamil and Malayalam, **Monara** in Sinhalease, **Mayura, barhin, barhi, bhujangabhuk, shikhaval, shiki, keki,** and **meghanadatul** in Sanskrit. **Mor** is a contraction of **Mayura** which is Tamil-Malayalam, **Mayil** Sanskritised, for the last syllable **l** and **i** are interchangeable in Sanskrit. How did the word originate according to the Binjhwar tribesmen of Dhaurabhata, Raipur District? "A village carpenter called Musraha was making a plough. As he was working, a blue jay flew by and cried **kach-kach.** The carpenter was annoyed and threw some shavings at it. **Dekho-Dekho,** he cried. When the shavings touched it, the jay turned into a peacock and flew into the air trying to say **Dekho,** but all it could manage to say was **Tegho-tegho.** Presently it returned and sat by the carpenter.

"Musraha said, 'You were made by my hands and you belong to me. So

your name is **Mor** (mine or the peacock). Your beauty will be wonderful, and all men will love you."[1]

This gallinaceous bird belongs to the pheasant family Phasianidae, **Pavo Cristatus**, and is the native of Southern India, though widely distributed in Asia and the neighbouring countries. Besides **Pavo Cristatus**, there are two more species, **Pavo muticus**, the green one, and the African species, **Afropavo Congenesis.**

The female of the species all over the world are the most beautiful, of course, with the solitary exception of peacock. All over the globe the female folk goad their person with the most eye-pleasing colours in order to enhance their natural beauty and thus entice the males, but the peacock has himself foolishly done so. The origin of the first peacock explains why the male happens to be more handsome than the female.

The Kuttia Konds of Rangaparu, Ganjam District, believe that the first peacock was created by their high god Nirantali. While Nirantali was pissing in her garden, a fly sat on her vagina and the mischievous moth reported the size of the genital organ to an elephant and then flew into the nose of a tiger. The tiger sneezed violently and the fly flew into a hole of a tree. Nirantali, who had sent her men after the fly, wanted to kill it. The two men whom Nirantali had sent after the fly, reported to .her: "It is hidden in the tree. What are we to do?" Nirantali said, "Go, cut down the tree, and the fly will come out; catch it and bring it to me." They did as she wished and got some wax made by the fly. Nirantali made the wax into a model of a peacock and struck some small bits of bamboo leaf in its head and little slivers of bamboo as its tail, and covered its body with bamboo shavings. She took her silver nose-ring, broke it up and scattered it over the body. It shone brightly and there was the first peacock."[2]

Why does the peahen look less attractive than her lordly male when the female folk all over the world are more beautiful? The tribal people of India say that the peahen was born out of a girl who was wearing a dirty cloth. The peacock makes itself the most conspicuous object in any landscape with its bright blue of the neck, green and black and wings, and varied colours of the tail. The gorgeous plumage is acquired gradually. Though the peahen is a dull creature, the lordly cock invites her to admire his green and blue and golden glory of his wonderful feathery train.

Grand Moghul

The peacock is often called the Grand Moghul of the Bird Kingdom. To justify the appellation Grand Moghul, the cock keeps a harem, but unfortunately they treat him in an off-hand manner, for they, the not-so-lovely ladies, know

that the Moghul is incapable of satisfying their nymphomania. Moreover, he not the strangest creature in Nature?

Look at the cock—his majestic body, his graceful movements—and contrast his foul feet. Does the voice of the peacock accord with his magnificent appearance and his lovely wings? His crowing is a shrill discordant shriek. "The peacock hath fair feathers, but foul feet", says an English proverb. Why is it so? According to a Kangra legend, the peacock had the legs of the mynah when it was originally created by God and asked for a change. He was granted his prayer and when he was dissatisfied with the result God did not allow him to retake his own legs. The result is that to this day when dancing before his mate, he sees his ugly feet and screams through agony.[3] He weeps and the lady bird catches his tear drops and generates eggs.

The crest of the peacock consists of features devoid of wanes except at the tip. The face is naked and its white colour contrasts with the brilliant blue of the body. How did the peafowl get fine tufts on its head? The Hill Saoras of Potta, Koraput District, tells us this story:

"One day Kittung (supreme god of the Saoras) quarrelled with his wife and she ran away and stayed with some. Kittung searched for her for seven days and seven nights. When he could not find her he started home: at the midday he came to Baround Hill. There he found a peacock and its hen. He called to them but they did not answer. He was annoyed and caught hold of the peacock. He said, 'Have you seen my wife anywhere?' 'No', it said. Kittung was now really angry and pulled out his pubic hairs and put them on the bird's head and cut a handful of branches of a bushy shrub and pushed them into the cock's backside.

"After Kittung had gone away, his wife came along the road and found the peacock sitting under a tree weeping. She asked what the matter was and when she heard the story, she said, 'But this will be fine clothing for you, and you'll look most beautiful. And so it was, for a great tail grew behind and fine tufts on the head".[4]

The iridescent plumage of the peacock outshines the rainbow. This proud bird is often fond of displaying his own feathers when rainbows appear on the sky. Peacock's dance heralds the advent of the rains, it is believed all over India. The splendid plumes which form the gorgeous train of the male cock are not tail feathers as people would often mistake, but the upper tail coverts enormously elogated forming the train—bronzy green and blue in green. These coverts are capable of being erected in the form of an open fan, supported by the true tail quills. The normal size of this tail is 4-6 ft. Each of the convert feathers is ornamented with brilliantly coloured eye-spots or ocelli.

The true tail of the peacock is of normal size and is obscured beneath the mass of ornamental feathers. These tail feathers are very plain and ordinary but are stiff and as we have already stated serve to support the train when it is

your nam
and s'd spread to form a huge fan. The bird drops its wings and takes a few steps, then turns abruptly leaning forward the female, meanwhile quivering the feathers of the fan.

The peacock is prepared to keep the hen in good humour by displaying its glorious feathery train and at the climax of the display, the tail feathers are vibrated, giving them a shining appearance and imparting a rustling sound. This display is not solly associated with courtship. The cock goes through this elaborate performance willingly for attracting the admiration of human beings as well. The display of the male before he mates is a common sight in captivity.

A polygamous bird, peacock keeps a harem of 4 to 5 hens. The male birds fight fiercely for the possession of more hens, using their metatarsus as the spur. According to Milnes,[5] "among the peafowl, the wonderful tailful of eyed plumes celebrated in the male is used at least as much in contests between birds of like sex as in courtship antics before a peahen. Peacocks face one another with tails raised, quivering with a sound half-way between a rustle and a rattle, while the breast is inflated, the head held well back in the slender neck in a position suggesting that of a snake about to strike. The wings are spread slightly but stiffly, their tips dragging on the ground and providing further noise as the peacock alternatively walks and hops towards his rival. The first to lose courage collapses his display with the suddenness seen in the tumbling of a house of cards, and off he goes without a blow having been struck. Usually the greatest casuality in these battles is self-esteem. Relatively little physical damage is done before one of the competitors yields. And the contest is normally brief enough that neither male loses sight of the female who is the object of their fracas".

The male cock-utters a raucous harsh cry during the breeding season. The hen generally lays four to five whitish, sometimes spotted, eggs in some secluded place. The chicks are at first clothed in greyish yellow down ; their wing-feathers soon grow, and the crest begins to appear when they are about a month old. The Grand Moghul of the Bird Kingdom is not all a good husband and does not mind to be cuckold as well.

Hundred Eye-Designs

What distinguishes the peacock from other pheasants is its hundred-eyed feathery train. These eye-designs or ocelli are what attracts the peahens as well as the human beings to this bird. How did the peafowl get this hundred designs is difficult to explain scientifically as our knowledge of colour perception is still imperfect. The ocelli have fired the imagination of the Romans, Greeks and tribal people of India.

Hera, according to the Greek mythology, was the great goddess of the pre-

Hellenistic matriarchal society, and was so fond of her peacocks that it was he who first adorned their tails with the hundred eyes of her lover Argus. The story goes that Argus, son of Agenor and Inachus, possessed one hundred eyes. When Zeus, the king of the gods, became enamoured of the nymph Io, his wife Hera became extremely jealous of the latter. Fearing that Hera would slay Io, he transformed the nymph into the form of a heifer. But the queen of the heavens was equal to the occasion, and suspecting that her husband would again metamorphose the nymph into another form, set the hundred eyed Argus to keep watch and ward over Io. But Zeus sent Hermes, the messenger of the gods to lull Argus to sleep by the music of his lyre, and then to slay the latter. Hermes carried out his orders to the very letter. After Argus had been killed by Hermes Hera took the form's one hundred eyes and placed them on the tail of the peacock which bird was sacred to her.[6]

The Khasis of Meghalaya have a very interesting story to account for the beautiful feathers of the peacock, which in short, is as follows. **Ka Sngi,** (Sun) the beautiful maiden who ruled over the Blue Realms, was feeling lonely after the creation of the world when all animals spoke the language of the mankind. **U Klew,** the peacock, was then but an ordinary grey feathered bird without any pretentions to beauty. One day the birds held a great durbar and sent **U Klew** as their ambassador to **Ka Sngi.** She accorded him the most hearty welcome, gave unstinted attention and showered on him unparalleled love which the cock received with cold indifference considering that all this was due to his own personal greatness rather than to the gracious and unselfish devotion of his consort.

As **Ka Sngi** was so absorbed in attending to **U Klew,** she forgot to shed her light on the earth as a result of which rains and darkness lashed the world. Even then **U Knew** deserted her. **Ka Sngi** could not tolarate this and followed him weeping ; as she wept her tears bedwed his feathers, transforming them into all colours of the rainbow. Some large drops falling on his long tail as he flew away were turned into brilliant hued spots which are called **Ummat Ka Sngi** (Sun's tears) by the Khasis even to this day. **Ka Sngi** told him that they were given for sign that wherever he might be and on whomsoever his affections might be bestowed, he would never be able to forget her, **Ka Sngi,** the most beautiful and most devoted of wives.[7]

The flamboyant courtship antics of the peacock by displaying its wonderful iridescent golden and green feathery train is unparalleled and this dance has caught the imagination of the people all over the world. The peacock dance is a lively item in the Kathak style of India, besides the tribal folk of the world over. In Bhutan the folk dancers assemble for performing community peacock dance and sing songs in praise of the bird. So do the people of NEFA. The peacock dance portrayed in classical, folk and movies has deep roots in symbolism throughout the East. That the peacock's dance has some biological

function is undeniable, but does the peacock perform any sexual coitus ? This is doubtful. The tribal people of India believe that the peacock reproduces itself by letting its seed fall from its mouth during the dance. The Kotas of the Nilgiris of Tamil Nadu believe this is the result of a curse, a punishment on the bird for failing to prevent a certain couple from having intercourse.[8] The Gonds of Baihar, Balaghat District have a story to the same effect.[9]

The peacock-feathers are reputer to have medicinal properties and are an indispensable ingredient in Ayurvedic treatment. Smoked peacock-feathers are capable of healing snake-bites, it is believed.[10] This belief is so strong among the people of Punjab that they smoke the feathers in a tabacco pipe as an antidote to snake-bite in the first instance. The feathers are waved over the sick all over India to scare demons and diseases.[11] They are tied on the ankles to cure wounds.[12] **Mayurpiccha** are held sacred in Buddhism and are used for sprinkling water on altars.[13]

The peacock-feathers are considered sacred and are an indispensable item in temple festivals of South India. No temple festival of Kerala is complete without a richly caparisoned elephant on which a golden umbrella is hoisted and **an alavattam** (fan made from peacock-feathers and encased in a silver handle) is fanned and fly-flap made of yalk tail is flown. Peacock fans are used in temples all over North India and every **Thakurbari** in West Bengal must have one. The priest of Bhaironath, the Kotwal or spiritual magistrate of **Banaras**, whose chief temple is situated not far from the Town Hall, is armed with a wand of peacock's feathers with which he punishes the worshippers for the sins they have committed and at the same time absolves them of sins.[14] The Varlis, a forest tribe of Maharashtra, fix peacock feathers in a brass pot, dance round them and represent Hirva, their household godling, by a bunch of it.[15] The nomad Bauris or Bawaryas, who caused coins to be counterfeited and committed robberies in the past kept with them a small quantity of wheat and sandal seeds in a tin or brass case, which they called the Devakadana or god's grain, and a tuft of peacock's feathers.[16] Peacock-feathers are sold in South India and the burnt ashes thereof are used as a remedy for vomitting.[17]

The fat of the peacock is the panacea against stiff joints and necks. The application of the **Mayilenna** (oil obtained from the fat of the peacock) on the body makes the limbs viable and flexible and acrobats who show their feats in circus are believed to apply it regularly during their training period. Nature has endowed the peacock with hundred-eyes and let us not destroy them for the supposedly medicinal value of the feathers. People should desist from killing the bird for plucking its feathers. The wanton destruction of the peafowl has made some parts of India less colourful to tourists and lovers of nature.

A Table Delicacy

Does it not sound strange how peacock, whose flesh was the capital eating

of kings all over the world,[18] has been adopted the National Bird of India. It is paradoxical how could India afford to adopt the peacock as the National Bird which was daily eatern by Asoka and take his pillar as the national emblem at the same time. Doubts were expressed in certain quarters to our wisdom in adopting peacock as our National Bird. In order to set this controversy at rest, we shall examine the propriety of adopting peacock as our National Bird and the prevalence of the practice of eating the flesh of the peacock. In fact, we have done the greatest honour to Asoka by selecting the peacock as our National Bird whose killing he stopped.

The eating of the flesh of the peacock in ancient India was confined to kings and some aboriginal tribal people. The Rajahs believed in the maxim of like produced the like—a norm in Sympathetic Magic. Our epics and Puranas bear ample testimony to the eating of the peacock's flesh. The Jataka stories testify that the peacock's sanctity among the royal houses was due to the belief that anyone who ate its head became a Rajah, and those who ate its flesh became young and immortal living as gold because of the bird's golden colour.[19] A peacock's bone was a prize among the lovers and Vatsyayana has recommended in his KAMASUTRA that if the bone of a peacock be covered with gold and tied on the right hand, it made a man lovely in the eyes of beholders.[20]

The serving of the peacock as a delicacy at great feasts in former times in Europe was part of a housewife's superstition, still powerful, namely, that anything that looks beautiful must taste good.[21] It is on record that in Rome and latter in medieval Europe, peafowls were raised for the table. It is believed that it was Hortensius, the legendary orator whose eloquence took kings and empires by storm, who first made a table delicacy of the bird at a feast given to the College of Augurs, a band of ancient intellectuals.[22]

Pericles has testified that peacocks fetched high prices during his day and kings raised them for selling abroad. Emperor Charlemagne is believed to have served thousands of peacocks at a single state banquet.[23-24] The popularity of the bird began to wane with the introduction of turkey to Europe from Mexico. The peacock was not considered a sacred bird by Aryans and its killing for flesh was permitted. The ancient Indian epics, Puranas, medical treatises, Dharma Sastras etc. freely prescribed peacock's meat as nutriments. The medicinal value of the peacock's meat was not overlooked by the ancients.

CHARAK SAMHITA, the Bible of Ayurvedic physicians, enumerates the following qualities of peacock's flesh : "The flesh of the peacock is exceedingly beneficial for the eye, the ear, intelligence, the digestive fire, the consequences of age, complexion, voice, and period of life. It is besides, strength-giving and wind destroying. It increases also the semen."[25]

Susruta, the ancient Indian surgeon-physician, has stated that "the flesh of the Mayura is astringent and saline in taste, and is beneficial to the skin, helps the growth of hair, improves the voice, intellect, appetite, and relish for food, and

imparts strength and vigour to the organs of sight and hearing." He has prescribed that a king should "drink regularly every day such wholesome cordials as honey, clarified butter, curd, milk and cold water and use in his food the meat and soup of the flesh of a peacock, mongoose, **Godha** (a species of lizard) or **Prishata** deer".[26]

There is no prohibition against the eating of the flesh of the peacock in the **Apasthamba, Gautama,** and **Vasistha Darmasutras.** In fact Baudhayana Dharmasutra says that the peacock can be eaten. Manu and Yajnavalkya have not prohibited the eating of the peacock's meat. Peacock's flesh is one of the delicacies mentioned along with chicken, deer and mutton in the feast given by Bharadvaja in honour of Bharata.[27] Ramayana also mentions peacock's meat in the banquet hall of Ravana. Buddhaghosa has stated that the flesh of a peafowl is delicious to the people of Madhya Desha (including Magadha). Puranic and epic evidences show that the peacock's flesh continued to be a delicacy and there is nothing strange in finding the peacock on the table of Asoka. In fact credit should go to him for restricting its slaughter and gradual abolition.

Asoka restricted the slaughter of peacocks to two and one deer every day for the royal kitchen. His Rock Edict I says : "Here not a single living creature should be slaughtered and sacrificed. Nor should any samaja be held. For his Sacred and Gracious Majesty sees much objection in such samaja.... Formerly in the kitchen of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty, daily many hundred thousands of living creatures were slaughtered for the purpose of curries. But now when this religious edict is being inscribed, only three creatures are slaughtered : two peacocks and one deer, too not regularly. **Even these three creatures afterwards shall not be slaughtered.**[28] (bolds added). The Pillar Edict V of Asoka does not enumerate the name of peacock as one of the protected creatures. It is evident from the Edict I that Asoka was planning to dispense with peacocks. It may be safely concluded that the peacock's meat ceased to be a table delicacy towards the end of Asoka's life and Guptas extended protection to this bird.[29] The Mauryas had their totem as **Mor,** the peacock, and the totemistic animal is sacred and inviolable.

Kautilya prescribed the punishment of first amercement for those who molested the peacock and other auspicious birds. He says : "Elephants, horses or animals having the form of a man, bull or an ass living in oceans, as well as fish in tanks, lakes, channels and rivers ; and such game birds as **kraunch** (a kind of heron), **utkrosaka** (osprey), **datuha** (a sort of cuckoo), **hamsa** (swan) **chakravaka** (a brahmany duck), **jivanjivaka** (a kind of pheasant), **bhringaraja** (Lankis Malabiricus **chakora** (partridge), **mattakolia** (cuckoo), peacock, parrot, and **mananasorika** (maina) as well as other auspicious animals, whether birds or beasts, shall be protected, from all kinds of molestation. Those who violate the above rule shall be punished with first amercement."[30]

The declaration of peacock as our National Bird has added a new feather in its train, for its killing is punishable under the law. In fact a 10-year old boy was fined Rs. 500 (Rupees Five Hundred only) by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Jhansi on May 27, 1969 for killing a peacock. The judgment of the Magistrate is important, for the boy could not get an acquittal even on the plea of tender age. This judgment is a historic one and let us trace the part played by the bird in history.[31]

Place in History

Peacock is part and parcel of the history of mankind. Everyone knows that the most fabulous throne in the world was named after the peacock. A number of empires in the Indo-Ceylonese subcontinent was named after the most beautiful pheasant. Even British monarchs did not hesitate to take oaths by this native bird of India.

One of the commodities exported from Muziris (Myiricode, present Cranganore), the ancient port of Kerala, was peacock. The BIBLE mentions that King Solomon imported the gorgeous peafowl to the Holy Land through Judea and they wandered about the grounds of his great temple.[32] He raised a whole drove of them.[33] The bird was no doubt, introduced to the Holy Land by the Phoenicians who were the masters of the Arabian and Indian Oceans and whose privilege it was to trade with Muziris. They introduced it to Pharoahs of Egypt and kings of Asia Minor, who kept them in their gardens. The Hebrews kept these birds in captivity.[34] In Greece the peacock was associated with Hera as we have seen earlier.

Alexander the Great, took two hundred of these magnificent birds to Macedonia.[35] From Greece they were carried to Rome and the palaces of Caesars.[36] The Romans used the peacock for ornamental purposes. Aristophanese has confirmed that a peacock was taken to Europe from India via Persia.[37]

Though Indian epics, Puranas and other religious works mention the peacock, no king was privileged to use the bird as his flag except Bana of Mahabharata fame. The ancestors of Mauryas and Guptas were worshippers of Mor (peacock) and it was their totemistic bird. The origin of the erstwhile Mayurbhanj State (now in Orissa) is patent. The tradition current in the family is that their prime ancestor sprang up from the egg of a pea-fowl. It was for this reason that the emblem of the chief of Mayurbhanj was a peafowl, and that the killing of the peacock was prohibited in his state.[38]

The Moghuls glorified the peacock. Shah Jahan who built Taj Mahal found himself unable to keep the tonnes of gold and precous stones in the royal treasury. It occurred to the emperor that the possession of such rare jewels as rubies, garnets, pearls, emeralds, diamonds and other gems in the treasury

should be utilised for adorning the throne of the empire so that His Majesty might shine with increased splendour and the peacock is given a permanent place in history. He lost no time, commissioned hundreds of goldsmiths to make a throne that should be a wonder in the world. The throne he made was valued Rs. 71 millian at the time. Tavernier who had an opportunity to see the throne in the making valued it at six million pound-steerling. This costliest handiwork of man was fashioned out of one and a quarter tons of gold and a quarter ton of precious stones. The fate of this fabulous throne is shrouded in mystery today.[39]

Though not a native of China, the peacock was worshipped in China from time immemorial. It is an emblem of beauty and dignity among the Chinese. The use of the handsome tail feathers to designate official rank was commenced in the Ming dynasty, and ceased only with the dawn of the Republican Era (1918).

As the peacock is considered an inauspicious bird by the Englishmen, its association with the royal dynasties and kings is practically nil. However, I had partly recovered from one of the attacks of insanity his Ministers got him to read the King's Speech and he ended every sentence with the word peacock. The Minister who drilled him said that the word peacock was an excellent one for ending a sentence, only kings should not let subjects hear it, but should wisper it softly. The result was a perfect success and the pause at the close of each sentence had an excellent effect.[40]

Though Englishmen consider the peacock an inauspicious bird, we in India consider it an auspicious object. Hindus believe that a Brahman, a cow, fruits, flowers, milk, pearls, jewellery, a prostitute, an elephant, an umbrella, meat, fish, a gun, a bayonet, a mirror, a mongoose, a peacock with its plumage expanded, girls singing songs, band players and washermen carrying washed clothes etc. are good omens if one comes across them.[41] The origin of the peacock worship in India and other lands is due to this auspiciousness.

Peacock Worship in India

The cult of the peacock, pavolatry, is a distinct cultural contribution of the Dravidians to Hinduism. This cult is very ancient and is traceable to the Harappan days. Marshall and Mackay[42] have described peacock models in the Indus Valley pottery. The peacock represented the Earth Goddess to the Dravidians and the cult of this bird spread from South India to the world over. The Aryanisation of the peacock is a later development. The Dravidians who live in isolated pockets of North, Central and Middle India worship this bird.[43] Thus, the Mori clan of the Bhils of Central India worship the peacock as their totem and make periodical offerings of grain. The members of the clan believe that were they even to set foot on the tracks of a peacock, they would afterwards

suffer from some disease, and if a woman sees a peacock she must veil her face and look away.[44]

The bird is sacred among the Ahirs and Khandhs, who have pavonine totems.[45] The Koyis who inhabit the district of Godavari in Andhra Pradesh erect a pandal under a **Nim** tree beyond the precincts of their village when they desire to propitiate Sitala Mata, or Mariamma, the goddess of Cholera and Small Pox. The image of the goddess of small pox, made with earth from a white ant-hill is placed within the pandal on a three legged stool fashioned from the wood of the silk cotton tree after tying the image with a cloth or two round it and adorning its neck by a few peacock feathers.[46] The peacock has always been associated with the Mother Earth among the tribal people of India. The Khonds worship the bird as symbol of earth and the notorious Meriah sacrifice was in honour of **Thadha Pennoo** under the guise of a peacock.[47]

The bird is worshipped on the occassion of the Pongal by the Dravidians all over India. The Tamilians have the Mattu Pongal[48] (worship of the cattle as well). During the Pongal the image of Ganesh is the only one seen and his worship is rather perfunctory. In the evening of the last day (i.e. Mattu Pongal), the woman have a party, paying obeissance to a peacock and indulging in a family reunion of very simple character. This cattle tending ceremony is not confined to the Tamilians. The **Maun Charaun,**[49] or silent tending of the cattle, is performed by the people of Central India at the time of Diwali. The Dulhadeo (bridegroom deity) is the household godling in the Central parts of India and he is worshipped with peacock feathers.[50]

The worship of the peacock is nowhere more pronounced than in Tamil Nadu where the deified peacock becomes Lord Muruga. It is natural that the peacock, whose original habitat in the world was Southern Peninsula, should be worshipped after deification. Lord Muruga, the supreme god of the Tamilians is called Kartik, Kartikeya, Kartik Swami, Muttu Kumara Swami, Kandaswami etc. in different parts of India. He is the god of wars and is worshipped all over India, in one form or another. He has the peacock as his vehicle. **Kavatiyattam** is the most important ritual in temples dedicated to Lord Muruga in South India.

Just as Muruga has got peacock as his vehicle in South India, Saraswati, the goddess of learning and letters, has got the same bird as her conveyance in North India.[51] As different gods and godesses have separate vehicles for transportation, it is clear that Saraswati and Muruga, who has been elevated as Subrahmania in the post-Vedic period, are not uterine kins, though Hindu conception is that they are children of Lord Siva and his consort Parvati. Goddess Saraswati has her vehicle swan in South India and Bengal. Curiously enough, Kartik is the patron deity of prostitutes of Bengal and his pictures adorn the walls of their houses in the red light areas of Calcutta.[52] Kartik, they say, is an

eternal bachelor and his youth is Apollo-like. He has his consort Valli according to the Dravidian conception.

Lord Subrahmania is shown in South Indian temples, pictures and sculptures seated on a peacock with a serpent coiled on its claws, and goodess Saraswati is shown in a similar manner in North India. The peacock as the vehicle of Subrahmania or Saraswati represents wisdom, and the coiled serpent is symbolic of man's egoism. The peacock keeps the serpent in check to proclaim to the world that Man should similarly keep his pride and egoism under control. Though the peacock and serpent are enemies proverbially, the bird that keeps the serpent under control, does not kill it. This is an act of toleration and is symbolic of the Hindu philosophy of **Ahimsa.**

It is impossible to imagine Lord Krishna as a boy without his crown decorated without the peacock feathers. A peacock feather with its ocelli is the symbol of cowherd Krishna all over India. Brindavana, his birth place, contained about 1,000 temples and the peacocks and monkeys with which the neighbourhood abounds even today, enjoyed special endowments.[53]

Worship of the peacock is now deep-rooted in Hinduism, though it is a Dravidian contribution. Hindus hold the bird in deep reverence and would never think of harming it. The story goes that when Ravana, the demon king of Lanka, invaded the heavens for the purpose of conquering the gods, they fled away. Indra, the king of gods, came across a peacock, while he too was fleeing. He hid himself under the wings of the peacock in order to protect himself from Ravana and his onslaught. The peacock was then a plain-plumaged dull-coloured bird. Indra, in gratitude, conferred upon the bird the following boon : "I am Sahasraksha, or a thousand-eyed. As you saved my life from the onslaughts of Ravana, you too will possess one thousand eyes".[54] The peacock got its gorgeously coloured plumage and ocelli as a result of this boon. Aryanisation and deification of the peacock took centuries in which process the cult of the peacock spread to other lands as well.

Pavolatry in Persia

Peacock is worshipped by the followers of the Prophet. Nowhere is the worship more deep-rooted than in Perisa which celebated its 2500th birth anniversary in 1971. Giant peacocks adorned the main thoroughfares of Teheran and pictures were flashed in newspapers. Writers on Perisa have testified to the existence of this peacock cult from time immemorial. Mrs. M. E. Home Griffith,[55] writing in 1909, says : "The symbol of their religion is the **Malek-e-Taus,** a peacock, and it is held in great reverence".

Crowfoot[56] writing in 1901 has explained the rites connected with the peacock worship in these words : "The head of the village came in with saddlebags hanging over his shoulders. From the bag in front, which was over his chest,

he took the bronze figure of the Malek-e-Taus which was wrapped and the wrappings removed. The figure was shaped like a bird with a hole in the middle of the back covered by a lid, and a base like the stand of candlestick. The bird was then filled with holy water through the hole, and while this was going on all sang songs in Khurdish. Next, the priest approached it, kissed the basis first and then the other parts until he came to the beak. This was pierced, and the priest put his lips to it and sipped a drop of the water, and all those who were present, except of course, the Armenian, 'received the sacrament' in the same way, for so we must describe it.".

According to Sir George Birdwood[57] the Malek-e-Taus may indeed be an actual relic of Babylonian or Assyrian art. "More interesting to anthropologist than these speculations about origins will be, perhaps, the recurrence of the same figure among the Tachtadji in Lykia, a phenomenon to which writers on the Yezidis do not refer. Among the Tachtadji, however, the Malek-e-Taus, so far at least, as the reports of von Luschan and Bent carry us, has no bronze emodiment ; the natural peacock with them is regarded as the incarnation of evil. The Tachtadji speak Turkish only, the Yezidi Khurdish and a little Arabic. They live very far apart. To what, then, are we to attribute the common element ? Two possibilities seem to be open to us. It might conceivably be an independent survival in each case of the Tammuz-Thoas worship which once extended the whole area. Or there may in more recent times have been some connection between the two peoples, which has now been lost or else has completely eluded the observations of travellers".

The beliefs of the Yetidis concerning the peacock are shared by Muslims elsewhere in the world with slight variations. The Arabs believe that the Melek-e-Taus symbolised the sun god supported by the universal axis.[58] A Javanese Muhammedan myth, on the other hand, tells us that the peacock was the guardian at the gate of Paradise and ate the devil, thus conveying him within the gate.[59]

The credit for spreading the cult of the peacock from India to the West goes to Alexander the Great, for it is he who took the bird by the land route That the peacock reached the Hellenic world much earlier is undoubted, for the bird was sacred to Hera. It is well known that like Aryans who adopted tribal godling into their religion, the Christians adopted pagan types for giving them a fresh meaning. Thus, the peacock, which in Greak art belonged to Hera, became to Christian a symbol of resurrection, probably because its flesh was supposed not to decay.[60]

The peacock in Christian art was also an emblem of the ever-vigilant church for it was an attribute of Christ and Saint Barbara. Furthermore, the bird symbolised the grace of sacrament and heavenly glory.[61] Figuriness of peacocks are found in Christian churches in India and abroad, The Cathedral of St. Mark in Venice[62] has a beautiful and graceful carving of a peacock which

according to the Church authorities symbolised the immortality of the soul and its incorruptibility as well. The fabled incorruptibility of the flesh of the peacock was the cause of the bird being adopted as that type of resurrection.[63] The peocock was an emblem of the Romans and the Christians adopted it as a beautiful ornament for their tombs as well. However, the peacock on Roman coins designated the apotheosis of princesses, just as the eagle that of victors.[64]

The reason why the feathers of the peacock are not held sacred in Europe is that it is an emblem of Evil Eye or an ever-vigilant traitor. Many animals, particularly those with remarkable eyes are still considered possessors of Evil Eye. The peacock, Juno's own bird, full of eyes, symbolise the most envious and ill-natured of the deities and it has always been held to be a potent mischief-maker in the European lore. Even well-educated Englishmen are reported to be shocked at the sight of the peacock's feathers being put up as ornaments. The English people believe that death or at least some evil will happen if the feathers of the peacock are brought home.[65] The export of peacock's feathers from India for ornamental purposes to Europe during the Middle Ages suffered a setback on account of this superstition.

Why do the English people consider the peacock as an inauspicious bird? "When God created the peacock, the Seven Deadly Sins looked with feelings of envy upon its gorgeous plumage, and complained of the Creator's injustice. The Creator said: 'You are quite right; I have been unjust, for I have already bestowed too much on you; the Deadly Sins ought to be black as Night, who covers them with her veil'. Thereafter he placed the yellow eye of Envy, the red eye of Murder, the green eye of Jealousy, and the rest belonging to others, on the peacock's feathers and set the bird free. Thus, deprived of their eyes, the Sins pursued the peacock with a view to recover their lost eyes from it, but their efforts proved unavailing. This is the reason why, when a man adorns himself with a peacock's feathers, misfortune dogs his steps and overwhelm in every day."[66] The conservative English people cannot dislodge this freak of mythology.

The peacock, in short, symbolised the all-seeing, arrogance, beauty, court life, dignity, immortality, luxury, magnificence, ornamentation, pompousness, regality, resurrection, worldly pride etc. in different parts of the world. In medieaval hermetics the bird was the symbol of the soul. The peacock's feather is an emblem of vainglory and in Asian countries a mark of rank. The peacock with its full tail signified, in dream, pride misplaced in Europe. The folded tail of a peacock similarly signified remose. The peacock's tail elsewhere means the star-studded sky or the ever watchful Evil Eye.[67]

The ancients believed that the peacock was the destroyer of serpents, thus the releaser of fertilising moisture. Pavolatry, originally confined to India, spread to the nearby lands in Asia and Europe and the bird today is part and parcel of the major religious systems of the world. Christianity, Hinduism,

Buddhism and Islam. India can legitimately feel proud of adopting the peacock as her National Bird and contributing its cult to the cultural enhancement of Asia and Europe.

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FOLK-GAMES OF CATTLE-BREADERS OF THE BQRODA HILLS OF GUJARAT*

The Barada Hills are located on the West of Saurashtra region of the Gujarat State in India. Some of the hills are very near the Sea-Coast of the Arabian Sea. The area is green and rich with trees, plants, hurbs and creepers. The hills have also grass-land. These hills abound in the Cattle-breeders who are locally known as Rabaris. They are known as Scythians, who migrated from the Central Asia to this land. They have Huns as their surnames. In the heart of the Barada Hills as well as in the Gir forest, there are many families of the Cattle-breeders, whose surname is Hun. It is Dr. H. Westphal, a noted German Anthropologist, who visited the hills in the year 1966 along with the present contributor to collect data on them. He recognised the cattle-breeders as Huns.

The forest of Barada Hills is not dense as the Himalayan forests or the forests of the Western Ghats but they are like thickets. In the forest and the Hills, these Cattle-breeders have settled. Their settlements are known as 'Nisada', which are a clusted of ten to fifty huts made of stone-walls with leafy roofs. Some huts, now-a-days, have been roofed with Corrugated tin sheets. A hut is surrounded by dry and thorny branches of plants or trees, which serve the purpose of a wall or a fence. Adjoining to a hut, in the vast compound, there is a cow-shed, made from the thorny and dry branches of plants or branches of trees, with sky-exposed roofs. They plant a tree or trees in the spacious compound so as their Cattle can rest there. Stony buckets of huge siezes are, also, seen in the compounds to store water for Cattles, and to sprinkle on bodies of buffaloes when the day becomes hot.

They thrive on Cattle and Cattle-products, such as milk, butter, Ghee, or boiled butter, dried butter which is locally known as Mavo, used for sweetmeats such as Penda, Gulabjambu and Thabadi etc. They keep Cows, Buffaloes, Goats, Sheeps and Camels, because fodder is easily available for these animals.

The Khambhala Lake is the biggest and largest in the Hills. There

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are also many small pools and ponds in the Hills, and rivulets overflow in the monsoon with water. The Government of Gujarat has recently constructed a dam in the Barada Hills near the Bileshwar temple, lying on the national highway joining Porbander and Jamnagar. Hence water is easily available in the Hills and so the Cattle-breeders have permanently settled here. The main occupation of these people is to breed cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep and camels. When the cattle go for grazing, adults or children accompany them to look after. They pass the whole day with their cattle. This is their routine work. To any other tribe, this sort of work would have been tiresome and tedious while it is not at all tedious to these people. While doing such work they practice their own folk-games, which are a part of their way of life. These games keep them fresh and give them joy because most of them are recreational in nature.

"They are passed from child to child in almost pure oral tradition with no reference whatever to print and probably with negligible influence from teachers, parents or recreation leaders."[1] Thus, folk-games are passed over traditionally. No rules are laid down on the pages of books, but they are oral changing from region to region, from village to village. Rules are, of course, flexible and subject to amendment at the will of the players."[2] In the games, the material used is, generally, local or as available in their huts or from the surroundings.

The folk-games, as collected by the present contributor and played by them, are nearly thirty seven in numbers. Their names are (1)Gariya Jail-Top spinning (2) Kiteflying (3) Kabbadi (4) Hasrakh Metali or KhoKho (4) Khilo Pado (5) Dhamaliyo Dhoko (6) Mot Pagiyau (7) Sat-Satamani (8) Kagada-Kadhi (9) Chhut Dadi (10) Easto (11) Nav Kankari (12) Char-Kankari (13) Pakada Pakadi (14) Langadi (15) Ambali Pimpali (16) Mungi-Vel (17) Andhalo Pado (18) Bhon Bhon (19) Nar Bakaro (20) Shishi-Bandi (21) Sepoy, Sepoy (22) Sepoy (23) Hud hukadu (24) Ajari Bajari (25) Dhingi-Dhingi (26) Ghar Ghar (27) Moi Thango or Gabi Gabi (28) Paida (29) Sat-Tali (30) Bath-Gabadi (31) Lambu Thekavun (32) Unchu Thekavun (33) Koyado (34) Tansali Sinchavi (35) Lakadi-Sinchavi (36) Mati Sinchavo (37) Gad Sinchavi, etc. These are all local names. Some of their games have rhyming couplets or riddles or play-words, which can be sung or recited in folk-tunes.

How are these folk-games played or what are their techniques when they play them? What material do they use? These are the problems

1. Dr. H. Brunvand, The study of American Folklore, p. No. 226.
2. Dr. Ramprasad Dadhich, Lok-Sahitya, Hindi, Gujarati Lok-Sahitya Visheshanka, June, 1972, p. No. 47.

connected with their folk-games. We will try to answer these questions one by one.

The technique of the folk-games

(1) **Gariya-Jali:** It is a folk-game which is played by village boys of Gujarat and in many other states like Uttar Pradesh. It is known as Lattha Khela there and in Orissa, it is known as Laudi Khel. Thus it is a popular game with children of India.

It is generally a group-game of the Barada-Hills, but sometimes. there are only two players i.e. a game for the two.

On the surface of the earth a circle is drawn with the help of the sharp iron-point or with a small weed, tied at one end of the string, with whose help, a top is being spun.

In the beginning, toss is made. There is a phrase for toss, called as 'Meh-Unalo." A toss is nothing but small piece of a flat stone which is moistured with saliva on one side and it is thrown in air. A group asks for Meh i.e. moistured side. If its moistured side faces the sky, the group is a toss-winning team which goes on the ground. The remaining group has to keep his top in the circle drawn on the surface of the earth. The top, in the circle, is aimed at by the players with the help of tops. The players spin their tops on it. The top, that does not touch the top, lying in the circle, is being captured with the help of the string and whose top is being captured, becomes defeated and he has to field the game.

There are many variants of this game in Gujarat. There are many names of the games. Gariyo is also known as Bhamardo-top. When the game is played in the monsoon season, the players often recite a rhyme, which runs as under:

Bhamardani aair,
Mem ni dhar!
(Oh point of a top and shower of rain)

Thus, the cycle of the game goes on. It is the game of boys only.

Kite-flying: It is an international game, which is said to be originated in China, with a purpose to lessen human labour especially in Tibet. In India, it was popularized by the Moghal rulers. It is a national game, played in cities, towns, and villages of India. In Kite-flying game at Gujarat both boys and girls, men and women, participate. In certain towns, kite-flying competitions are being held. Hence it is very popular game in Gujarat. It is an individual game as well as a group-game.

The cattle-breeders of the Hills are nomadic. They move from place to place. With the contact of the town-dwelling people, the kite-flying might have been adopted by these people.

Hututu or Kabbadi: It is now a national game, but the cattle-breeders have their own game-rules for Kabbadi or Hututu. Kabbadi is known as Bhagad Tui in the Bhal region of the Gujarat State, nearing the gulf of the Cambay. In the north Gujarat, it is known as Kabbadi.

Hasrakh Matali: In many places of the state, it is known as Kho Kho. It is a group game. The whole group is divided in two teams. One team is the group of players, other of the fielders. Fielders sit down on the earth and players move round them. One of the fielders pursue them to catch one of the players, and aims for the purpose pushing a fielder, saying Hasrakh Matali or Kho Kho when the fielder thinks fit to do so. The game has many aims except recreation. Girls also play this game and number of players is generally ten.

Khilo-pado: Literally Khilo means a pole and Pado means a he-buffalo. Among the cattle-breeders, the game has variant and different techniques.

Generally a wooden pole is being erected on the surface of the land, and the toss-winning team would keep pieces of cloths near the pole. The other team would try to take away pieces of cloths. When all are taken away, fielders become winner and winners go to the pole to play the game. It is a group-game and specially played by the cattle-breeders of the Hills.

Dhamaliyo-Dhoko: It is a circular game. The group of boys or girls sit round on the earth, The fielder is a boy or a girl, according to the group. The fielder has a cloth-ball or a knotted cloth. The attention of the players' group should be in the circle and no player is allowed to look behind. The fielder takes round after rounds at the back of the players and put the cloth ball or knotted cloth at the back of a player. The player is not aware of it, and the fielder complete a round and if the player is caught red-handed by the opposite party, he is beaten with the cloth ball so long as he does not stand up and make his movement to run at backs of the players. The player is replaced by the fielder. Thus the game goes on. The game has a couplet, which runs as under:

Dhamaliyo dhoko dham dham thaya,
Pachhu vali juye a mar khaya!

It means that a player, who would look at the back, would be beaten because the naughty and hotty stick moves to and fro.

A similar folk-game is also played by the children of the Uttar Pra-

desh. The game is known as Ghode Jamal, which has a rhyme, which runs as under: Ghoda a Jamal bhay,
Pichhe dekho mar khay!

Compare these two games with Drop the Handkerchief.[1]

Mot Pagiyun: It is the game of male only. Boys and adults can also play it. A piece of cloth is taken by the fielder and it is knotted at one end. The whole piece of cloth is braided. This braided cloth is kept between the first big finger i.e. a thumb and the second finger of a leg. Having kept the head downward and knelt down from the waist, keeping two palms on the earth, the piece is thrown up so as to reach the players, who try to catch it. If players catch it all times, they are winners. If they lose it, they field the game. Thus, the game is being played by them. Generally, it is played in open field. It is an outdoor game. This game is found only among the Cattle-breeders of the Barada-Hills. The game is meant to train ears for aiming. The literal meaning of the game is death-feet (mot-pagiyun).

Sat Satamani: In the game, there should be generally seven-players. First, they ripen-**pake.** In the process, they sit or stand together and clap their hands and whose palm is up, is called or known as ripened or pakyo. One who is not ripened, becomes a fielder. The fielder has to shut or close eyes to try to find out players, who are hidden in a corner or behind or under cots if they play in the compound, or who are hidden behind trunks of trees if they play in fields, farms or in the wood. The player, who is caught, is a fielder. And thus the whole game goes on. It is a mixed game of boys only and girls only. The game is played all over the state.

Kagada Kadhi: It literally means crow and curry. On the game, there is a couplet which runs thus:

Chan Chan Bagali, chanani dal,
Hun papaiyo tun mug dal,
Av re kagada Kadhi piva!
A call-line uttered by players runs thus:
Mara man kankari khunche chhe?

It means:

Oh she-crane, eat, eat halves of grams,
I am Papaya, you are mug dal;
Oh, crow now come, come to drink curry!

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1. Maria Leach. The Standard Dictionary of Folklore: Mythology and Legend, Vol. 1. p. No. 432.

A call-line means : do you feel pinching of stone in me ?

There are many variants of couplets in different parts of the states.

A group of players find out a small piece of stone. They fix up a fielder with "ripen-method." The fielder faces the direction of the Village of his maternal uncle. One player picks up the piece of stone and hides it in his palm, folding near the knee. The fielder is invited to find out the player in whose palm it is hidden. If he is picked up or traced out, the player goes out for fielding. Thus the game goes on. It is played by both the sexes.

Chhut dadi : Literally it means to throw a small ball on players. It is the game of the boys only. It can be played in open. A ball, made from rugs, is thrown on the players. In the game, there is no fielder. All are players as well as fielders. With the ball, a player is aimed at. There is no limit in number of players. The player, who has a ball with him, is touched by "another" player, "another" player is not aimed at. Thus the game goes on.

There is a variant of this game in which seven flat stones are kept erect.

These seven stones are known as 'fusels' A heap of the seven stones is called 'Dher'. The players would throw ball on Dher to cause it to fall down. If it is not done so and the ball is being caught, the players are declared 'out' and they become fielders and players.

If the whole 'Dher' is caused to fall down, the players try to take away the ball so long as it is not erected. If the ball is taken away and fusel, not erected, the game is being started by the same player. This game in the Bhal and the Kaner region is known as Nagariyo, where pieces of woods are used in place of the stone pieces for the game. It is also known as Nagolchhun.

Easto : This game can be seen playing in the whole of western region of Saurashtra. A chart is drawn on the earth with the help of an edge of a stone or with the wooden stick. The game can be played by four boys with the help of four broken small pieces of woods, which serve the purpose of dice, as well as small four pieces of stones. Three or two players can also play with it. In the Hills, on stones, they carve easto permanently. When they go to graze their cattle, to kill time, they play with it. In the Uttar Pradesh, it is popular as Sola gisto.

Nakunkari : It means a game of nine small pieces of stone, which can be played by four, three or two boys or adults with the help of nine small stone pieces drawn on the earth or stone.

Char Kunkari : The game can be played by two boys or adults with

the helf of four small pieces of stones and a chart either drawn on the earth ; or stones.

Easto, Navkunkari and Char Kunkari are also indoor games and good pastimes.

Pakada Pakadi : It is a water game. It means literally catch and catch. It can be played in a river or a lake or a water-pool or a pond which has deep water, where a player can dive. It is played both by boys and girls. The game trains them for swimming. It is a group-game. The players, with clappings of palm, try to ripen.

The player, who is not ripened becomes a fielder. All players dive deep in water so as their limbs may not be visible to the fielder. The fielder also dive to find them out of the water. If the fielder catches any of the players, he has to replace the fielder. Thus it goes on. The game is also known as 'Dubaki Dav' i.e., the dive play, in other parts of the Gujarat State.

Langadi : This is a popular game in all parts of the state. It is the game of teenagers. It is also a group-game. The unripened fellow becomes a fielder who keeps his one leg up and hops to catch one of the players caught becomes the fielder and thus it goes on.

Occassionally girls also play the game.

Mungi Vel : It means, literally, a dumb-creeper. It is a group-game of boys only. First the group keeps standing to ripen i.e., to fix up, who would be the fielder. The players except the fielder are scattered in the open space. The fielder try to catch a player without uttering a single word. The smile or laughter on the face of a fielder is also forbidden in the game. Silently, a fielder goes to catch the player. The player, caught, is declared as "out". Thus the fielder catches one by one except the last one. When only one player is left out on the ground, the game is over. Thus the game goes on.

Amboli Pimpali : It is a group-game of boys only. It is believed that this game was played by Pandavas and Kauravas. It is also known as Korambhadi. In the beginning, the players ripen. One, who is left out, is now a fielder. A stick is thrown off from a circle drawn on the earth, by the player. The fielder goes off to bring the piece to keep it in the circle. Having placed it in the circle, he claimbs up the tree and catches a player, who now becomes a fielder. Thus it goes on.

Andhalo Pato : Literally it means to wrap a piece of cloth over eyes. To fix up a fielder, they sit to ripen. Unripened player becomes a fielder. A piece of colth is bound over eyes. The other players sit at a distance of nearly ten feet. The fielder tries to catch one of them. The player, who is caught first, becomes a fielder. Thus the game goes on. It

is also a group-game. This game is also found in other parts of the Gujarat State.

Bhon Bhon: It is a cry like game. In the game, a couplet is being sung while playing. It runs thus:

Lili pili nagar Vel;
Mara Bheru ne,
Tapali mari chhodi mel
It means: Green and yellow are betal leaves;
Give a slap to my player but release him.

In the game, players knit their fingers and stand in a line. Last player and his companion will try to pass by from the canopy made by first and second player with their hands and fingers. Players sing the couplet mentioned above. Thus most of the players pass by. The remaining two come out as fielders. They try to catch players. From players, who are caught, join fielders making a big group. The whole group, then comes out to catch players. Thus the game goes on. It is played both by boys and girls.

Nar-Bakaro: Literally it means the game between a wolf and a goat. It is a group-game played both by boys and girls. First, they try to ripen. Suppose, there is a group of ten players. The tenth is Left out, so he is wolf, nineth is a shephard and eighth is a dog and the remaining seven are goats. The wolf would be in his abode. When the wolf would go to goats' abode to catch it, the shephard and the dog would try their best to catch it. If the wolf is caught by them, the game is over. This game is found only among the cattle-breeders of the Hills.

Shishi Bandi: It is a group-game of boys only. The players has to ripen to select a fielder. Except the fielder, the players will form a round while-standing first the fielder would shout:

Kona mathe shishi bhangi? (On whose head was the bottle broken?) The player would reply: "Kona mathe tandi? (On whose head it was broken?) The fielder would reply: 'On the head of my. X. The player, whose name has been announced would stand up immediately and would join the fielder. Thus is game goes on. For players and a fielder it is a game of give and take. It lasts for a very long period. This game is played by children of the cattle-breeders of the Hills.

Sepoy-Sepoy: The game is played by boys and girls. But their motif is different. In boys' game, there is a forest-ranger, sepoys and five to seven shepherds from boy-players. Shephards jesture folk-cries to their herds of cattle. They are disturbed by the ranger and his sepoys. Shephards try to run away, but they are caught red handed by the ranger

and the sepoys. Shephards beg them to pardon. When the game is going-on, a player in disguise of a headman comes there. Seeing the headman, shephards are inspired to attempt to run away but the headman interferes and the ranger allows them to go.

In girls' game, 'Sepoy', players in guise of shephard go to a forest to cut grass. They try to catch them. While doing so, shephardesses try to run away but they cannot. So they cry and shout: 'When we shall be at home, we shall complain to four male number that we were harassed by sepoys and sahebs. Finally they beg them to pardon. Sepoys return their sickles and cloths meant to bring grass.

Hud hu Kadu: It is a group-game. There are always two teams of seven players. They toss. The winner of the toss will heap dust in a fixed boundary-line. Players who heap dust would recite a couplet: Hud ha kadu, Khambhalu dhunkadu. It means a village named Khambhala is very near. Then the players of the opposite team would attempt to destroy those heaps. The player of the first team would make the heaps. Thus the game goes on—one group distroys and the other makes that in order. It is a local game.

Ajari-Bajari: It is a group-game in which there may be eight to twenty players. In other parts of the state, it is known as Abulo Dhabala. A chart generally is drawn in which there are twelve kothors on forts. Four kothors are marked with some signs. Each player is posted on each corner. One player stands out where a sign has been drawn. The player standing out will clap his palms, the players standing on the corners would rush in, and they will turn their faces towards those, who are in the forts and would try to pick up dust from the ground and to return to their posts. When they come out undisturbed, it is called—Gindu the end of the game.

Dhingi-Dhingi: It is the game of girls only. It is a group game. Dhingi means a she-doll. In this game, whole life-cycle, in jesture, is being played. Marriage, comings of she-friends, relatives, etc. are also being played in jestures. On one side, there would be a bride's group, on the other a bride-groom's group. The marriage-ceremony of the she-doll takes place with the he-doll in the game. All function of a marriage is celebrated properly. Marriage-songs are also sung. When the marriage-party is given send-off, the game comes to an end. Some players also celebrate the birth of a child, singing songs and lullabies The first Holi-ceremony is also celebrated. Henceforth the game comes to an end.

Ghar-Ghar: It is mixed game of boys and girls. In it, the whole life-cycle is being played by them. A chart is drawn indicating the

house-sape, verandah, compound and wall. These two games are meant to train them to carry the burden of the married life.

Moi Thango: Moi is a scraped small piece of wood of 1/2 foot, pointed at two ends. Thango is a small stick of nearly 1-1/2 feet, pointed at an end. A small slopy hole-gabi is dug on the ground. Moi is kept on it and thrown at a distance with the help of the pointed end of Thango or dando—a stick by a player. Others stand at a distance to catch Moi. Suppose it is caught, the moi player looses the game and from his party, next player comes to play. Thus it goes on. When moi of all players is being caught or dando, lying on gabi, is aimed at one by one with the moi, the party looses the game and they join as fielders.

Paida: Iron wheels of moderate sieze are also popular for games among boys of the cattle-breeders. It is a game of running. With the help of an iron rod, they circle the wheel of the earth, running as fast as they can. The players, who runs the fastest, is the winner. Paida, literarly, means wheels.

Sat Tali: Literally it means seven clappings of hands. It is a group-game played by boys as well as girls in an open ground. It can be played in all seasons except rainy days. There are many varients of this game in Gujarat. In the beginning, the group ripens. The remaining boy or a girl becomes a fielder. One of the players gives seven claps in the palm of a hand of fielders. At the seventh, he shouts: Oh see. a kite flies, See, Oh see; When the fielder looks back, the player gives the final clap, and runs away. Fielder goes at the back to catch the players. The player caught becomes a fielder and thus the game goes on.

Bath-Gabadi: Literally it means to embrace and throw away. There are two players only. They wrestle like wrestlers. They player, who is thrown on the ground gets defeat. This game is played when there are marriage or Kalash, a ritual ceremony at a time when they install mother-goddess Mammai.

Laubu Thekavau: It is long jump.

Unchu Thekavau: It is high jump.

Koyado: This game is also played when there are marriage-ceremonies or Kalash rituals. A rope is knotted with many knots in which there is a secret knot which is very difficult to unfold. The rope is thrown when there is a crowd or a marriage-party to unfold all knots. Many try but it becomes difficult to unfold the secret knot. One, who succeeds, get applauses and praises and is known as bravando. It is a individual game of male-sex only.

Tansali Sinchavi: Tansali Sinchavi is also an individual's game, which is played by male-sex only when there are festivals, fairs or ritual ceremonies. Tansali is a bronze bowl. Its outer part is besmeared with

oil and a tansali's mouth is fixed up on the earth. Young men are challenged to pick it up with the help of five fingers only. One who can do it, is called bravando.

Lakadi Sinchavi: This game is played by male sex only when there are festivals, fairs or ritual ceremonies. Two young men come forth with a heavy, thick and strong bamboo stick. They sit down on the ground opposite to one another. They keep a stick in their hands and try to draw towards them. The game lasts long if both are of strong features. The young man who draws the stick towards him is a winner.

Mati Sinchavo: This game is played when there is a marriage or Kalash ceremony in the tribe. A strong and sturdy young man comes out off the party and challenges the crowd for the game of Mati Sinchavo.

Mati means a man. He is generally strong, stout and weighty man Sinchavo means to pick-up. Literally it means the lifting of a man. It is a game like weight lifting.

In the game, a strong and sturdy, weighty and stout man lies down on the ground. The man, who has taken up the challenge, would try to pick him up with his hands upto his breast or head. If he is successful, he is taken up as bravando.

Gad Sinchavi: Gad is a big stone of nearly fifty kilograms. When the Cattle-breeders go to hilly-forest, they play this game. A young man is challenged to pick up such a stone. If he picks it up, he gets praises and eulogies. It is also a weight lifting game.

Such games like Mati Sinchavo and Gad Sinchavo are being played by them because they have to lift up young cattle when they are ill. Such games train them for practical purposes of their life.

These are the folk-game played by the cattle-breeders of the Hills. Some of them are international games such as kite-flying. Some of them are national; such as kabbadi and top-spinning, some of them, regional; such as Kho Kho and Ambali Pimpali, some of them, local: such as Hud hukadu, and some of them are tribal, such as Tansali Sinchavi, Mati Sinchavo, Gad Sinchavi etc.

Games of the cattle-breeders

The folk-games, of the cattle-breeders of the Hills only are as under:

(1) Sepoy, Sepoy, (2) Khilo pado, (3) Koyado (4) Tansali Sinchavi (5) Lakadi Sinchavi (6) Mati Sinchavo (7) Gad Sinchavi (8) Mot pagiyun (9) Nar Bakaro (10) Shishi Bandi (11) Hud hukadu (12) Ajari Bajari (13) Bath gabadi etc.

"The problem of classifying games, basic to further research has not been completely solved."[1] There are different scholars who have classi-

fied these games differently. Here is an attempt where the games of the cattle-breeders of the Hill is classified as under:

(1) Mix-games in which boys and girls play together.
(2) Folk-games for boys only,
(3) Folk-games for girls only,
(4) Folk-games for adults only,
(5) Folk-games which are played in water.
(6) The Jungle and outdoor games,
(7) Indoor games,
(8) Games which are played as indoor as well as outdoor games,
(9) Seasonal folk-games,
(10) Folk-games which can be played year round,
(11) Folk-games which can be played only by the day-time,
(12) Folk-games which can be played only at moony-night,
(13) Ritual or ceremonial games,
(14) Group-games,
(15) Individual games,

Of these 15 types of games No. 1 or the mix-folk games are Sepoy, Sepoy, Ghar Ghar Dhingi Dhingi, Sat statmani etc.

(2) Folk-games played by boys or males only with female participants are Khilo pado, Khokho, Dhamaliyo Dhoko, Mot-pagiyun, Sat Satamani, Kagada Kadhi, Chuut Dadi, Pakada Pakadi, Easto, Navkunkari, Char Kunkari, Langadi, Hasrakh matali, Ambali Pimpali, Andhalo pato, Bhon Bhon, Nar Bakaro, Shishi Bandi, Moi Thango, Kite-flying, Top-spinning, Paida, Mungi Vel, Ajari Bajari etc.

(3) The folk-games, those are also played by girls, are Khokho, Dhamaliyo Dhoko, Sat Satamani, Kagada Kadhi, Pakada Pakadi, Sepoy, Langadi, Andhalo Pato, Bhon Bhon, Nar Bakaro, Hudhukadu etc.

(4) The games, which are also played by males, are Easto, Navkunkari, Charkunkari, Hudhukadu, Mot pagiyo, Kho Bath gabadi, Koyado, Tansali Sinchavi, Lakadi Sinchavi, Mati Sinchavo, Gad Sinchavin, Mungi Vel etc.

(5) The water game is Pakada Pakadi or Dubaki Dev.

(6) The jungle games and outdoor games are Kholo pado, Kho Kho, Mot Pagiyun, Kagada Kadi Chhut Dadi, Easto, Navkunkari, Char Kunkari, Ambali Pimpali, Mungi Vel, Andhalo Pato, Bhon Bhon, Nar Bakaro, Shashi Bandi, Sepoy, Sepoy. Hudhukadu, Gad Sinchavi etc.

(7) Indoor games are Dhingi Dhingi, Easto, Nav-Kunkari, Char Kunkari etc.

1. Dr. J. H. Brunvand, The study of American Folklore, p. No. 227.

(8) Indoor and outdoor games are Easto, Nav-Kunkari, Charkunkari etc.

(9) Seasonal games are Pakada pakadi played only in rainy season. Gariya jali played in the monsoon only. Khokho can be played all around the year except the monsoon. Ambali Pimpli, only in the summer. Gabi Gabi or Moi Thango only in the summer.

(10) The folk-games, played year around, are khio pado, chhut dadi Sat Satamani, Kagada Kadhi, Easto, Navkunkari, Char Kunkari, Langadi, Mungi Vel, Andhalo pato, Bhon Bhon, Nar Bakaro, Shishi Bandi, Sepoy, Sepoy Ajari Bajari, Hudhukadu, Sat Tali, Kayado, Bath Gabadi, Mati Sinchavo, Gad Sinchavi, Tasali Sinchavi, Lakadi Sinchavi, Ghar Ghar Dhingi Dhingi etc.

(11) Games played by day-time only are Ambali Pimpali, pakada pakadi, Sepoy, Sepoy, Nar Bakaro, Easto, Charkunkari, Nav-Kunkari, Ghar Ghar, Dhingali Dhingali, Gariya Jali, Kite-flying etc.

(12) Games played at the mony light are Langadi, Khokho, Hasrakh Matali, Mungivel, Sat Tali etc.

(13) The ritual games or the ceremonial games are Koyado, Tansali Sinchavi, Lakadi Sinchavi, Mati Sinchavo etc.

(14) The group-games are as under: Khilo pado, Kho kho or Kasrakh Matali, Mot pagiyun, Sat satamain, Pakada Pakadi, Kagada Kadhi, Chhut dadi, Dubakida, Langadi, Ambali Pimpali, Mungi Vel, Andhalo Pato, Bhon Bhon, Nar Bakaro, Shishi Bandi, Sepoy, Sepoy Hudhukadum, Dhingi Dhingi, Ghar Ghar, Gariya-jali, Moi Thango etc.

(15) Individual games in which only one, or two, three or four players can play, are Nav-kunkari, Char kunkari, Bath gabadi, Mati Sinchavo, Gad Sinchavi, Lakadi Sinchavi, Easto, Tansali sinchavi etc.

These folk-games have technical terminology such Meh Unalo, Gidu chade, Pakavau, Meen Kevravavun, Dher, Fusel, Pat or Pad, Da or day, Bhiloo or Bheru or Bhittu.

In a group-game, toss-winning system is found. Meh Unalo is just like a toss Playing Meh Unalo literally means the monsoon and the summer.

Players select a flat piece of a small stone or baked earthern piece of a broken pot. Its one side is moistured either with water or mouth liquid saliva, in Gujarati known as Thunk. Moistured side is Meh because it is wet and its dry side is Unalo, the summer.

One of the captain or leader of the team selects Meh for the team. Like a toss, it is thrown in the air. When it comes back on the earth; its side is being observed by captains with players. If the toss's moistured side faces the sky, the leader, who has demanded, goes to the field for play and another team to field.

They have also some peculiar terms, viz. Gidu Chadi, Pakavun, Meen Kevravavum, Da or Dav Apavo etc. These terms are meanigful them, such as.

Gidu Chade: It means having lost the game. Gidu stands for a goal. Gidu chade means to get a goal. Gidu chadavavun means to give a goal. The winner team gives a goal known as gidu chadavayun.

Pakavun: It means literally to ripen. There are three methods for pakavun. One of them is Meh Unalo ment for the teams only. It is an ephemeral contest. For the process, all players stand together in a round and clap their hands keeping palms near the stomach, either facing the sky or ground. The majority clears out the group. There is second round with the same process. It goes on the fashion. One who is not finally ripened is a fielder.

To form a team, there is a method known as padhi Avavun. For teams, two captains are, first, fixed. They request players to go or naming themselves means padhi Avanun. Two players go aside to name themselves. When they come back to the captains, they recite a line: Adhi Padhi avya.

The captains will question them: Shun padhi avya ?

Players: Kone joyaye Vagh ?
Kone joyaye sinh ?

It means that we have come naming ourselves. The captains would ask: 'Oh, what are your names ?' The players would reply: 'who wants a tiger and who wants a lion ?' The reply of a captain would be: 'I want lion'. A lion-named player would join that captain. And thus a team is made for the game. Having formed the team, they toss. And toss-winning team would go for the play.

Meen Kevravavun: It means to accept a defeat by saying meen. The Winner demands it. Dher means a small heap of small pieces of seven stones, or also heap of dust. Seven stones, when scattered, are known as Fusel. Pat or Pad means play-ground. Outdoor games are always played on pat or pad.

Da or **Dav Apavo** means to play a game as a fielder. **Da Levo** means to play a game as a player.

Bhiloo or **Bheru** or **Bhittu** means parterners in a game.

Some of the folk-games are accompanied with couplets or riddles or rhymes or some folk-cries with some words or pharses. The game played with couplets are Kagado Kadhi, Dhiamaliya Dhoko, Gariya Jali, Mon Thango, Bhon Bhon etc. Gariya Jali has a rhyme, spoken thus:

Gariyani aar, mehni dhar
(falling or rain, point of a spinning wheel !)

Meh dhaduke dariya par
(Oh rain thunders beyond the sea !)
second rhyme runs thus ;

'Ash, pani ne chhash ;
Taro gariyo tapash
(Hope, water and curd-milk, see the point or your top !)

Other game is moi Thango, whose rhyme is as under :
Moi no thango,
Ne me bhango ;

(A piece of moi, disappeared the rain !)

Bhon Bhon has also a rhyming couplet, which is as under :
Lili pili nagar vel,
Mara Bheru ne ;
Tappali mari,
Chhodi mel !

('The betal leaves are green and yellow. Giving a slap, release my playmates).

Khokho, Ambali Pimpali etc. begin with folk-cries like question-answer. Kho Kho begins with these words :—

Tel pae chee ke pani
Reply is : pani.

(Oh what do you drink, water or oil ? Reply is water)
Ambli pimpli begins with a shout : Ambali Pimpli chhute chhe. (Ambali Pimpali is, now, being released).

Hudukadu has a rhyme like cry : Hudhukadu
Khambhalu dhunkadu

(Hudhukadu, khambhal a village is very near).

The metre and music or rhymes has some significant relation with steps, breaths and strain enjoyed by players.

Thus "traditional games offer an ideal topic for folklore research."[1] and "may serve in more ways than one as a convenient key to the way of life of a people."[2]

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1. Dr. D. H. Brunvand, The study of American Folklore, p. No. 226.
2. Maria Leach, The standard Dictionary of folklore Mythology, and Legend, Vol. I, p. No. 432.

Richard M. Dorson

IN MEMORIAM : EDWIN C. KIRKLAND, 1902-1972.

A friend of folklorologists of India Professor Dr. E. C. Kirkland passed away from us when he was 70 years old. He paid visits to our office time and again in 1962-63 in connection with his research on a Bibliography of South Asian Folklore. We mourn his death. In this connection we reproduce Dr. Dorson's note that speaks for itself—Ed.

The carrier of Ed Kirkland dramatically reveals the possibilities open to an imaginative folklorist. It began along conventional lines—if any folklore scholar can be held conventional—of an English literature professor with southern roots who deeveloped an interest in the traditional ballad. After receiving his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees respectively at Worford College, Vanderbilt University, and Northwestern University, the last in 1934, he joined the faculty of the University of Tennessee and rapidly became involved in folklore activities in the state. He served as secretary and president of the Tennessee Folklore Society and editor of its **Bulletin,** wrote an account of the society for the **Journal of American Folklore** in 1943 in a collaborative survey of regional folklore societies, and compiled an extensive forty-three page inventory of the state's folksongs, published in the same journal in 1946 as "A Check List of Titles of Tennessee Folksongs." During this period he was collecting and reporting on folksongs in the state, and made the point, well in advance of current thinking, in an article on "Popular Ballads Recorded in Khoxville, Tenneessee" (Southern Folklore Quarterly 2(1938) : (65-80) that the urban and lowland areas of dense population could yield returns to collectors fully as much as the isolated uplands they constantly combed. In a year's time in 1937 Ed. and his wife Mary recorded over 275 folksongs from east Tenneessee and West North Carolina, and in the city of Knoxvilie they uncovered some of Child's prize ballads, including the rare "Robin Hood and Little John" (number 125). In an article comparing this text with Child's only example, Kirkland called attention to the process of "improved narrative effectiveness" in the later American rendition, achieved by omitting personal and meandering stanzas and strengthening the diction ("The Effect of Oral Tradition on 'Robin Hood and Little John'," Southern Folklore Quarlerly 4(1940) : 15-21). Turning his attention to the international tale type 922 ("The Shepherd Substituting for the for the Priest Answer's The King's Questions"), studies in a classic monograph, Kaiser und Abt by Walter Anderson, and versified in Child 45, "King John and

the Bishop," Kirkland again uncovered surprising American variants, ten in all His father told Edwin a yearn of "Pat and Mike and the Three Questions" which, when he had grown up and acquired the insights of folklore, Ed. ecognized as the folktale, with Pat and mike replacing the king and the bishop. Kirland analyzed his ten collected prose texts as an American redaction, characterized by the school marm as the questioner and the schoolboy as the one questioned, types far more suitable to the American milleu than monarchs and courtiers ("The American Redaction of Tale Type 922," Fabula 4 (1961): 248-59).

These interests in folksongs and folktales colleted in the south seemed to chart the path of Ed Kirkland's research, yet he turned aside for an unexpected and magnificent endeavour in Asian folklore. In 1946 the University of Florida invited him to their department of English, and in time he followed his close friend Alton C. Morris as editor of the Southern Folklore Quarterly but two years as United States Officer of Cultural Affairs in India (1953-1955) interrupted the pattern of his teaching and research and gave it wholly new direction. While residing in India he conceived the idea of making available to the folklore fraternity a systematic inventory of the folklore publications of that country and, eventually of Pakistan, Nepal, Tibet, Ceylon, Bhutan, and Sikkim as well, since these nations enjoyed close cultural affinities. In undertaking this task Kirkland respond to the new nationalism expressed in post-independence publications as well as to the old colonialism during which British administrators collected folklore. He encountered formidable difficulties in completing his task, difficulties compounded by the thirteen major languages of India. Simply to determine the recognizable English spelling of an Indian name proved an impossible feat when, as he tells us, a Bengali name such as Mookerjee could be spelled twenty-eitht different ways. Correspondents wrote to him signing their names with varlant spellings. Kirkland also faced the problem of determining what was folklore in a culture almost all of whose aspects appeared to be traditional. In the end he published A Bibliography of South Asian Folklore in 1966, listing 6852 entries, alphabetically arranged by authors, with brief, useful annotations indicationg the regional location and folkloric genre. To further his quest he returned to India on a Fullbright award in 1962-63, and visited the British Museum on a American Philosophical Society grant in the summer of 1963. At the time of his death he had accumulated 500 additional bibliographical items and was planning to examine 500 more at the Library of Congress, the British Museum, and the Library of India office in London. Also he contemplated a critical literary study of Indian folk literature. Even without these supplementary works, A Bibliography of South Asian Folklore stands as a monument to an American folklorist building a bridge to far removed cultures.

It was my pleasure to meet and enjoy Ed. Kirkland at regular intervals since our first acquaintance in the summer of 1945 at the Indiana University

Folklore Institute. My memories include a visit to his home in Gainesville in 1953 when he and Mary and Gloria and I splashed in the lake on rubber tires; talking about folklore in London pubs in the summer of 1963; planning for an Asian folklore society at a session of the Association of Asian Studies in Washington, D.C., in March, 1964, and at an organizational meeting in Bloommington in June 1966; and of course reuniting at the regular professional meetings. Ed was a warm, human, genial person, the soul of good fellowship and good will; he and Mary added cheer to every folklore gathering, he was the salt of the earth.*

A. N. Aggarwala

Profess A. N. Aggarwala died an unnatural and untimely death in the unfortunate crash of Boeing 737 on May 31, 1973 while returning from Madras on completion of an academic assignment. He was devoted to the promotion of economic sciences. He was toiling to provide social science orientation to teaching and research in commerce. In his death the country has lost a distinguished scholars of international repute.

Bhupati Mazumdar

An ardent patriot who spent more than twentyfive years of his life under detention, Bhupati Majumdar died on March 27, 1973 when he was 82 years old. He was a bachelor. He was the oldest member in the State Legislative Assembly. He joined the Indian National Congress under the influence of Deshbandu C. R. Das. He was associated with Shri Aurobindo, Jatindranath Mukherjee and others. He always took interest in our activities. He was a man of wide interest and versatile talents, was the vice-president of the National Council of Education and a member of the Governing Body of the Jadavpur University.

Barkatullah Khan

Shri Barkatullah Khan, the chief minister of Rajasthan passed away on 11 October at Jaipur after a massive heart attack. He was the first Rajasthan chief minister to die in Office. He was 53, Shri Khan is survived by his widow, Smt. Ushi Khan, his mother and a sister. He took keen interest in folklorological work.

*Reprint from SFQ.

NOTES AND NEWS

In the All-India Folk culture conference held at Allahabad in November 10-11-1973 the following resolution is passed: "With the achievement of All India Folk Culture Conference a strong desire is felt in organising the First Asian Folk Culture Conference and Mela in Allahabad, which City has also taken the lead in organising All India Folk Culture Conference since 1958. The interest for organising such a conference is steadily on the increase. It is actuated by both academic as well as practical motives. Its objective is to know the works and activities of folklore in different Asian countries and to fix out a line of scientifically valied research of folklore for mutual understanding.

Indeed, it is a difficult task, more difficult to accommodate the people of All Asian countries in such a conference, yet every endeavour will be made to do justice to the cause. We believe to succeed to our mission since the horizon of the scholars interested in the study of man is widening. It is opening out to the scholars underground root of culture which had long remained undiscovered. All India Folk Culture Research Institute, Allahabad has realised that deeper study of man helps them interested in folklorological studies find in such a conference a rich storehouse of information which can give clues for national and international integration. The works and activities of Asian Folklore are too many, and most of these are unknown to outside the boundary of a country and even inside a country because of lack of contacts with one another. To lift this bar a Conference and Mela as proposed above is a necessary.

It has thus been planned that the First Asian Folk Culture Conference be held at Allahabad where the following countries be invited for taking parts: Bangladesh, Burma, Singapur, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Afghanistan, China, Japan, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, Korea, Ceylon, Egypt, Sirya, Jordan, Quet, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanan, Tazakisthan, Uzbekistan etc. Both the scholars and cultural troups be invited, to participate, with the help of the Government of India.

The Conference may continue for atleast—seven days where the programme will include seminar, cultural shows, get-together and exhibition of books, journals on folklore and other folklore materials in addition to rural and folk-art and crafts marks.

The date of the conference be fixed in consultation with Smt. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India and with Shri H. N. Bahuguna, Chief Minister of U. P.

In order to make the Conference and Mela a success Smt. Indira

Gandhi, Prime Minister of India be requested to be the Patron when Shri H. N. Bahuguna be the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

To organise the Conference some committees will have to be formed with the socio-folklorological scholars, enthusiasts, administrators, and others interested in folklore movement. The Committees are: (a) Reception committee, (b) Prepatory Committee, (c) Steering Committee (d) Programme Committee (e) Exhibition and Fair Committee (f) Propaganda and Publicity Committee, (g) Transport and Accommodation Committee and (h) Finance Committee.

The scope of the Reception Committee will be widened. It will open to all the sympathisers of folklore from all over India. The Chairman of the Reception Committee be Shri H. N. Bahuguna, Chief Minister of U. P. with Shri Srikrishna Das as convenor. Shri Ramji Dwivedi, Mayor of Allahabad, Sri Sankar Sengupta, General Secdetary of the Indian Folklore Society, Calcutta and Sri Madhubhai Patel of Bombay be the General Secretaries. Dr. S. K. Chatterji, President, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Smt. Kamaladevi Chottopadhayaya, Madam Sophia Wadia, Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, Shri V. R. Narla, Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi, K. A. Abhas, Devilal Samar etc. be approched for becoming the members of the Reception Committee."

The Conference was inaugurated by Shri T. K. Ghosh, Editor, "Amrita Bazar Patrika."

The Mayor of Allahabad, Shri Ramji Dwivedi, offered a sum of Rupees one lakh and a plot of land at Allahabad for establishing the building of the Institute. It was inaugurated on November 19, the birth day of Smt. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India.

Many distinguished scholars like Dr. U. N. Tiwari, Prof. P. Chandrakar, Dr. Haris, Shri Arabinda Pattanaik, Shri Madhubhai Patel, Shri Shrikrishna Das D. G. Borse, S. Sengupta and others participated. In the cultural show Purnadas Baul, students of Arya Kanya Vidyalaya (Baroda) and others took part. The Conference and the cultural show was a success because of the sincere and diligent efforts of Shri Ramji Dwivedi, Shri Kishna Das, Shri Kuldeep Kapoor and others.

—(Reported)

* * * *

A 3-day Seminar on folklore under the auspices of the Department of Punjabi Language, Literature and Culture, Guru Nanak Univerisity will be held at Amritsar on 27th-29th December, 1973 where different problems of modern folklore scholarship will be discussed. Problems relating to the study and collection of folklore will be throughly discussed by the eminent folklorists of different parts of India.

—(Reported)

BOOK REVIEW

THE CULT OF TEYYAM AND HERO WORSHIP IN KERALA, by Dr. K. K. N. Kurup, Calicut University ; Indian Publications, Calcutta, Pp. 87, Plates : Rs. 18.00.

Folklore studies in India received a setback after the exit of William Crooke and R. E. Enthoven, two British administrator-folklorists. No systematic efforts were made to collect and present the uncouth and outlandish customs, practices and oral traditions of India after 1925 till the late 50's when Indian Publications took interest in bringing out a series of books and a journal devoted to this subject. The present study, **The Cult of Teyyam and Hero Worship in Kerala** which is the 21st in the series follows the earlier **Folk Cults of Bengal** and **The Deified Saints of Bengal.** Most of the studies in folklore published in recent times focus attention on Bengal and Dr. Kurup's monograph is a welcome departure in this respect in presenting regional folklore.

The Cult of Teyyam is little known throughout the length and breadth of Kerala, not to speak of its currency outside the State. Teyyattam, as the cult is called by Malayalees, is the speciality of North Malabar, which was out of bonds for the Nambudiri, the Aryan element of Kerala. Since the Aryanisation of Malabar has been a slow process, many of the primitive people and their cultural traits have not been stamped out. The cult of Bhagavati is widespread in the former Cochin area. The Bhagavati cult may be taken as an extension of the cult of Teyyam as there are Teyyattams to propitiate Bhagavatis (Muchilot Bhagavati—Pp. 47-50 ; Kanangot Makkam—Pp. 60-64 ; Munnayar—Pp 64-66 etc.). Some of the Bhagavatis have cut across the boundaries of villages and command annual tithes from a vast area (Para Festival : FOLKLORE, May 1970). Teyyam is, in fact, not confined to Bhagavatis. Spirits, heroes, heronies, ancestors, village gods, godlings etc. are subjects of the Teyyams.

Teyyattam is the most original of all folk dancees of Kerala, Kathakali has attained perfection at the hands of the elites of the State. Ottamthullal, a monologic dance, is not every old as it was originated by Kunchan Nambiar Chakkyar Koothu is another folk dance. Mohini Attam, Krishnanatham etc. have grown in stature and status as all these are patronised by the highest and lowliest. All these folk arts are indebted to Teyyattam. Since Teyyattam is performed by Velans, Vannans, Malayans and other pre-Dravidian autochthones of Kerala, it has been looked down upon by the elites and branded 'Devil Dance'. Dr. Kurup's attempt has been to rescue Teyyattam from this infamy and present it in this socio-cultural perspective. The author has succeeded in doing so.

Since Teyyattam is a propitiatory dance, it has not gained universal acclaim. The ritual dance in honour of various heroies and heroines are not

uniform and require different sorts of make-up and presentation. This has added to the difficulties of mastering its technique. It goes to the credit of Dr. Kurup in presenting this folk art in its pristine primitive purity.

Dr. Kurup has shown the manner in which the cult of Teyyam has been used by village versifiers in ushering in a social revolution (Pottam Teyyam, Pp. 68-71), religious toleration (Ali Chamundi, Pp 76-77) and cultural synthesis and common heritage of Malabar and the adjoining Tulu Nadu in Karnataka (Kativanur Veeran, Pp. 58-60). Popular heroes like Thacholi Othenan (of Northern Ballad fame), Katovanur Veeran, Payyampalli Chandu, Murikkancheri and Muthappan have already been deified as Sastha. The study gives us an insight into the process of elevation of village and tribal gods and godlings into the Hindu pantheon.

The book under review is provided with a number of photographs, glossary, and an index which have enhanced its utility. As an important contribution to the folk art of Kerala, the study will be welcomed by all lovers of folklore.

—P. Thankappan Nair

LOK-SAHITYE ÆSOP, by Sudhir Karan, Ashoke Pustakalaya, 64, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Calcutta-9, Pp. 116, Price Rs. 6, with a foreword by Shri Sukumar Sen.

In his introductory note the author has discussed **lok-katha, fable, probad-o-fable, Æsop's moral tales** and others. He has also discussed Æsop as a story-teller, the character of his tales, & Indian liteature and Æsop's story. With these in his introductory notes, the author has provided Bengali translations of as many as 248 well-known stories. The renderings are satisfactory.

The book would serve eminently the purpose for which it is intended, viz. to provide the interested Bengali reader an introduction to the Æsop as a repository of ancient moral and to induce him to go to the original for further edification.

—Samir Ghosal

HUMAN EVENTS, Organ of the Monograph Association of India, Pub. by Indian Publications, 3, British Indian Street, Calcutta-1 S. C. Roy centennial conference Number. Rs. 6.50.

It is a collection of seven papers submitted to the S. C. Roy centenary conference at Ranchi from November 4-10, 1971. Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi has contributed a lengthy article on the folklore researches in India. It is a survey work. Dr. K. D. Upadhyaya too contributed his paper likewise. Sankar Sen Gupta has stated the role of S. C. Roy in the field of anthropo-folklorology and has also given an account of the folklore scholarship in Bengal. Other contributors are Dr. P. Goswami, Dr. V. Gautam, Mrs. R. O. Dhan and Dr. T. Chattopadhyay. The issue provides mass of material which no student or scholar interested in Indian folklore can afford to miss.

—B. N. Shastri

EDITORIAL

It is a welcome news that All-India Folk Culture Conference has decided, in its recent conference, to hold the First Asian Folk Culture Conference at Allahabad in the winter of 1974. The organisers expect to have the co-operation of the Chief Minister of the State as well as the Prime Minister of India who hails from Allahabad. With this it was felt, that government and non-government agencies are taking greater interest on our subject these days and their activities show that they have concentrated their attention on the development and documentation of folklore. In contrast to this, India is perhaps the only country in Asia that has a national monthly on the subject—"Folklore"—which is coming out regularly since 1956. There are, of course, journals in regional languages and quarterly or less frequently published journals from different parts of Asia, but "Folklore" singular English Monthly coming out regularly. In spite of this and in spite of India's rich storehouse of folklore, the subject has not yet gained or achieved that status which it should or other branches of social sciences like anthropology, sociology have got..

The conference, fair and the type of get-together are necessary and welcome, no doubt, for personal contact. But there is more need to develop a documentation services for folklore and to create a dialogue between the information scientist and the information user. In the absence of national documentation centre for folklore, co-operation in this field had to develop on an individual, informal and **adhoc** basis. This co-operation which has worked satisfactorily, but precariously, should be consolidated, formalised, and put on a nation-wide basis. It is, thus, expected that in the forthcoming conference folklore scientists of Asia will discuss how the documentation techniques already developed for science and technology could be successfully adapted for organising information in folklore research.

It is the common problems of the folklorologists of Asia that they lack in resources in terms of funds and technically qualified personnel. Here political and economic problems are critical. our subject enjoys very low status, and folklorologists enjoy lower professional status. The lack of government support leads to lack of funds, lack of adequately trained personnel, lack of efficient professional services which reflects poorly on the folklorologists.

There is primary need for the recognition of folklore as a subject of study. It should be included in the curriculum in the universities in order to infuse sociological contents into it. The teaching of folklore must be informed by social science perspectives in order that the social order becomes rooted in the culture it seeks to affect. While it was agreed that the curriculum of education needs reform, no consensus seemed to exist among educationists about the content of such reform. We will expect the Asian Folk Culture Conference will discuss all these and should find out ways for closes co-operation and co-ordination between national and international centres.

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